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**God's Forever Family: the Jesus People
Movement in America, 1966-1977**

A Dissertation

By

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The Jesus People movement arose in the United States in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Achieving its initial strength in California, this unique combination of the hippie counterculture and evangelical Christianity eventually spread to many parts of the country and briefly attracted a great deal of contemporary media and scholarly attention. Fading from the cultural spotlight rather quickly and eventually disappearing in the late 1970s, little attention was paid to the Jesus People in subsequent decades as both scholars of American religion and culture tended to either overlook the movement, or dismiss it entirely.

This project argues that a closer re-examination of the entirety of the Jesus People phenomena--and not just its transitory period of 'California-heavy' media popularity--reveals that it was one of the most significant national religious movements of the postwar period. The Jesus People impacted both great numbers of young people in the counterculture as well as many young evangelical church youth who adopted the Jesus People persona and made it their own. Just as the lives of a significant number of 'Baby Boomers' were shaped by the counterculture, so the Jesus People movement was another of the major formative forces among American youth who came of age in the late 1960s and 1970s. Moreover, its

influence remained significant within the American evangelical subculture in the decades that followed. Not only did burgeoning new groups such as the Calvary Chapel and Vineyard movements originate in the movement, but the Jesus People paved the way for the huge 'Contemporary Christian Music industry' and signalled a new relaxed relationship between evangelicalism and youth culture. Upon re-examination, it is clear that the Jesus People movement played an important role in the resurgence of American evangelicalism in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis has been composed by myself and that the work which it embodies has been done by myself. I confirm that the work has not been included in another thesis.


Signed

1 July 2005
Date

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thanks for the love, support and patience you have manifested even when I was most doubtful about the various fits and starts along this whole journey. I know that you are even happier than I to be rid forever of having to answer THAT question: “So, how’s the dissertation going?”

Chapter 1

Introduction

By the summer of 1971 a battered American public had endured a series of revolutions in the space of a few short years--the civil rights revolution and race riots across the country; dark murmurings of threatened political revolution as anarchy reigned on the nation's college campuses over the Vietnam War and the draft; the advent of the Pill and the sexual revolution; the creation of LSD and the psychedelic revolution; and the 'flower power' of the hippie revolution. To make matters worse, all of these seismic political, cultural, social and moral changes directly involved America's up-and-coming 'Baby Boomer' generation of young people. So it was that as the 21 June issue of *Time* hit the nation's newsstands, the readers of the country's premier weekly newsmagazine might have been forgiven had they not wanted to hear tell of yet another revolution--particularly one involving the nation's youth. But the revolution which the 21 June issue touted bespoke anything but the rejection of old-fashioned values and morality. There on the cover of *Time* was the familiar, deep-eyed visage of Jesus Christ--albeit drawn psychedelic, hippie-style and in day-glo colours. The countercultural cover portrait of the Nazarene highlighted the issue's lead story on what the editors termed "The Jesus Revolution", a remarkable upsurge in a traditional, evangelical Christianity with a hippie twist which was increasingly making itself known among young people across the country.

"Fresh-faced, wide-eyed young girls and earnest young men", the *Time* reporters gushed, "badger businessmen and shoppers on Hollywood Boulevard, near the Lincoln Memorial, in Dallas, in Detroit and in Wichita, 'witnessing' for Christ with breathless exhortations. Christian coffeehouses have opened in many cities . . . a strip

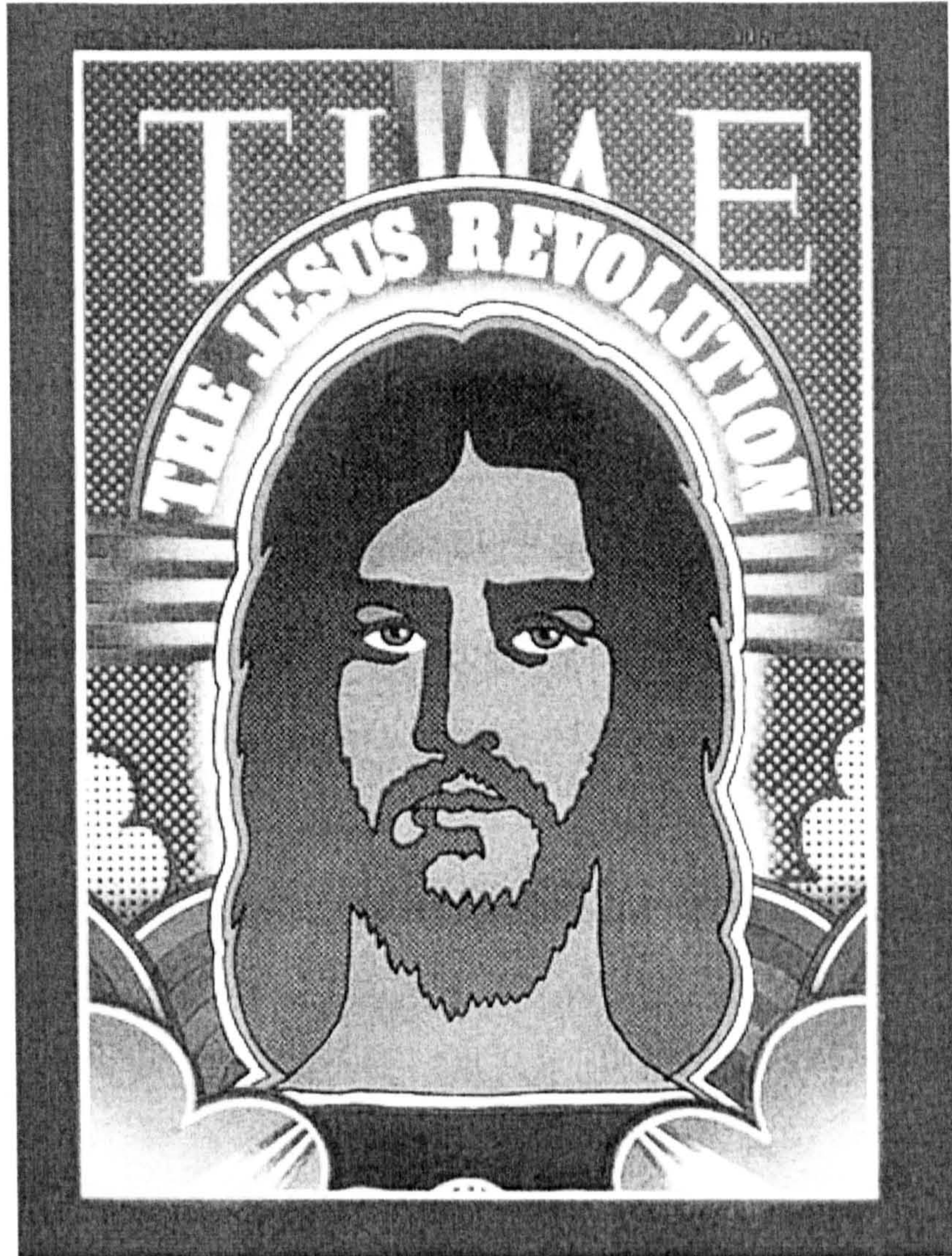


Figure 1: The 21 June 1971 cover of *Time* magazine highlighting the arrival of the “Jesus Revolution”. (photo from www.time.com website)

joint has been converted to a ‘Christian nightclub’ in San Antonio. Communal ‘Christian houses’ are multiplying like loaves and fishes . . . Bibles abound.” Colour photos of beach baptisms in California, hippies in hands-raised Pentecostal bliss, bubble gum-blowing worshippers at a New Jersey ‘Jesus Rally’, a circle of praying athletes in the middle of a football field and a band of happy commune dwellers in upstate New York accompanied the eight-page story. But to these seasoned reporters used to covering the plethora of new social and cultural trends and movements which the previous decade had unleashed upon American society, this “Jesus revolution” was

qualitatively different than anything they had encountered. “There is an uncommon morning freshness to this movement, a buoyant atmosphere of hope and love along with the usual rebel zeal”, commented the writers; “. . . their love seems more sincere than a slogan, deeper than the fast-fading sentiments of the flower children: what startles the outsider is the extraordinary sense of joy that they are able to communicate.” The writers were taken aback at the Jesus People’s “total belief in an awesome, supernatural Jesus Christ, not just a marvellous man who lived 2,000 years ago but a living God who is both Saviour and Judge . . . Their lives revolve around the necessity for an intense personal relationship with that Jesus and . . . [they] act as if divine intervention guides their every movement and can be counted on to solve every problem.”¹

Of course by the time a public figure, celebrity, trend or movement reaches the cover of a magazine like *Time*, the subject is almost always past the peak of its actual stature or cultural vitality. And in the case of the ‘Jesus Revolution’, or, Jesus People as they were better known, *Time* was likewise only certifying the status of a religious movement which had already grown so large and visible that it had attracted considerable attention in the religious and secular press and media (in fact, at the end of the year American reporters selected the religious revival among the nation’s youth as one of the ‘top ten’ stories of 1971²). Even as *Time*’s cover story attested the ‘arrival’ of the movement, journalists, pastors and participants in the movement themselves were in the midst of a mad rush to get books into print to capitalize on the Jesus People’s sudden celebrity. Such was the publishing interest that by the end of 1972 nearly fifty books had been published on, about, by, or that were somehow commercially connected to, the Jesus People.³

The largest portion of these books about the Jesus Movement were journalistic endeavours reporting back to Mr and Mrs Middle America on how it was that youth had

suddenly decided “it was hip to get high on Jesus”.⁴ Of these, the great majority were written by evangelical observers who were not only interested in that question, but who were eager to view the Jesus People as evidence of a generational movement to Christ, if not as the portent of a sweeping, all-encompassing national revival.⁵ No less a figure than America’s ‘Protestant Pope’, evangelist Billy Graham, typified this outlook on the movement in his book *The Jesus Generation*. Graham wrote that he was “convinced that the ‘Jesus revolution’” was making a “profound impact on the youth of America” and that he even saw signs of its “spreading to other countries”. Although he felt that it represented “a minority” of American young people, he was persuaded that it was “growing rapidly”. Indeed, he felt “it may be the answer to the prayers of millions of Christians who have been praying for spiritual awakening”.⁶

To salve the curiosity of the more academic-minded observers of the American religious and cultural scene, a few scholars--mostly social scientists--also tried their hand at describing and understanding the nascent movement. Heading off ‘into the field’ in 1971, these chroniclers produced five books which became the major academic treatises that heretofore have constituted the bulwark of the scholarly literature on the Jesus People movement: *The Jesus Trip: Advent of the Jesus Freaks* by Lowell Streiker, a professor of religion at Princeton University; *The Jesus People: Old-Time Religion in the Age of Aquarius*, co-written by Ronald Enroth, Edward Ericson and Breckinridge Peters, respectively a sociologist, English professor and former student (by then a sociology graduate student at the University of Kentucky) from the evangelical Westmont College in California; *That New-Time Religion* by Erling Jorstad, a professor of religion at the Lutheran St Olaf’s College in Minnesota; *One Way: The Jesus Movement and Its Meaning*; by Robert S. Ellwood, a former Episcopal priest and naval chaplain turned professor in the School of Religion at the University of Southern

California; and, *Organized Miracles: The Study of a Fundamentalist Youth Commune* by James T. Richardson, Mary White Stewart and Robert B. Simmonds.⁷ All five volumes were begun amid the white hot heat of 1971's media furore surrounding the Jesus People and, with the exception of *Organized Miracles* (1979), appeared between late 1971 and early 1973.⁸ The research methodology and depth that shaped them varied from Lowell Streiker's "two weeks . . . among the Jesus Freaks of California", to Enroth, Erickson and Peters' more nuanced (and evangelical-attuned) national attempt to sort out all the media hype and ascertain "the state of the Jesus movement as of the fall of 1971", and Richardson and company's highly-focused summer 1971 anthropological field work and long-term follow-up observation of the Oregon-based Shiloh commune.⁹

The books presented themselves (again with the exception of *Organized Miracles*) as overarching surveys of the movement. In terms of the general picture that they presented of the Jesus People, they all touched upon--and *Organized Miracles* confirmed--a broad set of widespread characteristics and tendencies. It was apparent that in terms of origin, development and organization the movement was far-flung, disorganized and diverse. Although they mostly persisted in their attachment to hippie hairstyles and fashions, such countercultural accoutrements as street papers and communes, and utilized music that to one degree or another was based upon the idioms of rock music, their puritanical resistance to drugs, alcohol, profligate sexuality and general individual irresponsibility represented, in the words of Lowell Streiker, "not so much counter-culture, as counter-counter-culture".¹⁰ In terms of their theological orientation and interpretation of the Bible, the Jesus People were decidedly fundamentalists if not out-and-out primitivists. They were bold in their proclamation of a plain gospel that centred upon repentance of sins, conversion and salvation from

eternal damnation. An emphasis on experiential religion meant a broad, although not universal, use and acceptance of Pentecostal ‘gifts of the Spirit’, particularly speaking in tongues. Influenced by both the maelstrom of contemporary events and mainstream evangelical books of the premillennial dispensationalist persuasion like Hal Lindsey’s bestselling *The Late, Great Planet Earth*, they were heavily preoccupied with expectations of the near return of Jesus Christ.

Two of the four surveys--Enroth, Erickson and Peters, and Ellwood--although they centred almost exclusively on the colourful, sensational hippie-ness of the movement--paid some attention to the fact that the countercultural style of the Jesus People had also been enthusiastically appropriated and championed by a segment of mainstream evangelicalism and Pentecostalism.¹¹ To Enroth, Erickson, and Peters much of the “religious bandwagoning”, as they termed it, was inept at best and little more than a fad: “The mingling of the hip world and the straight church has become suddenly popular Many such efforts have already expired . . . it seems unlikely that the trend will reverse itself.”¹² Writing a little later than the other two surveys (ca. late 1972), Ellwood was a little more positive about these pastors, youth workers and evangelical organizations that had, in his words, “leap[t] with alacrity” to “employ the songs and signs and art of the movement to revitalize their own work with youth”. He implied that they seemed to have been successful--“the movement and its echoes reached *millions* [italics mine]”.¹³

However, by the time Ellwood penned his observations in the latter part of 1972 it is safe to say that very few people outside the bounds of the movement itself--or the larger realm of evangelicalism--were interested. Curiosity and fashion are a fickle thing, whether one is dealing with the mass media or with the academy. By the spring of 1972 it was apparent that the secular press had certainly lost interest in the Jesus

People. There was a brief, and notable, upsurge in late June during Campus Crusade for Christ's "EXPLO '72" conference in Dallas which attracted 80,000 young people for a week of seminars, rallies and evangelising, and a crowd of nearly 200,000 for a day-long "Jesus Music Festival" to close the conference. "Godstock", as the press dubbed it, once again placed the Jesus People movement on the front page and gave them a slot on the evening news. But after the well-behaved, Jesus-cheering young people cleared out of Dallas it was clear that the 'Jesus Freaks' were yesterday's news. Except for a slowing trickle of stories in various evangelical magazines and a few late-to-the-market books (most of the academic treatments cited above would fall into this category), the buzz over the Jesus People dried up during the remainder of 1972 and early 1973. Such was the media disappearing act that by the fall of 1973 the evangelical monthly *Eternity* printed an article by Enroth which told the magazine's readers that the Jesus People were, actually, still around and thriving.¹⁴

The Jesus People, in fact, did soldier on long after the media and academic spotlight had turned elsewhere. Indeed, as Enroth, Erickson and Peters and Ellwood wrote, the vast publicity had indeed spread the movement across the country. Thousands of young people identified with the Jesus People independent of the organized church forming communes, fellowships, coffeehouses, creating their own 'Jesus Rock' bands, and printing their own 'street papers' to hand out on witnessing forays. And all those pastors and youth workers whom Ellwood said "leaped with alacrity" in their desire to reap a harvest of young souls in adapting the music, terminology, jargon, and accoutrements of the Jesus People spread the movement--to "millions" as Ellwood had stated--into every nook and cranny of the United States.

Eventually, however, the movement did peter out. By the late '70s many of its older, long-time members had moved into school, marriage, jobs, families and local

church life. Coupled with the rise of new musical styles and corollary youth cultures among younger teens which rejected the countercultural model from which the Jesus People emerged, the movement--almost without exception--withered away.

I witnessed much of this rise and fall first hand; as a high school senior and young adult living in the far northwest suburbs of Chicago in the 1970s I, along with many of my peers, was influenced by the Jesus movement. Attending Jesus rallies and concerts, going to coffeehouses, reading “Jesus papers” from across the United States, and flashing the “One Way” symbol (an upraised index finger) at passing cars bedecked with “Jesus” stickers were part of my coming of age. At one point I was even a 21 year-old “elder” at a coffeehouse in my home town of Round Lake, Illinois.

But, the movement did fade and I moved on with my life. I went to college and then earned a master’s degree in history at the University of Maryland where a desire to study American colonial religion morphed into a fixation with evangelicals’ 20th-century utilization of the media and popular culture. After a few years of teaching high school history I joined the staff of the Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals at Wheaton College in Wheaton, Illinois. There, as I helped implement conferences and study projects on such topics as evangelicals and the mass media and trans-Atlantic connections among evangelicals, I considered resuming my postponed academic sojourn by seeking the doctoral degree. As I discussed my plans with colleagues and other well-respected scholars of evangelical history, I was inevitably asked about possible dissertation topics. When I mentioned—among several possibilities—a desire to revisit the impact of the Jesus People movement from a critical distance, I was usually met with a look of glazed indifference: “There wasn’t really much there” commented one historian, “it was just an ephemeral moment—a fad, don’t you think?”

I thought not, but the germ of the historical question, to my mind, had been set. What to make of this collision between old-time evangelical religion and the 1960s American counterculture? Did the fact that it lasted as a coherent movement for only about a decade mean that the Jesus People were not much more than a faddish, ephemeral blip on the American religious landscape? Or, was it representative of larger changes in American culture and religion which made it a genuine, lasting influence upon the shape of American evangelicalism?

If one examines the judgments of scholars of American religion writing after the mid-1970s it is readily apparent that they—like my questioning friend and others like him above--considered the movement as nothing more than a transitory episode, a youthful mania--if they were willing to give it even that much attention. For example, in his 1977 survey *A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada*, Robert T. Handy consigned the movement to part of a brief paragraph about '60s youth's alienation from the organized church.¹⁵ William G. McLoughlin in his extended essay on the creative, dynamic role of spiritual awakenings in American history, *Revivals, Awakenings and Reform*, briefly noted the Jesus People's existence when discussing the spiritual thrust of the 1960s. However, to McLoughlin, the Jesus People were merely a corollary evangelical sideshow to the central pantheistic countercultural religious urge to "[transform] the belief-value system".¹⁶ Peter W. Williams, one of the leading scholars of American popular religion, was even more dismissive. In a 1980 survey of the national religious scene, Williams had a section devoted to California as a final religious frontier; he mentioned the Jesus People only to note that they had been friendly to the idea of communal living.¹⁷

By comparison, Martin Marty, America's most recognized--and ubiquitous--scholar of the recent and contemporary American religious scene was much more

expansive in his 1984 volume *Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America*. He devoted nearly three pages of narrative space limning out the origins and ethos of the movement. But, although the Jesus People served as an extended colourful anecdote for Marty's larger legitimate point about the endurance and resurgence of evangelical Protestantism in American life in the '60s and '70s, their story ended there. Indeed, Marty's analysis that "by the middle of the decade, the only Jesus Movement that mattered was made up of middle-class young people" implied that the spread of the Jesus People into the churches was of little import.¹⁸ In his judgment, the movement's impact ended in and of itself, arguing that the mantle of evangelical relevance to youth had been taken up by groups like Inter-Varsity, Campus Crusade and the Navigators.¹⁹

Marty's nostalgic section on the Jesus People was the high point in academic remembrance of the Jesus People in the 1980s.²⁰ Robert Wuthnow's seminal 1988 volume examining the overarching changes and realignments in the post-war religious scene in the United States, *The Restructuring of American Religion*, had nothing at all to say about the Jesus People.²¹ The scholarly amnesia regarding the Jesus People movement even extended to the eminent evangelical historian Mark Noll early in the next decade. In his 1992 *History of Christianity in the United States and Canada*, Noll devoted space to the Sixties' impact upon North American religion as well as the 1970s backlash that the era produced. However, Noll's impressive volume contained not even a solitary mention of the Jesus People movement.²²

But, perhaps most surprising of all was the short shrift given the movement in Robert S. Ellwood's 1994 volume *The 60s Spiritual Awakening*. Ellwood, author of the aforementioned 1973 book *One Way*, had by this time attained stature as one of the leading scholarly authorities on the history, development and direction of post-war American religion and spirituality. *The 60s Spiritual Awakening* was Ellwood's opus

on the profound religious changes that typified the decade. Yet, Ellwood, who had sagely written about the corollaries between the counterculture and evangelicalism and the Jesus movement's possible future role in strengthening the evangelical subculture,²³ relegated the rise of the Jesus People to a reference to Southern Baptist Arthur Blessitt's "street-level fundamentalism" as a "major precursor of the 'Jesus People'",²⁴ and a three sentence blurb within a two-and-a-half-page parenthetical "counterpoint" on the "turn-of-the-decade resurgence of evangelical Christianity." With the aid of two decades of retrospection, Ellwood judged the Jesus People to be nothing more than a momentary phase of a larger reactionary backlash:

Evangelicals [sic] could recognize that, although in their eyes misguided, many counterculturalists were at least concerned about the spiritual quest. Evangelical preachers who could relate to hippies and talk their argot were quite successful in leading some of them them [sic] from drug and Eastern highs to those of Jesus. They laid the foundation for the Jesus movement of the early Seventies and pioneered a new churchly style, the youth-oriented, hip-talking, gospel rock evangelical or Pentecostal church, or equivalent street or coffee-house ministries.²⁵

Robert Ellwood still remembered the Jesus People movement, but it was obvious he no longer thought it a terribly vital dimension of the religious changes brought about by the counterculture.

What was it about the Jesus People movement that has led so many scholars of American religion either to downplay, or to dismiss entirely, a movement which only a few years earlier had swept up hundreds of thousands--perhaps millions--of American youth? Why were they so quick to discount a widespread, grass-roots religious upsurge which contemporary observers were convinced was such an unusual and important phenomenon?

There were several factors responsible for this, most of which lay in the mindsets and predilections of scholars of American religion and culture, rather than in

the inherent historical worthiness of the Jesus People movement. Truth be told, most conventional approaches to 'Church History' have tended toward a cataloguing of church councils and meetings, personnel moves and institutional development, coupled with a heavy emphasis on theology and intellectual history. The Jesus People seemed to have left little in the way of obvious institutional and organizational heirs and--like many of their grass-roots, pietist evangelical cousins--were not frequently given to deep theological or intellectual musings. In fact, quite the opposite: the Jesus People had a simple theology which emphasized personal and group experience and which was often flagrantly anti-intellectual, all compounded with an affinity for popular culture. To scholars for whom the real meat of religious life in the twentieth century was to be found in the theological or philosophical musings of figures like Reinhold Niebuhr or James Courtney Murray, the lowest-common-denominator "Honk if You Love Jesus" fundamentalist bumper sticker theology of the Jesus People no doubt paled by comparison. When writing about religion in the '60s and '70s, it was simply more natural--and much easier--for scholars to consider the edicts of a Timothy Leary or peruse the writings of a handful of feminist theologians than grapple with the meaning of multitudes of American teens sitting around coffeehouses talking about Jesus.

But the Jesus People movement also would have failed to pass muster with those religious historians who recognized these kinds of shortcomings and, influenced by the rise of the 'new history' in the '60s, had abandoned the realm of theological and intellectual history in favour of exploring the religious impulses of the marginalised--workers, women, and minorities. By their criteria--and by the very ethos that characterized the turbulent racial, social and political uproar of the Sixties--the Jesus Freaks were not of much interest. They were numerous, mostly white, patriarchal and suspiciously friendly with the bourgeois values of Middle America and Richard

Nixon's 'Silent Majority'.²⁶ That the Jesus People movement led to no immediately recognizable ('progressive') social or political activism--especially in the context of 'The Sixties'-- made it all too easy to categorize them somewhere on a sliding scale that ran between benign irrelevance and reactionary malignancy.

Finally, the very nature of the Jesus People movement's constituency--youth--undoubtedly contributed to scholars of American religion's tendency to dismiss them. In some ways this is understandable in light of some of the scholarly biases cited above: children and teens do not produce much in the way of intellectual and theological writing, they do not hold important positions within the church, and they belong part and parcel to their parents' ethnic, racial and class groupings. Moreover, religion is usually treated as something that adults dish out to young people which they by turns gobble up, pick at, or ignore--similar to how a toddler might react to a bowl of oatmeal. But, as no less a seminal evangelical figure--and a theologian and intellectual at that--than Jonathan Edwards knew, youth particularly seem "to be very greatly and most agreeably affected with those views which excited humility, self-condemnation, self-aborrence, love and joy" during periods of major religious revival.²⁷ Given the importance of youth as a formative period in determining religious commitments one might think that there would be more attention paid to this important dimension of American religious history.²⁸

The failure to take youthful religious impulses into account is exacerbated by a related scholarly tendency to look down upon the enthusiasms of youth culture, and in all likelihood is compounded by the very life experiences of the scholars themselves. For scholars who had lived through (or perhaps more likely, watched, their adolescent peers in bookish incomprehension), a succession of youth-oriented, market-related fads and fashions (both in their own youth and as they raised their own families), the Jesus

People may well have seemed little more than a religious equivalent of the hula hoop or bellbottom pants. That the Jesus People 'fad' lasted less than a decade (and little more than a year in terms of active public media 'presence'), did not coalesce around any pivotal figures, and failed to issue forth in any obvious major organizations or institutions seemed to bespeak a vaporous impermanence, if not irrelevance. One suspects, however, that the 'youth factor' may be the key ingredient even here in discounting the Jesus People. Surely by the criteria above, any number of 'adult' social and cultural movements in American history--the 1920s' manifestation of the Ku Klux Klan comes quickly to mind--would not be worth studying or taking seriously.

The University of Massachusetts literature professor Nick Bromell in his thoughtful essay on the formative nature of '60s rock culture, *Tomorrow Never Knows: Rock and Psychedelics in the 1960s*, perceives the problems with this mindset toward youthful enthusiasms in writing about the international *Uber-phenomenon* that was Beatlemania:

An extraordinary, indeed in the twentieth-century United States a singular phenomenon, it has never been taken seriously by historians of the '60s or of rock 'n' roll. The tendency has always been to be embarrassed by Beatlemania. Documentaries consistently present this moment in the Beatles' career with an awe that is also a sneer. While marveling that the four mop-tops could exert such orphic force, they pointedly condescend to the young teenagers, almost all of them girls, who pursued and panted, screamed and wept and fainted whenever the Beatles came within reach.²⁹

Bromell notes, however, that to overlook Beatlemania is to miss absolutely what was going on during this period. "Those who were young at the time", he writes, "will remember that Beatlemania was an essential precondition of the Beatles phenomenon" and all that followed. It was, he admits, "a ridiculous spectacle", yet a force which existed despite "what other people thought" and--importantly--had "power to convert others to the Beatles cult". Moreover, Bromell argues that the teenage girls of 1963/64

“created Beatlemania . . . Beatlemania was a creation, not a Pavlovian reaction . . . they seized and made a world, taking power and space away from the control of adults”. Ultimately, he contends, it was those selfsame teenagers, “surrendered absolutely to their passions”, that were the driving force that “demolished so much of the rigid, sexless self-control” that typified 1950s American society.³⁰

Similarly, for scholars of American religion to overlook the ecstatic religious fervour and bold, evangelistic enthusiasm of the Jesus People would be to miss a major part of the American evangelical Zeitgeist of the period from 1968 to 1976. Fortunately, there were signs in the latter half of the 1990s that the underestimation and scholarly amnesia regarding the Jesus People movement had begun to change. In *The Movement and the Sixties*, his exhaustive chronicle of the rise of the New Left and the counterculture published in 1995, Terry H. Anderson recognized the Jesus People movement as the primary manifestation of a varied move toward religion in hippie circles and presented it as “another Great American Revival” emphasizing its challenge to “established religion”.³¹

There have also been growing glimmers of recognition that the importance of the Jesus People was not merely locked in the Sixties and that it had a lasting impact upon evangelicalism. In sociologist Wade Clark Roof’s insightful 1993 examination of Baby Boomer Religion, *A Generation of Seekers* (though he noted the Jesus People movement only once and mischaracterized its constituency as being made up entirely of young college students) perceived the important role they had played in “redefining ‘sin’--by playing down the importance of old taboos against drinking alcohol, dancing, card-playing, and the like”.³² Another nod to the movement’s impact came in Colleen McDannell’s 1996 volume *Material Christianity*. McDannell contended that the now-massive Christian bookstore industry which plays such an important role in

contemporary evangelical subculture “might have remained a minor aspect of American Protestant life if it had not been for the ‘Jesus movement’ of the early 1970s”.³³

Additional support for the Jesus People movement’s lasting influence was provided by the University of Southern California Religion professor Donald E. Miller in his 1997 examination of burgeoning ‘New Paradigm’ evangelical churches, *Re-Inventing American Protestantism*. All three of the “denominations” Miller explored--Calvary Chapel, the Vineyard Fellowship and Hope Chapel--have their roots either in the Jesus People Movement or in the worship styles and music which it brought forth.³⁴ An additional boost has come in the form of hard-boiled primary research by Canadian David Di Sabatino in a master’s thesis on the movement and an annotated bibliography of the Jesus People movement, which appeared in 1999 as part of Greenwood Publishing’s *Bibliographies and Indexes in Religious Studies* series.³⁵ And, in his 2003 volume *American Jesus* which examines eight very different perceptions of Jesus Christ which Americans have created through the years, Stephen Prothero gave the Jesus People wide play in the creation of a “Superstar Jesus”.³⁶

Despite a small rise in scholarly recognition of the Jesus People movement during the 1990s, the ‘Jesus Revolution’ had hardly earned a stock position in histories of American religion and culture. Published almost concurrently with Prothero’s *American Jesus*, the eminent historian Richard Wightman Fox’s *Jesus in America* mentioned the Jesus People only in passing in a short section on the rock opera and film *Jesus Christ Superstar*.³⁷ And three major studies of America in the 1970s published between 1990 and 2001 while recognising that evangelical religion was growing in strength, failed even to mention the Jesus movement at all.³⁸

This dissertation argues that the recent overall scholarly movement toward a reappraisal of the importance of the Jesus People movement is on the right track.

Indeed, the time is ripe for a new, thorough historical re-examination of the Jesus movement's genesis, development and lasting impact. A major factor in the need for a comprehensive new look at the Jesus People involves simple matters of methodology. First, nearly all of the popular and scholarly examinations of the movement were written amid the aforementioned publicity 'boom' that surrounded the Jesus People during 1971 and 1972. As a result, almost nothing at all has been written about the subsequent history of the Jesus People Movement after that early flash point until its disappearance in the late '70s. This study will attempt to fill in these 'lost years' of the Jesus Movement and the numerous developments which took place beyond the pale of public and academic curiosity. Second, media and scholarly attention surrounding the Jesus People in the early 1970s was nearly wholly centred upon the movement in California. Although that state was certainly an early, and visible, Jesus People hotbed, the resultant 'Californiasation' of the literature produced by 1971's lemming-like stampede of reporters and scholars has obscured the widespread nature of the movement. The Jesus People were a national phenomenon and, if anything, became much more of a national reality even as the American media and academy lost interest in, and ignored, them.

To bring to light the post-publicity and non-Californian aspect of the movement, this dissertation has made an attempt to grapple with three major sources which have been largely untapped down to this point. First, the prolific written sources produced by the Jesus People in the years following the publicity and research heyday of 1971 have been consulted, in particular editions of dozens of underground Jesus People 'street papers' from all across the country. Second--an obvious source--are interviews with a number of figures associated with the movement--including many from outside California--who provide retrospective insight into the long-term spread, development

and demise of the Jesus People.³⁹ A third source is the written answers to a survey about involvement in the Jesus movement which was on the internet from late 1997 to April 2004. All in all, over 800 individuals--representing the far-flung, rank and file, grass roots of the movement--provided their answers and reminiscences of those years, and in several cases responded to follow-up inquiries and/or interviews.

While issues of longitudinal historic perspective and untapped primary sources are certainly enough cause to trigger many an academic treatise, in the case of the Jesus People movement they provide only a portion of the rationale for this dissertation. In fact, this study argues that an examination of the Jesus People movement in terms of its full complexity, duration and impact reveals it to be one of the most significant American religious phenomena of the post-war period. Much scholarship and subsequent ink has been expended both journalistically and scholastically in recent years observing and explaining the dramatic resurgence and activism of evangelical Christianity in the United States since the 1970s. However, except for the very few instances noted above, there has been almost no perception of--or attempt to explain--the important role which the Jesus People played in this evangelical renaissance. This dissertation contends that one cannot begin to understand the resurgence of evangelicalism during the late 20th and early 21st centuries without taking into account the crucial way in which the Jesus People movement shaped the development and direction of the larger American evangelical subculture.

One of the basic impacts of the Jesus People movement was the significant role that it played in changing the nature of the evangelical subculture's interaction with the increasingly important dynamic of youth culture. The Jesus People were, in fact, the crowning culmination of a trend that had begun as far back as the 1920s and 1930s and issued forth in the Youth for Christ movement during World War II. The desire to

incorporate the counter-cultural Jesus People themselves, and the acceptance (often grudging) of the movement's taste for hippie fashions, music and ambience in many ways constituted a wholesale acceptance that it was alright for evangelical kids to occupy their own cultural space distinct from their older evangelical brethren. In fact, the Jesus People movement marked the first instance in which American evangelical youth were given the 'go-ahead' to replicate the larger youth culture (later--youth cultures) albeit with proper evangelical respect for moral probity. This strategy of accommodation to the now diverse set of youth cultures has since become an assumed part of the evangelical landscape both in the United States and, increasingly, in other areas of the globe where American evangelical styles and methodology are influential.

Closely related to the matter of youth culture was the manner in which the Jesus People impacted the evangelical relationship to popular culture. The enthusiasm they showed for buttons, bumper stickers, Bible covers, posters, crosses and other 'Jesus Junque'--leading to the explosion Colleen McDannell has noted in the Christian bookstore 'industry'--was but one aspect of the Jesus People's friendliness toward popular culture. Part and parcel of the Baby Boom television-immersed generation, the Jesus People moved and breathed within the surrounding popular culture like fish in water. As a natural matter of course they incorporated their pop culture sensibilities into their religious life, in the process constituting the leading edge of what has proven to be a generational mortal blow to traditional evangelical abstention from the realm of 'worldly entertainments'.

This pop culture-friendly aspect of the Jesus People movement had tremendous implications for the role of music within the evangelical subculture. First, the Jesus People's enthusiasm for rock music-based idioms naturally issued forth in the emergence of 'Jesus Rock' and in so doing marked the beginnings of what would

eventually become the 'Contemporary Christian Music' industry. 'CCM' has become a major component of the financial underpinnings of American evangelicalism's mass media and bookstore infrastructure, as well as a significant aspect of everyday life and devotion in the evangelical subculture, spawning radio station formats, summer festivals, websites and the like.⁴⁰

But the emergence of CCM is just part of a larger musical impact of the Jesus People movement. While straight-up, up-tempo rock music is still largely relegated to the realm of sanctified evangelical entertainment, the Jesus People's taste for folk-based, simple melodies and scriptural passages in their corporate worship has had a profound impact upon the worship life of American evangelical congregational life. Influenced by the secular folk scene and the development of up-beat folk masses and youth musicals in the '60s, the minstrels of the Jesus People movement--through such outlets as Maranatha! Music--were major architects of the genre of music that has become known simply as 'Praise Music'. The object of scorn for many traditionalists and church music professionals, the popularity of 'Praise Music' has in turn become the focus of the infamous 'Worship Wars' which have embroiled thousands of American Protestant congregations since the 1980s.⁴¹

The rise of these new styles of evangelical music and the manner in which they are easily accessible to anyone familiar with the larger popular culture, bespeaks another way in which the Jesus People movement has impacted American evangelicalism: the rise of the 'Seeker-Sensitive' 'megachurch'. Two of the dominant prototypes for the megachurch model--the original Calvary Chapel in Costa Mesa, California, and Willow Creek Community Church in South Barrington, Illinois--both trace their roots (albeit very differently) to the Jesus People movement. Both churches have become influential models and planters--via the Calvary Chapel network and its

stepchild the Vineyard Movement and its close cousin Hope Chapel on the one hand, and the Willow Creek Association on the other--of similarly-styled churches. The casual, come-as-you-are informality and attachment to up-tempo, contemporary music and pop culture which they have helped make the staple of this dynamic new ecclesiastical form comes as a direct result of their natal influence in the Jesus People movement.

Yet the largest influence of the "Jesus Revolution" was more comprehensive, a sum greater than the total of its parts. It provided a means whereby many American youth linked their personal allegiance and fortunes to the evangelical vision of the Christian life. Certainly, tens of thousands of youth from outside evangelical ranks found the Jesus movement to be a congenial entry point into the larger subculture. Perhaps more importantly, however, was the fact that arguably, millions of evangelical youth were, thanks to the Jesus movement, able to negotiate a truce between the competing demands and allegiances of their own family religious heritage and the allure of the larger youth culture. Strangely, this was forecast as one possible outcome of the movement in 1973 by none other than Robert Ellwood when he wrote:

The greatest long-term impact of the movement may be in that it held a generation of young people of evangelical background to their churches The fact that the movement has at least made evangelicalism seem in vogue and a live alternative in even the most sophisticated campus and entertainment-industry circles is doing much to counter the usual drift of better-educated youth from evangelical and pentecostal [sic] to middle-of-the- road or liberal churches. This helps insure that evangelicalism will continue to be a major force in American spirituality for the remainder of the century.⁴²

It is arguable that while the literature on recent American religious history missed the fact, Ellwood's earlier forecast, in fact, got it right back in 1973: the Jesus People movement was central to the generational loyalty of a large segment of the evangelical Baby Boom generation. No army can move forward without troops, and the seismic

cultural change of the 1960s threatened to winnow the ranks of upcoming evangelical youth. The Jesus People movement, however, was a key episode in forestalling that potential thinning of the ranks. Indeed, the much-discussed resurgence of evangelicalism which became readily apparent by the 1980s produced a renewed evangelical social, cultural and political (political, because it has been a larger, and more varied response than the myopic fixation on the 'Religious Right') involvement probably could not have occurred had the Jesus People movement not taken place.

The case for this analysis of the Jesus Revolution will be made in the pages that follow. Chapter Two, "Prologue to the Jesus Freaks: Postwar Evangelical Youth Movements and American Youth Culture, 1945-1965," will set the stage for understanding the contrast that the Jesus People represented by examining the evangelical subculture's relationship to its youth and youth and popular cultures. Chapter Three, "'God Knocked Me Off My Metaphysical Ass': The Rise of the Counterculture and the Emergence of the First 'Jesus Freaks' in San Francisco", will look at the countercultural background and the beginnings of the first significant outcroppings of the movement in San Francisco--the epicentre of the hippie counterculture. Chapter Four, "'...And Your Sons and Your Daughters Shall Prophesy:' The Establishment of a Jesus People *Movement*, 1968-1969", will examine major characteristics and beliefs of these countercultural Christians and look at the growth of the first Jesus People 'scene' in Southern California.

Chapter Five, "It Only Takes a Spark: The Jesus Movement Moves Into the National Spotlight, 1971" discusses the growth of the movement outside California and the varied factors and causes that finally led to the 'discovery' of the Jesus People and the huge publicity blitz that followed. This chapter marks something of a major shift in the focus of the text as well, because it is out of this tremendous publicity that the Jesus

movement moved into the evangelical mainstream as many evangelical youth identified with the Jesus People. The story is continued in Chapter Six, “The Jesus Kids: The Jesus People Movement Shifts from the Counterculture to American Evangelical Youth Culture, 1971-1974”. Here the focus will be on the spread of the movement all across the country and the role it played as a teenage evangelical youth subculture. Central to this angle will be a look at the flood of Jesus People books and merchandise which poured forth from evangelical publishers and entrepreneurs, and the ultimate attempt to capitalize upon--and symbolize the evangelical capture of--the Jesus People movement: Campus Crusade for Christ’s mass training conference, “EXPLO ‘72”. Chapter Seven, “Sweet, Sweet Song of Salvation: Music and the Jesus People Movement”, is an extended examination of the central role that music played within the Jesus movement. Tracing the advent of ‘Jesus Rock’ from its beginnings among coffeehouse troubadours and evangelistic garage bands through its gradual commercialisation and the advent of record labels, booking agencies and ‘Jesus Festivals’, the chapter will demonstrate how music was the lingua franca of the movement.

Chapter Eight, ‘I Wish We’d All Been Ready: The Jesus People Fade from View’ is a look at the movement as it began to wane and the factors behind its gradual dissolution. A major facet of this story will be how evangelical teens began to opt for more varied cultural expressions of ‘being’ evangelical youth and the way in which several major ‘outposts’ and organizations either closed their doors or evolved ‘out’ of the movement. Finally, Chapter Nine, “God’s Forever Family: The Long-Term Impact of the Jesus People Movement”, will take stock of the various ways in which the movement continued to influence both the evangelical and American cultures--long after the last ‘One Way’ buttons had been tucked away in their owners’ dresser drawers.

In his epic tome *A Religious History of the American People* --published during the very height of the Jesus Movement in 1972--historian Sydney Ahlstrom diligently tucked the Jesus People into a long, last-minute, discursive footnote near the end of the book in a chapter entitled "The Turbulent Sixties". Amid his recounting of the sensationalism, radicalism and strife of that period, he cast the Jesus People as something of a breath of youthful fresh air for both those in their generation and their older contemporaries in evangelical churches. But Ahlstrom, seasoned historian that he was, knew that it was folly to attempt to forecast their ultimate historical impact:

... their long-term significance cannot be known. Whether they should be considered in a footnote (as here) is a question which only the future will answer. To grim, tormented times they brought the blessings of joy and love; but there is no apparent reason for seeing them as an exception to the larger generalizations attempted in this chapter. Yet surprises are the stuff of history.⁴³

The upshot of this dissertation is to show that the Jesus People--neglected and dismissed by scholars of recent American religion--did indeed turn out to be one of those fascinating surprises that are the stuff of history.

Endnotes

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1. "The New Rebel Cry: Jesus Is Coming!" *Time* (21 June 1971): 56-63; quotes found on p. 56.
 2. Martin E. Marty, *Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1984), p. 469; see also "Top '71 Religious News--World Revival", *Christianity Today* (1 January 1971), pp. 26-27; and "Religion in Review, 1971", *Moody Monthly* (February 1972), p. 8.
 3. For practical purposes it would be imprudent to list all of them here. See David DiSabatino, *The Jesus People Movement: An Annotated Bibliography and General Resource. Bibliographies and Indexes in Religious Studies*, No. 49, G.E. Gorman, Advisory Editor (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, 1999), chapter 2, "Historical Resources" (pp. 24-80) for the books published by, on or related to the Jesus movement in 1971 and 1972.
 4. *The Religious Reawakening in America* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. News & World Report, 1972), p. 26.
 5. For insight into the way which the hope for a national revival played into the very warp and woof of the postwar evangelical movement, see Joel Carpenter's excellent history *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).
 6. Billy Graham, *The Jesus Generation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1971), pp. 11, 21-22.

7. Lowell Streiker, *The Jesus Trip: Advent of the Jesus Freaks* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1971); 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: Eerdmans Publishing, 1972); Jorling Erstad, *That New Time Religion* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing, 1972); Robert S. Ellwood, Sr., *One Way: The Jesus Movement and Its Meaning* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973); James T. Richardson, Mary White Stewart, and Robert B. Simmonds, *Organized Miracles: A Study of a Contemporary Youth, Communal, Fundamentalist Organization* (Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1979).

8. Richardson, Stewart and Simmonds earned their professional anthropological spurs in their work on the Jesus People and became something of a cottage industry in the '70s. Their study of the Shiloh commune was a commendable example of long-term social scientific research. When research began in 1971 for the project that would eventually become *Organized Miracles*, Richardson was a young professor and Simmonds and Mary White Harder (who by 1979 after a divorce and remarriage had become Mary White Stewart) were doctoral students. Over the years the trio published a number of articles together in journals including "Jesus People" *Psychology Today* (December 1972), pp. 45-50, 110-113; "Thought Reform and the Jesus Movement," *Youth and Society* 4 (December 1972), pp. 184-202; "Life Style: Courtship, Marriage and Family in a Changing Jesus Movement Organization", *International Review of Modern Sociology* 6 (Spring 1976), pp. 155-172; "A Jesus Movement Group: An Adjective Check List Assessment" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* (December 1976), pp. 323-337; "Researching a Fundamentalist Commune", in Jacob Needleman and George Baker, eds., in *Understanding the New Religions* (New York: Seabury Press, 1978), pp. 235-251; as well as a number of individual articles (see DiSabatino, *The Jesus People Movement*, pp. 83-90 for a comprehensive listing) and Harder/Stewart's and Simmonds' dissertations. It is an interesting reflection of the waning of the Jesus People movement--both in terms of public consciousness and later, in actual reality--that by 1978 (in Needleman and Baker, eds., above) and 1979 (*Organized Miracles*) the trio felt it necessary to discard use of the descriptive term "Jesus People" in favour of calling Shiloh a "Fundamentalist Commune" and a "Contemporary, Youth, Communal, Fundamentalist Organization", respectively. By the late 1970s "Jesus People" in a social science title would have seemed to imply that its topic was, indeed, yesterday's news.

9. Streiker, *The Jesus Trip*, p.19; Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, p. 7.

10. Streiker, *The Jesus Trip*, p. 89.

11. Enroth, Erickson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, pp. 136-150; Ellwood, *One Way*, pp. 134-135.

12. Enroth, Ericksen, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, pp. 136-150; quote on p. 149.

13. Ellwood, *One Way*, p. x.

14. Ronald Enroth, "Where Have All the Jesus People Gone?" *Eternity* (October 1973), pp. 14-17, 28.

15. Robert T. Handy, *A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 422. It was telling that Handy mentioned the movement in the same breath with student radicals and those who followed Eastern religions.

16. William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America*, Chicago History of American Religion Series, Martin E. Marty, ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), pp. 6-7, 210-211; quote on p. 210.

17. Peter W. Williams, *Popular Religion in America: Symbolic Change and the Modernization Process in Historical Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: 1980), p. 217.

18. Marty, *Pilgrims in Their Own Land*, pp. 467-469; quote on p. 469.

19. While these groups were certainly growing in the period from the mid-70s to the mid-80s, Marty is simply mistaken in characterizing them as somehow having captured a special defining role within evangelical youth culture. On a continually-upward trajectory since the early 1950s, these largely

campus-based ministries had achieved status as a bulwark of the evangelical parachurch and all the attendant consciousness and financial clout that status brought.

20. It should be noted that two excellent books written by sociologists appeared in the 1980s that, in part, treated local survivals of the Jesus People movement in Northern California (See Steven M. Tipton, *Getting Saved From the Sixties: Moral Meaning in Conversion and Cultural Change* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982] and R. Stephen Warner, *New Wine in Old Wineskins: Evangelicals and Liberals in a Small-Town Church* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988]). Neither volume, however, presented a new conception of the importance of the movement in the larger scheme of American evangelicalism and culture.

21. Robert Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion: Society and Faith Since World War II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

22. Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992). One might suspect that if there was anywhere where the memory of the Jesus People was remembered it would be within evangelical academic circles. One major exception to evangelical historical amnesia about the Jesus People was Richard F. Lovelace, a professor of theology and church history at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary in Massachusetts. Writing in 1979 shortly after the movement had disappeared, Lovelace, who had first-hand knowledge of the large percentage of his seminary students who had come out of the ranks of the Jesus People, believed the movement had been the leading edge of a genuine spiritual awakening along the lines of earlier, more-studied and revered revivals (see his *Dynamics of Spiritual Life: An Evangelical Theology of Renewal* [Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity Press, 1979], pp. 28-32, 54-55, 203-204; Lovelace still confirmed this point of view ten years later in a personal conversation I had with him during a visit to Wheaton College ca. April 1989). But, in recent years, it is only within Pentecostal and charismatic circles that there has been even a glimmer of a memory of the movement's impact (for example see, Howard K. Pousson, *Spreading the Flame: Charismatic Churches and Missions Today* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992], pp. 27, 41; Richard M. Riss, *A Survey of 20th-Century Revival Movements in North America* [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1988], pp. 148-153; and Vinson Synan, *The Century of the Holy Spirit* [Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2001], pp. 378-379).

23. See Ellwood, *One Way*, pp. 11-15, 18-20, 35-37, 132-136.

24. Ellwood, *The 60s Spiritual Awakening*, p. 318.

25. Robert S. Ellwood, *The Sixties Spiritual Awakening: American Religion Moving From Modern to Postmodern* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994). Quote found on p. 287; "counterpoint" section on evangelicalism, pp. 286-288.

26. Not that those people, in the form of the 'Religious Right', have not come in for a great deal of scrutiny--after the late 1970s--as those people in the South and Midwest posed a political and cultural challenge to the dominant, elite establishment and its largely secular stance. However, one suspects that journalistic and academic interest in the evangelical allegiances of America's 'Silent Majority' in 'Flyover Country' (i.e. between the two coasts) would be inconsequential if there was no perception of a political threat emanating from this segment of society.

27. Jonathan Edwards, "The State of Religion at Northampton in the County of Hampshire, About a Hundred Miles Westward of Boston", letter to the Rev. Thomas Price of Boston, 12 December 1743, in *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, Vol. 4, *The Great Awakening*, ed. C. C. Goen (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 547; see also pp. 100-101, 114, 147-148 of this volume for similar Edwardsian quotes on the revivals' impact upon local adolescents. Actually, the role of youth in the initial rumblings of the First Great Awakening has attracted some serious attention from scholars--an attention which makes the relative inattention to such matters in the historiography of following periods all the more curious by its absence. See for example, Philip J. Greven, "Youth, Maturity and Religious Conversion: A Note On the Age of Converts in Andover, Massachusetts, 1711-1749", *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 108 (April 1972): 119-134; Stephen R. Grossbart, "Seeking the Divine Favor: Conversion and Church Admission in Eastern Connecticut, 1711-1832", *William & Mary Quarterly*, 46 (October 1989):

696-740; and Glenn Wallach, *Obedient Sons: The Discourse of Youth and Generations in American Culture, 1630-1860* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), pp. 40-46.

28. Fortunately, there seem to be signs that this situation is changing within the realm of historical analyses of 20th-century American religion. See for example, the recent dissertation by Thomas A. Bergler, "Winning America: Christian Youth Groups and the Middle-Class Culture of Crisis, 1930-1965" (Ph.D: University of Notre Dame, 2001) and the work of Jon Pahl (Valparaiso University and now Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia) in *Hopes and Dreams of All: The International Walther League and Lutheran Youth in American Culture, 1893-1993* (Chicago: Wheat Ridge Ministries, 1993); and *Youth Ministry in Modern America: 1930 to the Present* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2000).

29. Nick Bromell, *Tomorrow Never Knows: Rock and Psychedelics in the 1960s*, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2000), p. 24.

30. Ibid., pp. 24-25.

31. Terry H. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties: Protest in America From Greensboro to Wounded Knee* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 267-269, 381-383; quote on p. 383.

32. Wade Clark Roof, *A Generation of Seekers: The Spiritual Journeys of the Baby Boom Generation* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1993), p. 104.

33. Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), see pp. 247-256 for the Jesus People's role in changing the Christian bookstore industry in the 1970s; quotes on p. 247.

34. Donald E. Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism: Christianity in the New Millennium* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

35. David Di Sabatino, "The Jesus People Movement: Counterculture Revival and Evangelical Renewal", M.T.S. thesis, McMaster Divinity School, 1994; DiSabatino, *The Jesus People Movement*.

36. Stephen Prothero, *American Jesus: How the Son of God Became a National Icon* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003).

37. Richard Wightman Fox, *Jesus in America: Personal Savior, Cultural Hero, National Obsession* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2004); see p. 378 for the passing mention to the Jesus People.

38. See Peter N. Carroll, *It Seemed Like Nothing Happened: America in the 1970s* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990); David Frum, *How We Got Here: The 70's: The Decade That Brought You Modern Life—For Better or Worse* (New York: Basic Books, 2000); Bruce J. Schulman, *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2002)—see pp. 92-96 for a discussion of the '70's evangelical revival which addresses such topics as the rise of Contemporary Christian Music and the proliferation of Christian bumper stickers, t-shirts and posters without a mention of the Jesus People.

39. Oral histories and interviews have played an important part in the research for this project. Obviously, the opportunity to interview people who were directly involved in, or who observed, historical events and eras is a great boon to the historian. It is certainly a major advantage (and counterbalance) for those of us who are researching "recent events" over against scholars trying to reconstruct—for example's sake—9th-century Byzantine history. Even so, it is a resource which is not without limitations: "participant-observers" possess their own individual perspectives and biases; they have a sometimes limited grasp of the larger picture; and they have often developed a long-rehearsed and oft-repeated narrative regarding their particular experience. Add to this the all-too human universal experience of failing and blurred memory and it becomes clear that oral histories are hardly a fool-proof source. With these potential pitfalls in mind, I have made every attempt to be judicious in my use of interviews, cross-checking general impressions and particular facts with print sources, as well as against other interviews

and the overall knowledge I have gained of the larger topic. I believe the end result of this process has made for a more balanced and accurate understanding of the Jesus People movement.

40. Lorraine Ali, "The Glorious Rise of Christian Pop", *Newsweek* (16 July 2001), p. 41.

41. The 'Worship Wars' are well laid-out from the traditionalist point of view in Marva Dawn, *Reaching Out Without Dumbing Down: A Theology of Worship For the Turn-of-the-Century Culture* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 1995). A good defence of the contemporary position can be found in John Frame, *Contemporary Worship Music: A Biblical Defense* (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian & Reformed Publishing, 1997). Periodic salvoes in the conflict can be regularly tracked in the periodicals *The Hymn* (from the traditionalist bastion of the Hymn Society) and *Worship Leader Magazine* (an outgrowth of Maranatha! Music).

42. Ellwood, *One Way*, p. 135.

43. Sydney Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), n1086.

Chapter 2

Prologue to the Jesus Freaks: Postwar Evangelical Youth Movements and American Youth Culture, 1945-1965

The Jesus People movement of the late 1960s and 1970s was hardly the first interaction between American evangelicalism and modern youth culture. However, to understand why the Jesus Movement represented such a profound change in that interaction it must be viewed within the context of existing post-war evangelical relationships with youth popular culture. Building on a long--though frequently disputed--heritage of Protestant youth work, evangelicals had achieved remarkable success in the World War II era and postwar period as youth organisations such as Youth for Christ (YFC), Young Life, the Navigators and other groups played a major role in the emergence of the larger evangelical movement from the shadow of fundamentalism. With a penchant for innovative programmes and an up-to-date presentation, evangelical youth organisations struck a note that rang true with the tastes and expectations of their teenage audiences.

Importantly, the success of these evangelical youth agencies came about at a particularly strategic historic moment--amid a prosperous and optimistic postwar period that saw the explosion of an affluent, increasingly separate, youth culture even as a new 'Baby Boom' shifted the nation's demographics and priorities ever youthward. However, while Americans indulged their young and celebrated their potential, they worried about the trajectory and independence of the new teen culture, fearful of the spectre of juvenile delinquency and the power of popular culture--particularly music--to shape youthful values and behaviour. American evangelicals were among the most vocal segments in this cultural critique, moved by fears of the new changes which were reinforced by long-held evangelical taboos against 'worldly' entertainment and

behaviour. As a consequence, evangelicals sought to isolate their youth from these debilitating, 'fleshly' influences--particularly rock 'n' roll music--emanating from the outside youth culture even as they attempted to acknowledge and accommodate the existence of youth culture through the strategies of their successful new organisations and methods. This uneasy truce would form the backdrop for the new, unexpected and redefining encounter between evangelicals and youth culture which came with the development of the hippie counterculture in the mid-late-1960s and the subsequent rise of the Jesus People movement.

A Long Tradition: Evangelical Emphasis on Youth

Adolescents have been a particular target of evangelical conversion and discipleship efforts from the first revival movements which shook the English-speaking Atlantic world in the early eighteenth century. The beginnings of 'modern' youth ministries among evangelical Protestants can be traced back to the success of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) which was first imported into the United States in 1851. The 'Y' aimed at providing a wide variety of religious, recreational and educational programmes for the 'uplift' of the young men crowding into the nation's expanding urban areas, reaching its peak influence in the period between 1890 and 1920.¹ Inevitably, pastors of local churches sought to bring some of the features of the YMCA into their own local congregations. One of the most important early examples was a Young People's Association created at the Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn in 1867 by the church's pastor Dr Theodore Cuyler.² Perhaps its most significant impact was in serving as a model for church-based youth ministries to a visiting clergyman named Dr Francis E. Clark who went on to organise the Young People's Society for Christian Endeavor.³

Christian Endeavor was begun at Clark's Williston Congregational Church in Portland, Maine, in February 1881 and quickly became the template for Protestant youth work for the next fifty years. The organisation encouraged a mild emphasis on personal Bible study and prayer within a truly demanding slate of meetings and socials.

A second chapter of Christian Endeavor was begun in Massachusetts in late 1881. Thereafter, Clark's knack for promotion took over and the movement quickly spread across a number of denominations. By the late 1880s there were 7,000 local chapters of Christian Endeavor and by 1895 the organisation could attract over 56,000 young people and their adult mentors to its annual conference in Boston.⁴

Perhaps inevitably, the interdenominational efforts of Christian Endeavor became the target of suspicion and envy among denominational loyalists despite Endeavor's constant affirmation that the local church was to be the object of each society's first loyalties. Pastors and administrators in various denominations perceived certain of their tradition's emphases and distinctives as being given short shrift within Endeavor and were certain that a Methodist, or Baptist, or whatever version of the organisation would do a better job.⁵ Combined with general local efforts to reach their own young people, the late 1880s and 1890s saw the creation of a number of new denominational youth organisations among the Baptists and other denominations, and the Epworth and Walther Leagues among the Methodists and Missouri-Synod Lutherans, respectively. These new groups had a draining effect upon Christian Endeavor and the organisation slowly began to fade in the years after 1900. Nonetheless, the Christian Endeavor model set the tone for the new denominational efforts that expanded during the first decades of the twentieth century.⁶

Youth Ministry and the Fundamentalist Movement

With the exception of the idealistic burst of energy that surrounded the missionary- conscious Student Volunteer Movement around the turn of the century, models for youth work within American Protestantism followed the basic Christian Endeavor model into the 1930s. But there was a noticeable difference in the actual content of what was going on within the youth groups in many churches. Increasingly within many 'progressive' Protestant churches there was a shift towards a more broadly educational mission combined with athletics and social affairs and a move away from traditional piety. Joseph F. Kett in examining denominational literature for 'boys' work' in the early twentieth century notes that the former emphasis on conversion and prayer "virtually vanished" during that period.⁷

The observation of one Philadelphia Baptist pastor in 1925 that "you [could] take the 'C' out of the YMCA and nobody would ever notice the difference" was typical of the reaction of many conservative Protestants to these developments.⁸ For these believers, this changed emphasis in youth work was but another symptom of the larger malaise that had overtaken America's churches and which gave rise to the fundamentalist movement.⁹ By the early 1930s there were a number of fundamentalist groups which were trying to revivify the old models of Protestant youth work. In the Oakland, California, area local fundamentalists formed the East Bay Young People's Christian Fellowship.¹⁰ In the Northeast there was the Surrendered Life League created by the fundamentalist New England Fellowship, founded in 1933.¹¹

But fundamentalists were also beginning to show signs of breaking out of the templates established by older Protestant youth ministries. One different twist on this pattern was implemented by Chicago evangelist Paul Rader in the early 1930s. His World-Wide Christian Couriers were a largely youth-driven organisation that combined

the insider-jargon of a fraternal organisation, home-based Bible studies, and extravagant missionary rallies called “Tamashas” (a Hindi word meaning a ‘get-together’) at Rader’s Chicago Gospel Tabernacle.¹² While Rader’s efforts were cut short by the impact of the Depression, other more experimental fundamentalist youth programmes which revolved around rallies, recreation and radio were appearing in cities such as Philadelphia, Detroit and Washington, D.C. In New York City, there was the ‘youth center’ movement begun by Lloyd T. Bryant, youth minister at Calvary Baptist Church in New York City. Bryant began his New York Christian Youth Center in 1932, holding rallies and banquets, sponsoring retreats and occasional radio broadcasts. After fielding several queries for advice, Bryant formed an organisation called the Association of Christian Youth Movements (by the late 1930s it numbered about 40 chapters), and eventually took his ideas on the road in a series of national speaking tours in 1937 and 1938.¹³

Undoubtedly the most important of these early fundamentalist youth organisers, however, was Percy Crawford of Philadelphia. A recent graduate of Wheaton College, Crawford turned a 1930 street preaching gambit in downtown Philadelphia into a radio programme in the fall of that year. Impressed by the fact that most of those in his open-air meetings were under twenty, he decided to call his broadcast the “Young People’s Church of the Air”. What marked Crawford’s subsequent programme off as particularly ‘youthful’ was the manner in which he consciously attempted to couple his conservative theology and revivalist calls for conversion within the dominant styles of secular radio which he knew his youthful audiences appreciated. As a result, the programme moved quickly from segment to segment, featured vocal soloists, energetic instrumental versions of hymns, and even found a little room for some of Crawford’s corny jokes. When it came time for the sermon, Crawford utilized a sense of drama and

a forceful delivery which derived as much from popular radio announcers as it did from Billy Sunday. By 1940 Crawford was heard on hundreds of stations via the Mutual Broadcasting Network, had begun a youth camp in rural Pennsylvania and had established The King's College on the New Jersey coast.¹⁴ While broadcasting and his other entrepreneurial gambles would absorb most of his energy, Crawford nonetheless provided many fundamentalist pastors and evangelists with a new understanding of how to attract and cultivate a hearing from adolescents.

Rise of the Evangelical and "Youth For Christ" Movements

By the early 1940s the work of Crawford, Bryant and others had helped trigger something of a national outpouring of creative youth ministry among fundamentalists who were dissatisfied with polite, staid youth meetings and who also desired to breathe new life into the tired, shopworn conventions of revivalism. Their emergence matched a wider dissatisfaction with the contentious insularity of the fundamentalist movement. At one level this manifested itself in the form of an upcoming generation of bright, energetic young fundamentalist scholars who were graduating from prestigious doctoral programmes and who were eager to create a conservative alternative to the perceived liberal Protestant dominance of 'serious' theological and Biblical scholarship.¹⁵ At another, more formal level, the movement was reflected in new cooperative attempts to counter the influence of liberals in the national culture and media, such as the National Religious Broadcasters (NRB) and the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE).¹⁶

Taken together these twin impulses accounted for the core of a new 'evangelical' movement which was keen to engage the larger culture rather than withdraw from it, and counter--if not one day eclipse--the formal structures of the old 'mainline' Protestant establishment. It was with this evangelical movement that the temperament and philosophy of the new spirit in youth work would identify.

Surprisingly, it would be this third informal impulse--youth work--which was destined to thrust the larger evangelical movement into the headlines and into the nation's consciousness during the last year of World War II and in the postwar period.¹⁷

There was no one overarching plan, personality or organization which was responsible for the "Youth for Christ" movement which emerged during the early-to-mid 1940s. In many ways it was a response to the golden opportunity presented by millions of uprooted young servicemen roaming the nation's cities in transit to assignments, on weekend passes and on furlough. Independent of each other, Saturday night rallies sprang up in a number of cities. In New York City, a Crawford protégé named Jack Wyrzten sponsored rallies at Carnegie Hall.¹⁸ In Chicago Torrey Johnson, a young Scandinavian-American pastor who had been influenced by Rader, led the way.¹⁹ Other regular rallies were going full steam-ahead in Indianapolis, St Louis, Minneapolis, Kansas City and Toronto.²⁰

While there was initially no direct tie between any of these individuals or operations, these scattered young evangelistic entrepreneurs shared a general outlook and philosophy. First, they shared a genius for promotion and use of media--particularly radio--to attract an audience. Second, they were all keenly aware that the 'old-time religion' now not only had to compete against the allure of the dance hall and the saloon but the slick professional entertainment of radio and the movies. If their message was going to get a hearing, the new youth evangelists knew that it was going to have to earn it through a programme that could compete at a level of excellence and excitement with Hollywood and NBC. Finally, the movement's leaders knew that it was essential for them to establish a connection with their youthful audiences through methods and styles that resonated with the teenage subculture. Leaders wore flashy clothes, sported stylish haircuts, used slang and told jokes. Rallies incorporated skits,

games, snappy new arrangements of gospel hymns, and vocal and instrumental soloists that borrowed--within bounds--from the styles of popular musical artists.²¹ The end result was a fast-moving, exciting programme that immersed teenagers in an atmosphere they found both familiar and relevant, and which entertained even as it attempted to evangelise.

By 1945 the movement was beginning to be copied in a number of smaller cities across the country, fuelled by a short, inspirational 'how-to' book written by Chicago's Johnson.²² Late that spring Johnson's group made national headlines with a spectacular Memorial Day rally at Chicago's Soldier Field which attracted a crowd of over 70,000. The next issue of *Newsweek* marvelled at the combination of youthful exuberance and patriotic wartime godliness that marked the event and noted the new packaging of the "old-time religion," declaring Johnson the "religious counterpart to Frank Sinatra".²³ The conservative newspaper publishing magnate William Randolph Hearst, seeing the new movement as a counter to the possible development of left-leaning politics, also had his eyes on "Youth for Christ". Giving the movement his blessing, he promoted it with a one-day publicity blitz in which all twenty-two of Hearst's papers carried front-page stories about the national 'Youth for Christ' movement with an emphasis on its local manifestation.²⁴ As Joel Carpenter points out, Youth for Christ had given conservative Protestants their first major dose of publicity since the 1925 Scopes Trial--but this time most of it was friendly.²⁵

Sensing that this flood of publicity had opened the way to something larger, forty-two delegates from across the country gathered in July 1945 at the old Billy Sunday campground in Winona Lake, Indiana. In the discussions that followed there was a vivid sense that their "youth movement" was "carrying the ball" for national revival.²⁶ With this notion in mind, the delegates voted to merge their efforts and

formally incorporated their organisation as Youth for Christ International with the year-old National Association of Evangelicals' doctrinal platform as part of their constitution, Torrey Johnson as their president and a young pastor from Western Springs, Illinois--Billy Graham--as their first paid field representative.²⁷

Now an organisation as well as a movement, the new Youth for Christ was poised to expand. Throughout the balance of the year and into 1946 the movement exploded, reaching its peak in mid-1946 when nearly 900 separate rallies were being sponsored in different cities and regions across the country with a monthly attendance estimated at one million.²⁸ In addition to its success within the United States, YFC used the immediate postwar prestige and popularity of Americans overseas to initiate Youth for Christ meetings in Britain, France, Holland, Germany, Sweden and the Philippines. By 1947, YFC had made preaching and rally sorties into 46 foreign countries.²⁹ While the organisation continued successfully in the next few years, it also proved itself flexible and adaptive. Sensing that its rally nights had run out of steam in the early 1950s, YFC quickly changed course and moved towards a strategy based on high school Bible clubs. By 1955 there were YFC-affiliated Bible clubs in nearly 2,000 American high schools.³⁰ YFC had, at a national level, pioneered a new type of evangelical youth work.

The Postwar Evangelical Youth Initiative

While YFC--along with the ascendancy of its field rep Billy Graham--was the evangelical phenomenon of the postwar period, it was hardly the only evangelical youth organisation that blossomed during this era. Another group that emerged during World War II was Young Life, the creation of Jim Rayburn, a Presbyterian who had imbibed the strain of dispensationalism influenced by Keswick Holiness teaching taught by Lewis Sperry Chafer at Dallas Theological Seminary. Rayburn, whose famous motto

was “It’s a sin to bore a kid”, was the first to emphasize high school Bible clubs that featured a relaxed, friendly approach to evangelism and discipleship that was based on having earned “the right to be heard”. By the early ‘50s, Young Life had chapters in hundreds of schools primarily in the West and Midwest and operated a growing number of thriving wilderness camps.³¹

Another evangelical youth organisation primarily operating in the nation’s high schools was the Fellowship of Christian Athletes (FCA). FCA was organised in 1955 by Presbyterian layman Don McClanen, the basketball coach at tiny Eastern Oklahoma Agricultural & Mechanical College. McClanen envisioned a “ministry of coaches and athletes and the harnessing of heroes to reach those who idolized them for a life for the Lord”.³² With the help of baseball executive Branch Rickey (the man responsible for recruiting and sponsoring Jackie Robinson to break Major League Baseball’s infamous colour line in 1947), the organisation was able to attract a number of prominent athletes to successful rallies in Oklahoma and Colorado. By the late 1950s FCA was conducting summer camps and by the early ‘60s had established ‘huddles’ (FCA chapters) in over a thousand high school campuses across the country.³³

Less ‘kid-friendly’ than Young Life or the FCA, but more successful at reaching post-high school youth, was Dawson Trotman’s Navigators organisation. Trotman put a major emphasis on Bible memorization and discipleship courses in his programme which began as an outreach to Los Angeles area high school students in the mid-1930s but really found its niche in forging significant contacts with young servicemen (particularly Navy and Marine personnel based in Long Beach and San Diego) during the war. The organisation received a tremendous boost when Southern California-based radio evangelist Charles Fuller turned requests for spiritual advice and contact for servicemen from concerned listeners in his radio audience over to Trotman. By the

early '50s the Navigators had expanded their ministry to a number of the nation's colleges and universities.³⁴

The Navigators' success with the older adolescent age group was indicative of a growing evangelical presence on the nation's college campuses. In 1939 the British evangelical student organisation InterVarsity Christian Fellowship was imported into the U.S. from Canada and within a few months had chapters on more than twenty secular college campuses. By 1950 the organisation had just under 500 individual chapters, a magazine, campgrounds and more than 50 full-time staff.³⁵

Another, more explicitly evangelistic outreach on secular campuses was formed in the early 1950s--Campus Crusade for Christ (CCC). Campus Crusade was the brainchild of Bill Bright, a former Oklahoma candy salesman-turned-theological student at the new evangelical Fuller Seminary in Southern California. Bright began his work on the campus of the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) and reaped a great deal of publicity within evangelical circles as a revival swept the ranks of the university's student leaders and top athletes. By 1960 CCC was an established ministry with strong evangelistic outreaches on forty secular college campuses in the U.S. and missions work in South Korea and Pakistan.³⁶ By the beginning of the 1960s American evangelicals had changed the nature of Protestant youthwork with the introduction of dynamic strategies which catered more closely to the interests and activities of young people, and which targeted youth from their junior high years (11-13) on up through their time at college.

A Powerful New American Youth Culture

The striking success of evangelicals in dealing with youth in the period during and after World War II coincided with the noticeable rise of a national youth culture and occurred just as important new youth-related developments were occurring. First,

America was in the grip of a 'Baby Boom' that would reshape the nation's demographics for decades to come. What began as an expected rise in the birth rate in 1946 following the war (3.5 million, one million higher than the pre-war rate in 1940), grew into a long-term orgy of baby-making during the balance of the 1940s and through the 1950s (when births exceeded 4 million a year for most of the decade) until 1965 when birth rates began a steady decline. Overall, a total of 76.4 million children would be born in the years between 1946 and 1964--making up almost 40% of the nation's population by that year. The huge influx of children provided a built-in 'boom market' for years to come as manufacturers and providers of services for everything from diapers to bicycles to blue jeans supplied the wherewithal to sustain the nation's youngest consumers and their parents.³⁷

While the Baby Boom was good news for the country's economy, its importance loomed larger in the national future in the late 1940s because of a second factor, a noticeable change in the way adolescents related to society. By the postwar period it was clear that American young people increasingly inhabited a specialised world of their own, marked off from the concerns, preoccupations and--increasingly, the control--of their elders. This youth culture (the term itself was coined in the early 1940s by the University of Chicago sociologist Talcott Parsons³⁸) was triggered by a combination of several different factors.

The first major influence on the new youth culture was the increasingly near-universal experience of high school as a common point of reference for the nation's teenagers--in the words of one author, American culture's "last tribal experience".³⁹ In the early decades of the twentieth century high school had been an opportunity /experience that catered primarily for the needs of the middle and upper classes. However, with the passage of child labour laws, a continual weaning of much of the

population from agricultural labour and the sustained impact of the Depression, working-class teens were increasingly pushed out of the workplace.⁴⁰ Thus, while about 50% of working-class American youth attended high school in 1930, by the early 1960s that number had climbed to over 90%. The trend also cut across racial lines and by the early '60s the percentages of blacks and whites completing high school were nearly even.⁴¹ The postwar period cemented the American public high school's role as a giant incubator for youth culture as it mixed and mingled kids from across the class, racial and ethnic spectra.

A second factor influencing the development of a separate youth culture was that by the postwar period American teens had a great deal more money to spend at their discretion. In part, this reflected the nation's increased prosperity, an unprecedented economic boom which a 1954 *Life* magazine article summed up briefly, but accurately: "Never before so much for so few."⁴² While America's 140+ million people made up only 7% of the world population in 1946, they possessed over 40% of total global wealth and produced half of the world's manufactured goods. By mid-1949 per-capita income in the United States stood at \$1,450--nearly twice as high as that in "second-tier" countries such as Canada, Great Britain, Switzerland and Sweden.⁴³ All in all, American consumers experienced a 22% gain in their buying power in the years between 1946 and 1960--a figure that would jump another 38% during the following ten years.⁴⁴

Much of this newfound prosperity made its way from middle-class and above parents to their high school-age children via larger allowances and increased purchases on their behalf. American youth were also opting to supplement their income through part-time employment, reversing the decades-old trend away from adolescent employment. Studies undertaken in the mid-1950s indicated that over half of the

teenage population was in the labour force for at least part of every year.⁴⁵ The end result was a teenage population with a lot of money to spend. By 1956, according to a study by *Scholastic* magazine's Institute of Student Opinion, the typical American teen had a weekly income of \$10--about what the average family had as disposable income in the late 1930s.⁴⁶

This newfound adolescent prosperity tapped into a third factor that helped create the new youth culture--the increased attention of American businesses to teenagers' consuming habits. Before WWII the 'teen market' was perceived as consisting primarily of soft drinks, candy and chewing gum.⁴⁷ But in the postwar period observant marketers began to notice the upswing in teens' spending power and purchasing habits. Increasingly companies and ad agencies began targeting teen audiences for an ever-wider range of products including very grown-up items like clothes, makeup and on up through the consumer 'food-chain' all the way to automobiles. Advertisers not only marketed to youth, but in light of the Baby Boom's burgeoning promise began to market youth itself ("Pepsi, for those who think young") as one of its selling points.⁴⁸ By 1956 American teenagers controlled \$7 billion a year, an increase of 26% from just three years earlier.⁴⁹ By 1963, it was estimated that teenagers were spending an astonishing \$22 billion a year, much of it on products aimed specifically at them.⁵⁰

While marketers attempted to sway teens toward their products they found as the 1950s wore on that teenage culture was not amenable to being led around by its collective nose. Historian Grace Palladino argues that by the mid-1950s teens had firmly taken control of the pace and direction of the youth market and the larger youth culture.⁵¹ Likewise, historian John Patrick Diggins points out that contemporary social scientists in the postwar period came to the same basic conclusion and not just for marketing and clothing styles but for larger issues as well: ultimately it seemed, it was

“peers, not parents” that proved most influential in shaping the attitudes, values and behaviour of young American adolescents.⁵² This was most unsettling news for most of America’s older generation who were already unsure about the impact of prosperity upon their progeny.

Rebels Without a Cause?

While American parents doted on their children and looked to them as the heirs and defenders of American prosperity and power, they were not without concern about how the changing nature of American society was affecting the younger generation. Fears of overindulgence and, particularly, the spectre of ‘juvenile delinquency’ were major themes of the postwar period. An aspect of this concern had its roots in the World War II experience and the Cold War: the sway which totalitarian regimes had exercised over youth. Americans remembered the scenes of earnest Hitler Youth at Nazi torchlight parades and knew all about the key role groups like the Communist Youth played behind the Iron Curtain and feared that if the nation let down its guard something similar might arise in the U.S.⁵³ But in an era marked by vigilant anti-Communism, overt threats of this nature were unlikely to make much headway. Other, seemingly more benign, influences, however, were perceived as part of the slippery slope which might lead to something more sinister.

One area about which there were misgivings was the rise of new child-rearing techniques, fears that the indulgent new care touted by ‘experts’ like Dr Benjamin Spock and others would lead to a generation of female-dominated males, too ‘sissified’ to deal with the hard realities of the Cold War world. A related concern was the changes taking place in the nation’s classrooms. The pervasive influence of John Dewey’s ‘child-centered curriculum’ was the cause of much debate, with no less of a doubter than President Eisenhower himself. Critics argued that too much time was

being wasted on 'enrichment' activities such as assemblies and field trips. Others pointed to the introduction of remedial reading programmes as an ominous sign that Americans had slipped into illiteracy. Finally, America's college students were criticized for being frivolous philistines who ignored the life of the mind and civic concerns as they pursued an active social life and a good-paying job upon graduation.⁵⁴

However, nothing crystallized Americans' concerns over the younger generation in the postwar era more than the national furor surrounding juvenile delinquency. Fears over a generation of licentious, unsupervised, criminal youth had first appeared during World War II as parents went off to war or worked long hours in support of the war effort.⁵⁵ The Los Angeles 'zoot-suit' riots and the thuggery of urban ethnic gangs were also causes of worry during the war years.⁵⁶ However, the end of the war did little to defuse the 'jd' controversy and by the early 1950s it had again become a major topic within the national culture, reaching its peak in the years 1954 to 1956.⁵⁷

At perhaps its most basic level, all of the hand-wringing about juvenile delinquency was nothing short of a classic example of a 'moral panic'.⁵⁸ According to historian James Gilbert the furore surrounding the issue "was undoubtedly stirred up by journalistic sensationalism . . . most Americans discovered delinquency in the press".⁵⁹ One of the major players in this development was J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, who in a number of sensationalistic articles made much of a purported upswing in juvenile crime.⁶⁰ However, as Gilbert and Palladino point out, much of the increase Hoover pointed to in the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports was the product of the delinquency scare itself: closer scrutiny of teens, specific efforts to target youth crime and the accounting of minor new 'crimes' such as truancy, underage drinking, driving without a licence and curfew violations which had heretofore been non-existent or winked at by authorities.⁶¹ Nonetheless, the cumulative effect of publicity and

statements from figures like Hoover convinced the American public that the problem was real and growing. By 1955 local pressure to do something about the 'problem' would result in no fewer than 200 jd-related bills in Congress and a one year jump from \$75,000 to \$3 million dollars in Federal funding to study delinquency.⁶²

Evangelical Echoes of Youth Culture Concerns

Given their attachment to traditional American Protestant mores, their ever-present emphasis on evangelism and the need for repentance, and their general tilt toward eschatological pessimism, fears about the spread of juvenile delinquency found a particularly fertile breeding ground among the nation's evangelicals. Evangelical pulpits, periodicals and books sounded the alarm about the danger facing American youth throughout the postwar period. For many, the rising generation's apostasy and rebellion was the biggest problem facing the nation. A passage from *American Youth in Trouble!*, a 1956 book published by the evangelical publisher Fleming H. Revell, captured this sense of crisis:

We speak of the red peril and the yellow peril, dangers on the outside, when the most insidious and devastating peril lies inside [the] U.S.A. rising from the godlessness in the training of so many of our nation's youth, their lack of spiritual nourishment, their ignorance of Bible truth, the abject void of prayer in their life wealth this country has, but in moral and spiritual health it is poor . . .⁶³

Much of the blame for this sad state of affairs was traced, predictably, to rampant liberalism in America's Protestant churches.⁶⁴ But the nation's parents themselves were seen as particularly responsible for their teenagers' moral problems. A 1954 editorial in the NAE's magazine, *United Evangelical Action*, made the case:

. . what is wrong with these parents? By and large, these people have not been habitual churchgoers. If they have, they possess no real, vital Christian experience. They indulge in intoxicating liquors. They neglect their homes for social events of doubtful value. Their moral and ethical ideals are nil. They may not be immoral, but they are

definitely unmoral They do not believe in disciplining their children. These parents are modern pagans What could be more natural for a generation like this to have children who act like they do?
65

Arnold Peterson, the Protestant chaplain for the Minneapolis juvenile courts, writing in a 1948 article in the same periodical, echoed these sentiments, reflecting common evangelical wisdom about the older generation's role in juvenile delinquency:

A godless, Bible-less drunken father will produce an equally Worthless son. A cocktail-drinking, smoking, gad-about mother will produce a loose-iving and pleasure-loving daughter.⁶⁶

While evangelicals' 'environmental' explanations for the origins of juvenile delinquency were at odds with an emerging school of elite thought which tended to look to poverty and its attendant pathologies as the seedbed of delinquency,⁶⁷ their line of reasoning was not far removed from the analysis of much of the contemporary American mainstream. Lackadaisical parents, permissive schools, lack of religious education and even fear of the atomic bomb were all commonly cited as the roots of delinquency in much of the postwar analysis of the problem.⁶⁸ Evangelicals, for their part were concerned that these sorts of factors were good cause to fear the spread of juvenile delinquency.

Concerns Over the Influence of Media and Popular Culture On Youth

There was another frequently bandied-about 'environmental' dimension of postwar analysis of the 'youth question' which resonated with larger evangelical themes: a widespread suspicion about the influence of the media and popular culture on the nation's teenagers. Many concerned older Americans pointed the finger at the media as the Trojan Horse for juvenile delinquency. According to Gilbert, "a disturbing and often repeated idea" that kept appearing in research and testimony for Senator Estes Kefauver's mid-1950s committee on juvenile delinquency was the notion

that various forms of media had displaced parents and other authority figures as the new source of values for American youth:

... [the] message was simple: the mass media stood between parent and child. Consequently, parents could no longer impress their value systems on children who were influenced as much by a new peer culture spread by comic books, radio, movies and television, as by their elders Here was a theory to explain the sudden postwar burst of delinquency and youthful viciousness.⁶⁹

As Gilbert points out, such concerns were hardly new in American culture--jazz, film and radio had received much of the blame back during the 1920s tempest over 'Flaming Youth' and, earlier in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries dime novels and other recreations had been blamed for luring youth to ill-spent lives.⁷⁰ The controversy over the media's role in juvenile delinquency during the postwar era, however, made those earlier furores pale in comparison.

Movies were an area of particular concern. Between the advent of television and teens' new affluence, adolescents emerged as the largest portion of a dwindling movie audience in the postwar era.⁷¹ Not surprisingly, the film industry began to respond by creating more and more movies--from *Tammy and the Bachelor* to *I Was a Teenage Werewolf*-- that catered for that segment of the market. Obviously, the size and increasing wealth, independence and complexity of America's teenage population made it extremely hard to determine just where the line was drawn between a youth culture that was being influenced by movies, and one that was 'creating' its own movies via their own tastes, preferences and buying power. What especially offended parents and other guardians of the public order, however, was the fact that characters and behaviour which they associated with juvenile delinquency were not only being portrayed in many of these films, but being depicted with seeming sympathy while parents and other authority figures came off as materialistic, self-absorbed, inflexible and small-minded.

Films like *The Wild Ones* (1953) starring Marlon Brando as the leader of a motorcycle gang (“What are you rebelling against?” asks a female “townie” in the film, to which Brando famously responded “Whaddya got?”), and *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955) starring the misunderstood, leather-jacketed James Dean (himself killed in a sports car accident soon thereafter) proved enormously popular with adolescent audiences and undoubtedly inspired thousands upon thousands of miniature Brandos and, particularly, Deans.⁷² For many American adults these media-inspired ‘role models’ were little more than a short course in juvenile delinquency.

Evangelical Misgivings About Popular Media

Evangelicals were all-too eager to join the attack on popular culture and media as a likely culprit in the downfall of postwar youth. Comic books, movies and even television came in for criticism. A virulent opposition to ‘amusements’ of almost any sort--alcohol, tobacco (in some parts of the United States), gambling, the theatre, dancing--had long been one of the more salient features of evangelical religion going back into the eighteenth century.⁷³ For both fundamentalists and their now disaffected evangelical brethren in mid-century America the odour of brimstone still clung to most any aspect of these long-held taboos, and keeping oneself free from these vices made for an important boundary marker which set the faithful apart from the ‘world’.⁷⁴ For evangelicals the larger cultural concern about the effect of popular media’s impact on teens presented an opportunity to preach both to the national postwar culture and to themselves about the dangers inherent in such things.

One of the major objects of broad parental alarm in the early and mid 1950s was the content and marketing of the increasingly ubiquitous comic book.⁷⁵ Evangelicals shared this concern. In a December 1952 editorial *United Evangelical Action* lamented the rise of “horror books” and “hot love comics” which were sold to “small fry” who

were “lapping up sin with goggle-eyed intensity. . . . O for a Carrie Nation with a hatchet and a broom!”⁷⁶ The protection of young minds was the major consideration as evangelical leaders backed national and local politicians’ attempts to investigate and regulate the comic book industry.⁷⁷

As with comic books, evangelicals viewed young people as being in particular danger from the pernicious values and behaviour promoted at the local bijou. First of all, it was clear, as one pastor wrote in the mid-1950s, that “Hollywood picture shows” featured “wicked and lewd actors” and were “made by unconverted, wicked people for the purpose of making money one who attends the movies is putting his money behind a vile business”.⁷⁸ By logical extension, attendance at secular movies was viewed as a major threat to Christian character because of the values portrayed on the screen. The viewer was inevitably conditioned “to regard a bandit as a hero, killing as a desired method to obtain a given end, lewdness and nudity as artistry . . . smoking, drinking and gambling as desired social practices, moral looseness as a fashionable custom”.⁷⁹ One denominational figure put the case bluntly in a 1947 editorial, citing movies as “one of the most effective inventions of the devil to seduce our covenant-children and drag them into the streets of this modern Sodom and Gomorrah”.⁸⁰

But while the old evangelical resistance to entertainment might have seemed little removed from attitudes of the nineteenth century, it was clear that evangelicals’ traditional pragmatism was also at work when it came to the media. This was particularly evident in the case of the new *Wunderkind* television which, strangely, never came in for anywhere near the evangelical vitriol unleashed on movie attendance.

While a few voices, such as that of theologian Edward J. Carnell, were raised against the intrusive new media,⁸¹ most evangelicals looked to the example of ‘gospel radio’ programmes as the template by which they could use the new medium to bring their

message into the nation's living rooms. As early as 1949, missionary radio pioneer, Clarence W. Jones of radio station HCJB in Quito, Ecuador, in an article in *Christian Life* magazine urged evangelicals to seize on the new medium much more quickly than they had radio. One of television's biggest attractions in Jones' eyes was the manner in which it--unlike films at the movie theatre--could be used as a closely-monitored, parent-controlled discipleship tool by Christian parents in dealing with their adolescent children:

. . . will it not help and strengthen our youth in their ability to withstand 'the world the flesh, and the devil' if parents intelligently and courageously discuss the dangerous pitfalls of sin to be avoided and thus forewarn their offspring? It is better for a father and son or daughter to work out some of these practical things before the television set at home, and pray about it there for victory, than to have the children meet the world's attractions in another home or a tavern with unsponsored groups. . . . television . . . bids enticingly for the attention of youth. Taking advantage of this natural attraction, the Church can capitalize on TV to reach this vital and clamoring -for-a-thrill audience for Christ.⁸²

Jones' article received a mixed response from readers, but subsequent developments--such as the huge amount of money and effort evangelicals would eventually pour into televangelism--was ample testimony to the fact that American evangelicals were generally comfortable with TV. More importantly, their reaction to 'the one-eyed monster' implied that evangelicals--as in their creation of 'Christian movies'--could readjust their boundaries with the world of popular culture and the media when they felt they could exercise control over its content and application.⁸³

The Peril of Rock 'n' Roll

No dimension of popular culture's sway over youth culture would be perceived as more harmful than adolescents' growing enthusiasm for the evolving musical pastiche of African-American rhythm 'n' blues, Southern white country & western and 'mainstream pop' stylings that came to be known as 'rock 'n' roll'.⁸⁴ The new music

began to emerge from obscure recording studios in the mid-1950s and quickly began to make inroads on the national record charts as youth latched onto the music's strong, danceable beat and dangerous, 'wrong side of the tracks' aura. A parade of new stars--Chuck Berry, Jerry Lee Lewis, Fats Domino, Carl Perkins, Buddy Holly, Little Richard and "the King," Elvis Presley--became the new musical idols of the younger generation. Fuelled by this interest in the new music, the sale of records jumped by nearly 50% during 1956, swelling to \$331 million annually.⁸⁵ By 1957 it was clear that rock 'n' roll not only dominated the music business in sales (in large part because teens made up perhaps as much as 80% of the record-buying public by the mid-1950s), but that it had become the core around which American youth culture would revolve.⁸⁶

The reaction to this new music and to its triumphal progress among the nation's youth was greeted with anything but enthusiasm by America's concerned elders. Much of the resentment surrounding the music was based in prejudice concerning the music and its performers' class, regional--and particularly--racial origins. In Alabama the leader of a White Citizens' Council in 1956 criticized rock music as "sexualistic", the "basic, heavy-beat music of Negroes" that brought out "animalism and vulgarity" as part of a plot to boost "the cause of integration".⁸⁷ A more refined, but similar, attack was made by New York-based musicologist Sigmund Spaeth who described rock 'n' roll as "a reversion to savagery". Spaeth looked down on the music's structure, content and its origins: "It is a musically illiterate blend of driving beat, monotonous elementary chord structures, and simple-minded, often sexy lyrics. Its antecedents are hillbilly music and the rhythm and blues music that used to sell almost exclusively to Negroes".⁸⁸ The public relations director for *Reader's Digest* echoed these sentiments, claiming that rock "appealed entirely to man's baser instincts" and was unalterably

linked to juvenile delinquency. In his estimation, rock 'n' roll's symbol was "the open switchblade".⁸⁹

The strong current of anti-rock 'n' roll sentiment went beyond mere opinion and manifested itself in a number of local and national attempts to curb the music's influence and impact. The 1956 news that two Chicago disc jockeys wanted to create a neighbourhood rock 'n' roll dance hall was enough to stimulate outrage from twenty-two church and Parents-Teacher Association groups and pressure from the police department to keep it from opening its doors.⁹⁰ "Rock 'n' roll riots"--usually the result of heavy-handed attempts by theatre staff and police to calm down boisterous, dancing crowds--erupted in a few cities following rock shows.⁹¹ This triggered a pervasive fear of riots which prompted adult civic and community leaders to ban all rock shows in the mid-'50s in a number of cities including Washington, D.C., Bridgeport, CT, Jersey City and Newark, NJ, and Santa Cruz and Burbank, CA.⁹²

Nor was the counterattack against rock 'n' roll strictly a matter of the influence of community groups and local government: rock music met a great deal of vigorous opposition within the 'establishment' media and recording industries themselves. Viewing the music as a fad and its performers as shoddy and unprofessional, old-line stars like Frank Sinatra (rock struck him as "lewd") and executives like Columbia Records' influential Mitch Miller dismissed or denounced rock 'n' roll as a fad or "musical baby food".⁹³ The NBC radio network sent out a promotional record to all its advertisers reassuring them of their commitment to "good music" and blasting rock 'n' rollers like Buddy Holly (whose song "Peggy Sue" they described as "mood music for stealing hubcaps") and the Coasters (labelled as "four fugitives from a hog-calling seminar").⁹⁴

Many were convinced that the ascendancy of rock 'n' roll had to be the result of some sort of money-driven conspiracy involving seedy, unscrupulous independent record companies, greedy disc jockeys and gullible teenagers. Reflecting a larger struggle for control of the recording and music publishing industries, this belief resulted in the so-called 'Payola' hearings before the Senate Subcommittee on Communications and the Special Committee on Legislative Oversight in 1959 and 1960, respectively. Cultural figures ranging from crooner Dean Martin to composer Aaron Copland and a host of other 'experts' testified that rock 'n' roll music was a threat to the arts in America and that radio disc jockeys were--in the spirit of a practice that went beyond the rise of radio into the days of Vaudeville--taking 'bribes' to play rock records. The resultant outrage issued forth in the firing of a few radio announcers as well as some reshuffling in the radio and music industries, but rock 'n' roll--like the important presence of the larger youth culture which embraced it--"was here to stay".⁹⁵

Evangelical Condemnation of Rock 'n' Roll

Evangelicals were in the forefront of rock 'n' roll's home grown American critics. They were not alone among religious voices in the choir of criticism: other Protestant and Catholic groups and individuals also registered their dismay at the new music.⁹⁶ However, it was America's evangelicals who were rock 'n' roll's most vocal opponents and who would continue the fight against rock long after most of its other religious critics had conceded its existence as a benign fact of American youth culture.⁹⁷

The onset of rock 'n' roll came at a time when evangelicalism was in as much a state of musical flux as was music in the larger culture. Beginning in the 1930s, black gospel music and Southern white gospel music were being influenced by more commercial secular styles both in terms of their musical content and their methods of

presentation and distribution.⁹⁸ In turn, these revamped Southern-based styles--'gospel' music and 'Western' style hymns--were making inroads in churches outside the South and stirring up controversy about their propriety.⁹⁹ Thus, rock 'n' roll came onto the scene at a time when evangelicals were already somewhat exercised over music in general.

Ironically, this musical ferment and controversy in the nation's evangelical churches--particularly the Pentecostal churches in the South--was the genesis of much of the cross-pollination of styles and emotional energy that created rock 'n' roll. Indeed, many of rock's earliest stars--Elvis Presley, Jerry Lee Lewis, Sam Cooke, Buddy Holly--were raised in the church and were greatly influenced by the music they heard and sang there.¹⁰⁰ However, this did not mean that the new music was acceptable; leaders, congregations--and performers--knew when lines were crossed. Thus, the young Jerry Lee Lewis--he of the "pumpin' piano"--who had been kicked out of an Assemblies of God Bible college for playing a too-energetic version of "My God is Real" in 1952, was convinced that his 1957 hit, "Whole Lotta Shakin' Goin On", was "draggin' the audience to hell" just as it had barred him from heaven.¹⁰¹

Much of the evangelical resistance to rock music centred in the tradition's long-standing animus against dancing. 'The Dance' had long been viewed by evangelicals as a gateway sin to all sorts of frivolous and licentious behaviour--drinking, swearing, smoking, gambling, immodesty, and particularly sexual impurity--which they associated with the people and places where dancing was popular.¹⁰² "Dancing has been definitely proved again and again to arouse lust and stir sex passion," wrote John R. Rice, publisher of the fundamentalist *Sword of the Lord* newspaper in 1955, "again and again people have told me how the dance led them to give up modest behavior, then led them to ruin."¹⁰³ Even if a strong Christian might be able to steel against such

temptations, the thought of being ‘a stumbling block’ to some ‘weaker brother’ or ‘weaker sister’ was inconceivable by evangelical standards. “I wonder”, counselled Wheaton College President V. Raymond Edman in 1963, “if you can really imagine the Lord Jesus taking part in the dance? I can’t.”¹⁰⁴ Indeed, such was the animus against dancing that in the years just prior to the emergence of rock ‘n’ roll, evangelical youth organisations like Youth for Christ--as well as any number of local churches--began an attempt to curb the growing popularity of prom night through the counter-sponsorship of dance-less banquets, ‘senior formals’ and ‘receptions’.¹⁰⁵

Evangelicals’ opposition to dancing made their attack on rock ‘n’ roll different from much of the criticism it received from the surrounding culture. However, they were in step with critiques of the music as vulgar, sensual and primitive--criticisms that, as noted above, often were racial in nature. Most evangelicals, particularly in the North and Midwest, were too proper and polite to push a blatantly racial attack of the music. But references to “jungle rhythms” and missionary tales of wild music and dancing at tribal rites were all too broad a signal about the implicit role of African Americans in creating and performing rock ‘n’ roll.¹⁰⁶

Overwhelmingly, evangelical youth organisations responded to the rise of rock ‘n’ roll by attempting to keep it out of their activities and to campaign against it as music that mature, truly ‘spiritual’ Christian teens would not condone. Writing in *Youth for Christ* magazine in October 1958, Marlin “Butch” Hardman, a local YFC leader, put the matter bluntly--rock music “had a decided physical effect . . . which is hardly in line with the Word of God”. It was clear that “no Christian fellow or girl who really love Rock ‘n’ Roll will be an effective witness for Christ. You cannot mix oil and water, nor can you mix a living testimony for Christ and the driving beat . . . of Rock ‘n’ Roll.”¹⁰⁷ Similarly, no more authoritative voice than Billy Graham himself

advised evangelical teens on the subject of rock 'n' roll that "anything that whips young people into a frenzy is bad If I were 17 today I'd stay as far away from it as I could."¹⁰⁸

Nonetheless, evangelical youth leaders were smart enough to realize they could not ignore what a powerful force music had become in the new youth culture. For example, the editors of *Youth for Christ* magazine attempted to fill the vacuum by steering their charges toward more "wholesome" music, coupling their attacks against rock 'n' roll with reviews of new long-playing record albums that were more appropriate for Christian youth--records by *Old-Fashioned Revival Hour* pianist Rudy Atwood and Southern gospel quartettes; a recording of the hymns of Fanny Crosby and, in one case, even gospel songs as rendered by a euphonium soloist.¹⁰⁹ Taking a cue from Dick Clark's popular "American Bandstand" television show, YFC hosted several "Platter Part[ies]" where groups of teens would gather in a home and rate albums like Ralph Carmichael's "Hymns at Sunset" ("The background and the moody style are much like Ray Coniff. Ohhh, it's dreamy...").¹¹⁰ And while the magazine attacked rock artist fan clubs and "idol worship," they were not above beating the drums for gospel artists with photo quizzes and ads for a "Young America Record Club" that pitched 'safe' music to evangelical youth.¹¹¹

However, despite the best efforts of those in charge of evangelical youth programmes, it was clear by the early 1960s that their campaign had achieved only limited success. A sizeable segment of youth from otherwise devout homes was attracted to the music, dances and activities that marked the larger American youth culture. Solidly evangelical girls took the time to write to Christian magazines protesting against their critical attitudes toward Elvis.¹¹² Evangelical parents sought help for "born-again" children who "love to dance" and aid in convincing Christian

teens who had been “listening to worldly music for quite awhile” to see the error of their ways.¹¹³ And a 1964 survey of students at a Chicago Christian High School showed that nearly half of the students admitted to being regular listeners of WLS, the Windy City’s major rock ‘n’ roll station.¹¹⁴

Conclusion

Evangelical work with youth, particularly as embodied in important organisations such as Youth for Christ and Young Life, had provided one of the most successful dimensions of the movement’s overall growth and image during the post-war era. By virtue of this involvement and success, evangelicals had proven themselves up to the task of being relevant to one of the most dynamic dimensions and trends of post-war American culture. By the early years of the 1960s evangelicals had created a more teen-friendly space for adolescents within the evangelical subculture, combining their emphasis on evangelism and discipleship with a fast-paced, upbeat atmosphere that recognized many aspects of teenagers’ new niche within American society.

However, it was clear that while the older generation of evangelicals was eager to appeal to teenagers, they were only willing to go so far in their embrace of the new youth culture when it clashed with traditional evangelical taboos. In this regard, evangelicals’ youth programmes were clearly more in step with the expectations and tastes of adults and the older generation than they were with the direction of an evolving, increasingly teen-directed, youth culture. As a result, evangelicals faced the danger of falling increasingly out-of-touch with the tastes and trends of American youth with the passage of time as these elements of teen culture--rock ‘n’ roll music, for example--became more and more an accepted part of the cultural landscape.

Endnotes

1. Winthrop S. Hudson, *Religion in America: An Historical Account of the Development of American Religious Life* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965), pp. 229, 295. See also David I. MacLeod, *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870-1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), pp. 120-121.
2. Mark Houston Senter III, "The Youth for Christ Movement as an Educational Agency and Its Impact Upon Protestant Churches: 1931-1979" (Ph.D.: Loyola University, Chicago, 1989), pp. 60-61.
3. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 858.
4. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History*, p. 858; Senter, "The Youth for Christ Movement", p. 66.
5. See for example, Myron T. Hopper, "Young People's Work in Protestant Churches in the United States", (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1941), p. 264. For an example of late 19th-century denominational (specifically, Southern Baptist) grumblings and countermeasures against "interdenominational youth work" see Philip H. Briggs, "Patterns in Southern Baptist Youth Ministry", *Baptist History and Heritage* XXVI: 4 (October 1991), pp. 4-5.
6. Senter, "The Youth for Christ Movement", pp. 81-84; for an excellent, detailed history of a prominent denominational youth organisations see Jon Pahl's account of the Missouri Synod's Walther League in *Hopes and Dreams of All: The International Walther League* (Chicago: Wheat Ridge Ministries, 1993).
7. Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America 1790 to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1977), p. 222.
8. Hillyer Straton, son of prominent New York City Baptist fundamentalist pastor, John Roach Straton quoted in Joel Carpenter, *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 162.
9. See for example the mid-1890s fulminations of proto-fundamentalist crusader James F. Brookes in his journal *The Truth* against the drift of Christian Endeavor toward an emphasis on mere "citizenship" (*The Truth or Testimony for Christ*, XXI [October 1895], pp. 522-624).
10. Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, p. 162.
11. Elizabeth Evans, *The Wright Vision: The Story of the New England Fellowship* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991), pp. 53-57.
12. Rader's World-Wide Christian Couriers combined the missionary enthusiasm of the Student Volunteer Movement with small-group neighbourhood meetings and rallies which greatly resembled those that were later put on by Youth for Christ. While the Couriers were not specifically a young people's organisation, the overwhelming majority of its constituency seems to have been among people in their teens and twenties, and Rader himself seems to have envisioned it as a movement largely aimed at youth. See for example "A Thriller: Youth to the Fore," *The Courier* (18 February 1933), p. 1 and *The Courier* (7 January 1933), p. 5, as well as Rader's novel *Big Bug* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1932). These and other materials pertaining to Rader's ministries and the World-Wide Christian Couriers may be found in Collection 38, the Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, IL.
13. Senter, "The Youth for Christ Movement" pp. 135-137; Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, pp. 162-163.
14. Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, pp. 163-164; Senter, "The Youth for Christ Movement", pp. 138-140. A triumphal biography of Crawford's career is Bob Bahr, *Man With a Vision: The Story of Percy Crawford* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1962). Crawford's papers, sermons, and many audio tapes and videotapes of his

broadcast work can be found in Collection 357, the Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, IL.

15. See George M. Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 1987) for insight into the coterie of theological scholars such as Carl F.H. Henry, Edward J. Carnell, George Ladd and others who played a major role in providing a theological and intellectual underpinning to the emerging evangelical movement in the 1940s, 1950s and beyond.

16. See Mark Ward, Sr., *Air of Salvation: The Story of Christian Broadcasting* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994), pp. 57-73 for a partisan, but accurate, account of the birth of the National Religious Broadcasters; see Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, pp. 144-160, for a good analysis of the rise of the National Association of Evangelicals.

17. Historian Thomas Bergler in his fine examination of Catholic, mainline Protestant, evangelical (YFC), and African-American youth organisations in the period between 1930 and 1965 ("Winning America: Christian Youth Groups And the Middle Class Culture of Crisis, 1930-1965" [Ph.D. dissertation: University of Notre Dame, 2000]), argues that evangelical teens of the late '40s and '50s "demanded that Youth for Christ leaders widen the Fundamentalist definition of a good Christian teenager. In exchange . . . YFC leaders promised teenagers fun, popularity, and a Christianized youth culture complete with movies and celebrities. In the process the leaders and members of Youth for Christ redrew cultural boundaries in a way that eased the transition from Fundamentalism to Evangelicalism (p. 106)." I would argue that the formation of evangelical youth organisations like YFC was more prescriptive than reactive--it was the leadership who pulled groups like YFC in the direction they were going. I would contend that the overall style and the boundaries of the 'new evangelical youth' movements in the 1940s--although surely part of an attempt to gauge the likes and dislikes of teens--were largely dictated by those who originated and controlled the organisation(s). The appeal of the Jesus People "style" which--we shall see later in this thesis--in effect later adjusted this 'bargain' in favour of the youth who were enamoured of elements of the larger popular youth culture.

18. Senter, "The Youth for Christ Movement", pp. 141-143. For 'in-house' evangelical recountings of Wyrzten's life and ministry see George Sweeting, *The Jack Wyrzten Story: The Personal Story of the Man, His Message and His Ministry* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1960) and Harry Bollback, *The House That God Built: The Jack Wyrzten "Word of Life" Story* (Schroon Lake, NY: Word of Life Fellowship, 1972).

19. Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, pp. 164-165. For Rader's influence on Johnson: Interview, Tape T1, Torrey M. Johnson Collection 285, the Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, IL.

20. James C. Hefley, *God Goes to High School* (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1970), pp. 20-21; Senter, pp. 131-132.

21. William Martin, *A Prophet With Honor: The Billy Graham Story* (New York: Wm. Morrow and Co., 1991), p. 93; Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, pp. 165-166; Hefley, *God Goes to High School*, pp. 13-27.

22. Torrey Johnson and Robert Cook, *Reaching Youth for Christ* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1944).

23. "Wanted: A Miracle of Good Weather, and the 'Youth for Christ' Rally Got It", *Newsweek* (11 June 1945), p. 84; Hefley, *God Goes to High School*, pp. 24-27.

24. "Hearst Papers Now Boost Youth For Christ Movement", *United Evangelical Action* 6:10 (2 July 1945), p. 1.

25. Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, p. 167.

26. YFC convention delegate Torrey Johnson quoted in Hefley, *God Goes to High School*, p. 26.

27. Martin, *A Prophet With Honor*, pp. 91-92; see pp. 91-105 for details on Graham's YFC period.

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28. Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, p.167.
29. Hefley, *God Goes to High School*, p. 39.
30. Ibid., pp. 47-49.
31. Emile Caillet, *Young Life* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), pp. 2-32. See also a later in-house history by Char Meredith, *It's a Sin to Bore a Kid* (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1978), and a biography written by Rayburn's son, Jim Rayburn III, *Dance, Children, Dance: The Story of Jim Rayburn Founder of Young Life* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1984).
32. Don McClanen quoted in Tony Ladd and James A. Mathisen, *Muscular Christianity: Evangelical Protestants and the Development of American Sport* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1999), p. 129.
33. Joseph Dunn, *Sharing the Victory: The Twenty Five Years of the Fellowship of Christian Athletes* (New York: Quick Fox, 1980), pp. 15-22, 117, 123; Ladd and Mathisen, *Muscular Christianity*, pp. 129-131.
34. See Betty Lee Skinner, *Daws: The Story of Dawson Trotman, Founder of the Navigators* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974) for an in-house, but detailed, biography of Dawson Trotman and the early years of the Navigators.
35. Keith & Gladys Hunt, *For Christ and the University: The Story of InterVarsity Christian Fellowship of the U.S.A./1940-1990* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1991), pp. 86-120, 392.
36. No one has yet done a full-fledged academic treatment of Bill Bright or his Campus Crusade for Christ, but there have been two good books from evangelical quarters: Richard Quebedeaux, *I Found It! The Story of Bill Bright and Campus Crusade for Christ* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979) and Michael Lewis Richardson, *Amazing Faith: The Authorized Biography of Bill Bright* (Colorado Springs: WaterBrook Press, 2000). Bill Bright, *Come Help Change Our World* (San Bernardino, CA: Here's Life Publishers, 1979 revised ed.), p. 29 for 1960 status of Campus Crusade.
37. James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 77-81.
38. Michael Brake, *Comparative Youth Culture: The Sociology of Youth Cultures and Youth Subcultures in America, Britain and Canada* (London: Routledge, 1985), p. 39.
39. Ralph Keyes, *Is There Life After High School?* (New York: Warner Books, 1976), p. 35; see also pp. 23, 29.
40. Grace Palladino, *Teenagers: An American History*, (New York: Basic Books, 1996), pp. 3-15.
41. James Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage: America's Reaction to the Juvenile Delinquent in the 1950s*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 18-19.
47. *Life* magazine quoted in David Halberstam, *The Fifties* (New York: Fawcett, 1993), p. 496.
48. Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, p. 61.
49. Mary Beth Norton, David M. Katzman, Paul D. Escott, et al., *A People and a Nation: A History of the United States, Volume II, Since 1865* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1982), p. 867.
45. Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage*, pp.19-20.
46. *Scholastic* magazine quoted in Halberstam, *The Fifties*, p. 473.
47. Palladino, *Teenagers*, p. 103.

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48. An excellent discussion of the marketing of youth, and in particular the 1960s and 1970s use of avant garde and countercultural themes by the American advertising industry can be found in Thomas Frank, *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997). See pp. 169-183 for an engaging account of the role of youth in the marketing campaigns of Pepsi-Cola.
49. Halberstam, *The Fifties*, p. 473.
50. Michael Kammen, *American Culture, American Tastes: Social Change and the 20th Century* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), p.54.
51. Palladino, *Teenagers*, pp. 156-158.
52. John Patrick Diggins, *The Proud Decades: America in War and Peace, 1941-1960*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1988), p. 202.
53. Palladino, *Teenagers*, p. 37. Even Youth for Christ, with its mass rallies and support from the likes of William Randolph Hearst, was the object of rumours about fascist tendencies; see for example "Has Youth for Christ Gone Fascist?", *Christian Century* 14(14 November 1945), pp. 1243-1244, and "Youth For Christ", *Time* (4 February 1946), pp. 46-47.
54. Diggins, *The Proud Decades*, pp. 203-205. For influential examples of the various dimensions of 1950s and early '60s criticism of American childrearing practices and the educational system see John Steinback, "Have We Gone Soft?" *New Republic* 142 (15 February 1960), pp. 11-15; Arthur E. Bestor, *Educational Wastelands: The Retreat From Learning in Our Public Schools* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1953); Rudolf Flesch, *Why Johnny Can't Read* (New York: Harper & Row, 1955); Kenneth Keniston, *The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in American Society* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1965).
55. William M. Tuttle, Jr., "*Daddy's Gone to War*": *The Second World War in the Lives of America's Children* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 70; Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage*, p. 25.
56. Maurico Mazon, *The Zoot-Suit Riots: The Psychology of Symbolic Annihilation* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984) is probably the most complete account of the riots that took place between Mexican-American 'Zoot-Suiters' and on-leave military personnel in Los Angeles in 1943. An account of the growing concern over ethnic street gangs during the war years, particularly in New York City, can be found in Eric C. Schneider, *Vampires, Dragons and Egyptian Kings: Youth Gangs in Postwar New York* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 51-77.
57. Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage*, p. 63.
58. 'Moral panic' denotes the conjunction of societal and cultural change with media publicity which singles out particular practices, items, groups or individuals as the source of grave dangers to society. The flap over juvenile delinquency in the United States certainly seems to fit this definition at a number of levels. The 'classic' treatment of this phenomenon is Stanley Cohen's 1972 book *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers* (NY: St. Martin's Press). For a more comprehensive treatment of moral panics and the frequent role of youth in them, see John Springhall, *Youth, Popular Culture and Moral Panics: Penny Gaffs to Gangsta-Rap, 1830-1996* (Houndsmill: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999).
59. Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage*, pp. 26-27.
60. See for example J. Edgar Hoover, "Wild Children", *American*, 136(July 1943), p. 40ff; "There Will Be a Post-War Crime Wave Unless--", *Rotarian*, 66(April 1945), p. 12. Hoover also touted his views on the jd phenomenon and the preventative role of religion in the pages of evangelical organs--see Hoover, "The Key to Life is God", *Youth For Christ* (February 1951), p. 9.
61. Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage*, p. 71; Palladino, *Teenagers*, p. 161.

62. Budget data contained in Benjamin Fine, *1,000,000 Delinquents* (New York: Harper & Row, 1958), p. 7; data on Congressional bills cited in Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage*, p. 66.

63. Henry Rische, *American Youth in Trouble! Common Sense and Juvenile Delinquency* (Westwood, NJ: Fleming H. Revell, 1956), p. 15.

64. See for example, "Youth and the Church", *United Evangelical Action* (1 February 1952), p. 11.

65. Editorial, "The Cause of Juvenile Delinquency", *United Evangelical Action* (15 January 1954), p. 9.

66. Arnold Peterson, "Christ is the Cure For Juvenile Delinquency", *United Evangelical Action* (1 September 1948), p. 6.

67. See for example "Why Young People 'Go Bad'" (interview with sociologists Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck), *U.S. News & World Report* 58 (26 April 1965): 56-60; Benjamin Fine, *1,000,000 Delinquents*, pp. 131-147.

68. Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage*, pp. 73-77.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

70. For example, in her 1925 book *Youth in Conflict*, (New York: Republic Publishing) Miriam Van Waters a juvenile court referee in Los Angeles, cited the role of movies in causing a boy to rob a store (p. 23). A study of boys at the Jamesburg, NY, reformatory in 1937 claimed that 38% of the boys there had picked up "their trouble-making ideas from the movies" (cited in Fine, *1,000,000 Delinquents*, p. 113). The fear that people in the media were actively out to shape the values of the American public was not, however, just a naive conspiracy mentality. John C. Burnham in his study of the "career" of various "vices" in America demonstrates that during the 1920s there was indeed a conscious attempt to portray the drinking of alcohol (at the time against the law of the land during Prohibition) as a normative, exciting experience in literature, magazines and Hollywood movies (*Bad Habits: Drinking, Smoking, Taking Drugs, Gambling, Sexual Misbehavior, and Swearing in American History* [New York: NYU Press, 1993], pp. 34-38). Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage*, pp. 3-6.

71. Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage*, pp. 174-176.

72. Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage*, pp. 178-195; Palladino, *Teenagers*, pp. 159-161.

73. See William D. Romanowski, *Pop Culture Wars: Religion and the Role of Entertainment in American Life* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1996), pp. 39-53.

74. At the level of common practice and attitudes the role of entertainment and behavioural taboos have long been a hallmark of evangelicalism in America. While many, many historical accounts deal with these issues tangentially, no one has yet to squarely tackle their grass-roots definitional power in any type of comprehensive treatment. The best book on evangelical boundaries, Jon R. Stone, *On the Boundaries of American Evangelicalism: The Postwar Evangelical Coalition* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), is almost totally concerned with formal, doctrinal and denominational boundary definitions.

75. The seminal book in the crusade against violence and overt sexuality in the comics was Frederick Wertham's influential *Seduction of the Innocent* (New York: Rinehart, 1954).

76. "Clean Them Up!", *United Evangelical Action* (1 December 1952), p. 13.

77. See for example Glenwood Blackmore, "Uncle Sam Looks at His Newsstands", *United Evangelical Action* (15 January 1953), pp. 3-4, 8; John W. Van Zwoll, "What Grand Rapids Is Doing About Its Newsstands", *United Evangelical Action* (1 March 1953), pp. 6-8.

78. John R. Rice, *Amusements for Christians* (Murfreesboro, TN: Sword of the Lord Publishers, 1955), pp. 12-13.

79. Theodore Carcich in *These Times* quoted in Rische, *American Youth in Trouble!*, pp. 21-22. Many evangelicals had little use for Hollywood even when it attempted to handle 'sacred' themes in films like *The Ten Commandments* (See for example Robert A. Cook, "What About Hollywood Movies?", *Youth For Christ Magazine* [April 1957], pp. 15-16; Rice, *Amusements for Christians*, p. 13). And although such an evangelical hero as Billy Graham was actively making 'evangelistic films' through his own "World Wide Pictures," such was the atmosphere that serious debate about the propriety of Christian utilization of film and drama *within* the church setting and for evangelism still raged in the 1950s. See for example the well thought-out essay critiquing drama and movies by A.W. Tozer, "The Menace of the Religious Movie" [ca. 1950]. Although there was some deep-seated resistance to movies in general, by the 1950s it was clear that the vast majority of evangelicals saw wholesome, uplifting films as a valuable tool for edification and evangelism within the church or tightly-managed situations. See for example Leslie Flynn, "Double Features for Christians", *Christian Life* [December 1949], pp. 18-20, 39; Ken Anderson, "The Story Behind Christian Films", *Youth For Christ* [January 1954], pp. 20-22; Rice, *Amusements for Christians*, pp. 13-15.

80. An official from the Christian Reformed Church quoted in Romanowski, *Pop Culture Wars*, p.51.

81. Edward J. Carnell, *Television, Servant or Master?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1950).

82. Clarence W. Jones, "Get a Television Set", *Christian Life* (August 1949), pp. 9-11, 43-44; quote found on pp. 10-11.

83. For example, Bergler in "Winning America" notes that the inclusion of the popular YFC "Bible quizzing" programme in the 1950s was, in part, an evangelical adaptation of the wider cultural craze for game shows such as *The \$64,000 Question* and others which provided evangelical teens with a sanctified version more suitable for their spare time pursuits (p. 121).

84. Easily the best examination of the blending of musical styles and marketing imperatives that led to the creation of the music that would come to be called 'rock 'n' roll' can be found in Philip H. Ennis, *The Seventh Stream: The Emergence of Rocknroll in American Popular Music* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1992).

85. Ennis, *The Seventh Stream*, p. 229.

86. For the predominance of teens in the record-buying audience see "R&B Best Thing That's Happened in Disk Biz in Years: Bob Theil", *Variety* 197 (23 February 1955), p. 43. James S. Coleman with John W.C. Johnstone and Kurt Jonasson, *The Adolescent Society: The Social Life of the Teenager and Its Impact on Education* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961) demonstrated that by 1957 rock 'n' roll was far and away the favourite musical choice of American teenagers (pp. 22-23). This fact was clearly borne out in the sales of music as documented in the record charts for that year. Over 95% of the #1 songs for that year would be classified as rock 'n' roll tunes performed by recording artists who were identified with that genre of music (see Whitburn, *Billboard Book of Top 40 Hits*, p. 603).

87. Linda Martin and Kerry Segrave, *Anti-Rock: The Opposition to Rock n' Roll* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1988), p. 41.

88. Spaeth quoted in Richard Schickel, "The Big Revolution in Records", *Look* (15 April 1958), p. 28.

89. Charles Pintchman quoted in Martin and Segrave, *Anti-Rock*, p. 52.

90. Martin and Segrave, *Anti-Rock*, p. 32.

91. See for example "Rock 'n Roll", *The Sword of the Lord* (13 March 1959), p. 8; Martin and Segrave, *Anti-Rock*, p. 8.

92. Palladino, *Teenagers*, p. 127; Martin and Segrave, *Anti-Rock*, pp. 27-32.

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93. Sinatra quoted in "Rock 'n Roll Keeps Rollin'" in *Who's Who in Rock 'n Roll* (New York: Frederick Fell Inc., 1958), p. 92; Miller quoted in Grace and Fred M. Hechinger, *Teen-Age Tyranny* (New York: Wm. Morrow, 1963), p. 111. Various anti-rock quotes from mainline pop figures and the guardians of American 'high culture' can be found in Martin and Segrave, *Anti-Rock*, pp. 44-47.
94. Arnold Shaw, *The Rockin' '50s* (New York: Hawthorn, 1974), p. 234.
95. Ennis, *The Seventh Stream*, pp. 259-270.
96. See Shaw, *The Rockin' '50s*, p. 235; Martin and Segrave, *Anti-Rock*, pp. 48-50.
97. For a glimpse of the deeply embedded anti-rock bias within evangelical circles that persisted on the eve of the Jesus People movement--long after the fuss about rock had died down in most other quarters of American Christianity--see Bob Larson, *Rock & Roll: The Devil's Diversion* (McCook, NE: Bob Larson, 1967). Even after the impact of the Jesus People and the arrival of CCM, secular rock was still the recipient of a lot of evangelical criticism--see Dan Peters, Steve Peters, and Char Merrill, *Why Knock Rock?* (Minneapolis: Bethany House, 1984) and Bob Smithouser and Bob Waliszewski, *Chart Watch* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House, 1998).
98. For an excellent examination of the history and development of Southern white gospel music between the 1920s and the 1950s see James R. Goff, Jr., *Close Harmony: A History of Southern Gospel* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002). For the spread of commercialism within Black gospel circles see Anthony Heilbut, "The Secularization of Black Gospel Music", in William L. Ferris and Mary L. Hart, eds., *Folk Music and Modern Sound* (Oxford, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 1982), pp. 101-115. See also Michael W. Harris, *The Rise of Gospel Blues: The Music of Thomas Andrew Dorsey in the Urban Church* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).
99. A look at evangelical magazines of the 1950s reveals that the ballyhooed 'Worship Wars' of the 1990s were hardly new--but at that time the music in question was not so much 'rock' but largely 'western' and 'hillbilly' style songs and hymns which rubbed many Northerners the wrong way. For a taste of the grass-roots controversy see the letter to the editor from Mrs. Ruth M. Jarvis of Bremen, OH, to *Eternity* magazine (September 1954, p. 2), and the response to her letter from Joann M. Work of State College, PA (*Eternity*, October 1954, p. 2). See also the indignant response of many readers of *Christian Life* magazine (January 1956, p. 6) to an article on Sunday night Southern Gospel sings in Memphis ("Rock That Gospel!", *Christian Life*, November 1955, pp. 78-79).
100. For a look at the Southern evangelical and Pentecostal roots of many of the early heroes of rock 'n' roll see Steve Turner, *Hungry For Heaven: Rock 'n' Roll & the Search for Redemption* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1988, rev. ed., 1995), pp. 17-51.
101. In a late '70s interview Lewis remarked that he had been serving Satan by being a rock singer: "How am I gonna get 'em to Heaven with 'Whole Lotta Shakin' Goin' On?' You can't serve two masters; you'll hate one an' love the other." Lewis quoted in Nick Tosches, *Hellfire* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1982), p. 245.
102. The old evangelical/fundamentalist/Pentecostal insider joke runs "Q: Why are [insert group or denomination's name of your choice here] against sexual intercourse? A: It might lead to dancing" hits pretty close to the mark in revealing the underlying fears that have motivated the traditional evangelical animus against dancing. Strangely, this is another one of those aspects of evangelical folkways that--along with evangelical cultural taboos, in general--that has not, to my knowledge, yet been specifically studied. For but one look at the reaction of evangelical youth leaders to the topic in the 1950s see Jim Smith, "Well, What About Dancing?", *Youth for Christ* (September 1957), pp. 11, 33.
103. Rice, *Amusements for Christians*, p. 19.
104. V. Raymond Edman, "Personal Problems" column, *Christian Life* (January 1963), p. 9.

105. See for example "A Senior Formal in June", *Christian Life* (May 1950), p. 69; "It's Reception Time", *Youth for Christ* (May 1954), pp. 14-15; and Paddy Hanna, "My Lesson on Matthew 6:33", *Youth for Christ* (July 1958), p. 16. In his examination of YFC in "Winning America", Bergler found worries about dancing to be the "number one problem" in evangelicals' relationship to the larger youth culture (see pp. 135-137).

106. See for example William Ward Ayer, "Jungle Madness in American Music", *Youth for Christ* (November 1956), pp. 19-21. See also Marlin "Butch" Hardman, "The Real Scoop on Rock n' Roll", *Youth For Christ* (October 1959), p. 10.

107. Marlin "Butch" Hardman, "Rock 'n' Roll: Music or Madness?", *Youth For Christ* (October 1958), p. 12. Obviously, much of the concern here was about teens--overheated by the raw, animalistic passions of rock--engaging in sexual behaviour. As Hardman hinted: "what you do *after* (emphasis his) you listen to Rock 'n' Roll is the direct result of the music itself."

108. Billy Graham, *Billy Graham Talks to Teenagers* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1960), p. 16.

109. See for example the "Platter Chatter", "TeenAge Record Club", "Mr. Music", and "Spins and Needles" columns that ran in the magazine from the late-'50s down to the mid-1960s. Specific references: *Youth For Christ Magazine* "Platter Chatter", (July 1959), p. 41; Carl "Kelly" Bihl, "TeenAge Record Club", (February 1960), p. 45; Thurlow Spurr, "Mr. Music", (April 1962), p. 33; Paul Robbins and Harold Hatcher, "Spins and Needles", (November 1963), pp. 30-31.

110. "YFC Mag Holds a Platter Party", *Youth For Christ Magazine* (October 1962), pp. 28-29.

111. For an anti-fan club article, see "Should Christians be Fan Clubbers?", *Youth for Christ Magazine* (June 1959), pp. 18-19. Ad for "Young America Record Club", (February 1962), back cover; "Do You Know These Christian Recording Artists?", (March 1963), p. 17.

112. Letter to the editor, "I'm for Elvis", *Youth for Christ* (July 1960), p. 23.

113. V. Raymond Edman, "Personal Problems" column, *Christian Life* (July 1963), p. 12; letter to the editor from Mrs. Norman Jordan, New Britain, CT, *Christian Life* (October 1964), p. 8.

114. Study cited in Janice Gosnell Franzen, "This Musical Reformer Jars Youth", *Christian Life* (August 1964), p. 25.

Chapter 3

Jesus Knocked Me Off My Metaphysical Ass: the Rise of the Counterculture, and the Emergence of the First 'Jesus Freaks' in San Francisco

The rise of the Jesus People movement in the late 1960s was the result of a unique encounter between traditional evangelical Christianity and the hippie counterculture. The counterculture had its origins in the anti-establishment, hedonistic attitudes of the '50s 'Beat' movement. Fed up with what they perceived as the sterile conformity and consumerism of middle-class life, a sizeable number of American youth would begin to 'drop out' of the 'rat race' of school and career to seek spiritual and personal fulfillment through personal and communal relationships, drugs, sex, music and esoteric spirituality. With a history of bohemian and Beat-friendly neighborhoods, the San Francisco Bay area, particularly its Haight-Ashbury district, would become the first major outpost of this developing counterculture in late 1966 and during 1967's famous 'Summer of Love'.

It was within this very first flowering of San Francisco's hippie community that the surprising emergence of an evangelical Christian strain of the counterculture began. The rise of these 'Jesus Freaks', or 'Street Christians', while unexpected, could nonetheless be explained by several important factors. First, much of the impetus of the hippie quest was distinctly religious in its motivation and concerns, be it through widespread experimentation with drugs or a seemingly ubiquitous interest in various esoteric religions and the occult. Second, there existed an embedded fascination with, and admiration of, Jesus and the First Century Church among the hippie community. Third, the counterculture carried with it an eschatological promise of peace, community and brotherhood which early on proved itself to be little more than illusion. Instead of a hippie utopia, the streets of Haight-Ashbury often proved to be a nightmare of hunger,

loneliness, bad drug ‘trips’ and predatory sexual abuse. Finally, the rise of the Jesus movement was made possible by the missionary efforts and financial support of a few ‘straight’ evangelical pastors, seminarians and timid, but ultimately affirming, congregations in the Bay Area who saw the hippies as a potential evangelistic target. Through their backing of efforts to feed, house, preach, and dialogue with countercultural youth, they connected with hippie converts who quickly ascended into leadership roles and who in turn successfully took up the task of evangelizing their peer group. As a result of this--frequently--uneasy partnership between ‘straight’ evangelicals and hippie converts, the ‘Jesus People,’ a vibrant new manifestation of conservative evangelical religion complete with many of the trappings of the counterculture, would become firmly established in the Bay Area, setting the stage for the movement’s subsequent growth and spread.

Calm Before the Storm: Early ‘60s American Youth

In late 1961 the pollsters George Gallup and Evan Hill published the results of a survey they had done on American youth in the *Saturday Evening Post*. Their research indicated that American teenagers were happy with their world, if not downright complacent. “The typical American youth shows few symptoms of frustration”, they wrote, “and is most unlikely to rebel or involve himself in crusades of any kind”.¹ In fact, the “typical” youth they had surveyed demonstrated “little spirit of adventure”; most simply wanted “a little ranch house, an inexpensive new car, a job with a large company, and a chance to watch TV each evening after the smiling children are asleep in bed”.² What concerns there were, according to Gallup and Hill, centred around the Cold War and the effectiveness of educational and religious efforts. Indeed, American youth appeared very favourably inclined towards religion: over 75% firmly believed in God and nearly two-thirds believed that the Bible was “completely true”.³

Gallup and Hill's findings were very similar to those of University of Chicago sociologist Talcott Parsons. Parsons looked at American teenagers in 1962 and found reason for encouragement in the direction of the nation's youth. "The general orientation", he said, appeared to be "an eagerness . . . to accept higher orders of respectability", and a "readiness to work within the system".⁴ Two years later he found the situation to be much the same. Indeed, he believed that youth were generally becoming more conservative and, perhaps most importantly, seemed more amenable to adult control.⁵ Parsons' sentiments were echoed in a statement by Clark Kerr, the Chancellor of the University of California at Berkeley, who opined in the early '60s that "employers will love this generation They are going to be easy to handle."⁶

In retrospect, early '60s cultural observers like Parsons and the Gallup organization would prove to be wrong in most of their observations about the direction of American youth. Fueled by an expanding roster of crises within the American cultural, social and political scene, a growing segment of young people would begin to express their dissatisfaction with the 'system' and with American values. The resultant youth 'counterculture' that arose would shake the foundations of American life in the late 1960s and would pave the way for the emergence of the Jesus People movement.

Origins of the 1960s Counterculture

The roots of the counterculture that eventually brought forth the Jesus People were varied and went deep into the American and European past. In its rejection of the harsh dimensions of the market system and a tendency to look upon technology as something that ought to be carefully monitored--if not spurned completely--the counterculture harked back to nineteenth-century critiques in the writings of William Blake, the Romantic poets, Henry David Thoreau and Walt Whitman. In their advocacy of communal lifestyles, the 'hippies' drew upon American antecedents such

as the Shakers, Brooke Farm, John Humphrey Noyes' Oneida community and Robert Owens' New Harmony communal farm. The counterculture's rebellious emphasis on youth and sensual pleasure resembled 'flaming youth' and the bohemian artistic literary and musical culture of the 1920s.⁷ And in their conscious inclination to opt out of a technologically-dominated consumer culture, the counterculture echoed the protests of inter-war thinkers like the sociologist Herbert Marcuse.⁸

However, the hippies' immediate intellectual antecedent and model was found in the post-war 'Beat' movement's profound alienation from what they perceived as a materialistic, conformist America--'Moloch' as it was dubbed by poet Allen Ginsberg.⁹ Gathering in nightclubs and coffeehouses in urban enclaves like New York City's Greenwich Village and the North Beach area of San Francisco, the 'Beatniks'--as they were eventually labelled by the press in a take-off on the Russian 'Sputnik'--were absolutely put off by the sanitized, buttoned-down, streamlined, suburban, Cold War American world of the '50s 'corporation man'. Convinced that the American government--and societal 'authorities' of all types for that matter--were part of the 'Great Lie' that could not be trusted, the Beats (led by writers such as Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac and Gary Snyder¹⁰) flaunted their estrangement from 'square' values and emphasized the search for internal meaning through an interest in non-Western spiritualities and the existential fulfillment found in the bold creative act. As if not sufficiently alienated from the mainstream, the Beats were attracted to the fringes of American society and were particularly enamoured with urban African American culture, jazz and the 'cool,' sly persona of the black 'hipster.' They further distanced themselves from traditional American values and morality by a penchant for sexual experimentation, an immoderate usage of alcohol and an infatuation with the jazz musician's drug of choice--marijuana.¹¹

As the 1960s progressed, however, some notable changes began to manifest themselves in this bohemian spirit. One of the most apparent differences was the increasingly central role of drugs--particularly, LSD--and a confidence in their ability to impart spiritual enlightenment as well as a high.¹² But, perhaps, more than anything else seemed to be the sheer size of the new 'hippie' movement and the mood that permeated its members. There was just a whole lot more company in this movement than had ever been evident in the small urban pockets of Beat, and the optimistic, near-joyous mood was strikingly different as well. Leonard Wolf, an early observer of the emerging Haight-Ashbury scene in San Francisco, best described the difference: "Hippies, then, are second-generation beats; but . . . there are differences between them . . . Beat was dark, silent, moody, lonely, sad--and its music was jazz. Hippie is bright, vivacious, ecstatic, crowd-loving, joyful--and its music is rock. Beat was the *Lonely Crowd*; hippie, the crowd tired of being lonely."¹³

One of the reasons that 'hippie' attracted a crowd as opposed to the 'Beats' solitude was a matter of generational timing. The 1950s, though beset with its own tensions and problems, was a relative sea of calm compared to the problems--many of them suppressed or simmering in the '50s--that would flare up in the following decade. The strife and disillusionment caused by the early struggle for civil rights and growing urban racial tensions; the continuing angst of the Cold War and the trauma of the Cuban missile crisis; the era's jolting plague of assassinations, and the escalating involvement and national debate over American policy in Vietnam--a war that would send nearly three million Americans to Southeast Asia between 1964 and 1972¹⁴--touched the lives of a broad base of American youth in the '60s in a way that made them question not only the innate goodness of the American government, but the validity of the 'American Dream' itself.¹⁵

For a segment of American youth these political and social trauma would lead to a search for secular, political solutions to society's problems. While this segment of '60s American youth culture, the so-called 'New Left',¹⁶ understandably attracted a great deal of attention and concern it never attracted the allegiance of anything close to a majority of American youth. The hippie counterculture in the breadth and scope of its impact had much more of a direct and long-lasting impact on American youth and the larger culture.¹⁷ This is particularly true in the case of the Jesus People movement--the lines of descent flow almost singly from the apolitical ranks of the counterculture rather than from the marching activists of the New Left.

Certainly, the boundaries between the counterculture and the radicals were permeable even if many 'straight' observers tended to collapse the two elements together in denunciations of wayward youth. There were those in 'The Movement' who eventually adopted countercultural clothing and hairstyles and who found some time within their busy rounds of meetings, rallies, and marches to dabble in drugs and promiscuous sex. And hippies, if the mood struck them, could be found at anti-war rallies--for war, greed, racism, and materialism were all 'bummers.' But overall the two camps were suspicious of each other and represented two variant responses of American youth to the tone, structure and direction of the larger American culture.¹⁸

The Hippie Ethos: Shared Values & Characteristics

At a general level, the hippie mindset was nearly as diverse as the number of individuals who made up the subculture. Underneath their eccentric exterior, however, hippies shared a wider set of values and enthusiasms which provided the movement with a true sense of commonality. These characteristics would prove surprisingly fertile soil for the growth of a hippie brand of evangelical Christianity.

The much bandied-about word 'love', so prominent in hippie language and iconography, reflected their belief in the need to be non-violent, follow the Golden Rule, and have a basically positive emotional attitude toward everyone.¹⁹ There was also a general hippie reverence for nature and a caretaker approach to the planet that would be identified as 'environmentalist' in the years that followed. Following this line of thought, they were largely against technology for the violence it did to nature and the regimentation and rigidity it imposed upon human relations.²⁰ This likewise followed suit in most hippies' general revulsion for work, at least as conceived as some form of drudgery one was committed to doing simply for its own sake. The hippie take was that doing what was necessary was both good and practical. The bad part only came when people worked at something they hated, or because they were part of a silly race to accumulate piles of material goods.²¹

All of these attitudes and values were part and parcel of the hip counterculture. However, it would not have been complete--nor would it have so shocked and outraged the older generation--without the three elements which most thoroughly dominated its attention in the pursuit of pleasure and a good time: sex, rock 'n' roll, and drugs. In many ways, these passions were what most set the movement apart from the values of 'straight' America--particularly its evangelical subculture.

A major characteristic of the counterculture was its celebration of sexuality. "If it feels good, do it" was the widely publicised hippie credo that best expressed their feelings about sexuality. As far as the hippies were concerned, sex--together with its attendant, nudity-- was good, wholesome, healthy and fun. Sex was viewed as one of the primary avenues by which the individual could get in touch with the most basic elements of the human condition and one of the premier forms of human communication.²² While it would be a 'bummer' to force someone to have sex, the idea

of restraining one's sexual impulses was even more repulsive. Hippies saw nothing shameful about sexual activity--of almost any kind--and were leading proponents of the civilisation-wide rethinking of sexual mores that took place in the West during the mid-20th-century.²³

Another integral facet of the hip counterculture was its devotion to rock music. For hippies, the advent of rock 'n' roll was a watershed in human history that mirrored 'breakthroughs' in the proper celebration of sex and human spontaneity. As John Sinclair, the manager of Detroit's radical MC5 rock band put it:

Rock and roll is the greatest liberating force of our time. Its most beautiful aspect is that it gets to millions of people every day, telling them that they can dance and sing and holler and scream and FEEL GOOD even when they have to listen to all those jive commercials and death news reports around the music...²⁴

Rock 'n' roll, hippies believed, was a vitally important component of the age that provided good times, physical release, a primal source of communication, the letting go of one's inhibitions, and a route to exorcising the demons of societal restriction.²⁵ Moreover, there was a very real sense that rock music--eclectic in the styles that gave it shape--was revolutionary in its thrust and offered a chance for overcoming the multiple barriers of race, ethnicity, class, and region which so bedevilled the 'United' States.²⁶

While sex and rock 'n' roll were key to the hippie ethos, the acceptance and advocacy of drugs was the most noticeable, underlying, pervasive characteristic of the entire counterculture. In an early survey of the 1967 hippie scene sociologist Lewis Yablonsky found that drugs were the single strongest factor binding the people in his survey sample together--over 90% had used marijuana and nearly 70% had tried LSD.²⁷

As one of Yablonsky's hippie 'guides' told him, it was not absolutely necessary to use drugs to be a hippie, but that would be similar to what it would be like to [be] a

Catholic without taking the Eucharist: “. . . it just seems to be part of it . . . Not THE whole, but part of it.”²⁸

However, to the hippies, drugs--or ‘dope’--was about more than a good time. There was a distinct spiritual dimension to hippies’ drug use. Many who took drugs, especially LSD, reported that their entire consciousness had been re-made by their experiences. Many testified to a oneness with the universe and mankind, a glimpse beyond the boundaries of normal perception, and often, some sort of encounter with, or about, God.²⁹ Indeed, one informal study found that almost 40% of respondents viewed at least part of their drug-use as religious in nature.³⁰ While others downplayed traditional religious connotations of their benefits, they nonetheless invested something of an eschatological significance in drug use, believing that cultural, economic and racial divisions could be bridged by dope.³¹

Hippie Spirituality

The high degree of religious significance invested in the hippies’ use of drugs highlighted another major aspect of the counterculture and one which had obvious relevance to the emergence of the Jesus People movement--their proclivities toward a need for enlightenment, conversion, and religion in general. Much of the talk about rejecting American materialism, ‘getting real’, and ‘turning on’ with the help of LSD and other drugs was at bottom a recognition that there was a fundamental need to gain deeper insights into one’s self, mankind and the cosmos. Helen Swick Perry, a journalist who spent nearly a year observing life among San Francisco’s hippies, noted that one of the central motifs of the hippie experience was the feeling that there was “a need for conversion, for meaningful changes in the pattern of living.”³² This was amply reflected in the words of one 27-year old hippie who described his use of drugs to Yablonsky as “turning my back away from the false life of this world”.³³

While not all hippies were overtly 'religious' or fervently committed to one particular set of beliefs, any contact with the counterculture revealed that there was an obvious religious cast to the hippie community. Like their tastes in clothing, hairstyles, and art, hippie religious tastes ran to the exotic. From the Beats they derived an appreciation for the subtleties of Zen Buddhism.³⁴ Other Eastern spiritualities and disciplines, from meditation to the writings of the I Ching, were also in vogue and it was among the hippies that the Hare Krishna movement first achieved any noticeable success. Native American spirituality with its emphasis upon nature and the land also appealed to hippies, as did the arcane complexities of astrology, numerology and various strains of witchcraft and the occult.³⁵

Although religiosity among the hippies was marked by a penchant towards the unfamiliar and the exotic, they did not entirely turn their back on the Judaeo-Christian religious heritage most had imbibed as children. In fact, Jesus and the first Christians were enormously compelling figures to the counterculture. In popular hippie mythology Jesus and his disciples with their long hair, beards, and sandals were frequently viewed as first-century prototypes of the counterculture. With their emphasis on love, their preachments against materialism, and their attempt to escape the decadence and iron rule of imperial Rome, the early Christians' story seemed to be analogous to the hippie flight from American society. Likewise, the Christians' persecution by the 'Establishment' and the society around them seemed to resonate with the hippie experience.³⁶ The perceived parallels were graphically represented in a popular poster that appeared in the Haight-Ashbury section of San Francisco:

**WANTED
JESUS CHRIST**

Wanted for sedition, criminal anarchy, vagrancy, and conspiring to overthrow the established government.

Dresses poorly. Said to be a carpenter by trade, ill-nourished, has visionary ideas, Associates with common working people, The unemployed and bums.

Alien--Believed to be a Jew.

Alias--"Prince of Peace," "King of the Jews," "Son of Man," "Light of the World," etc., etc.

Professional Agitator.

Red Beard, marks on hands and feet--the result of injuries inflicted by an Angry mob led by Respectable Citizens & Legal Authorities.³⁷

Taken together with the general hippie openness to religion and the quest for personal liberation and meaning, hippie respect for the carpenter from Nazareth would prove promising seedbed for the rise of the Jesus People from the midst of the counterculture.

The Hippie 'Mecca': San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury

The hippie counterculture's first major manifestation occurred in the San Francisco Bay area and from within that city's hip scene the first outcroppings of the Jesus People movement would soon arise. Since at least the end of the Second World War, the 'City by the Bay' had been host to a thriving bohemian element, particularly in its North Beach district. Many of the leading lights of the Beat movement such as Gary Snyder and Lawrence Ferlinghetti were ensconced in San Francisco and it was there that Beat poet Allan Ginsburg composed and first read his Beat manifesto "Howl!".³⁸

The subsequent evolution of the Beat movement into the hippie counterculture was also made manifest in San Francisco through a group of 'proto-hippies' that gathered around writer Ken Kesey, author of the bestselling 1962 novel *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*.³⁹ From his royalty-financed compound in nearby La Honda, the group he dubbed 'The Merry Pranksters' immersed itself in a world of intellectual interaction, jazz, games, alcohol, marijuana and an increasing enthusiasm for experimentation with LSD. In 1965 and 1966 Kesey and the Merry Pranksters began hosting a series of 'happenings' called 'Acid Tests' that were a combination LSD

seminar/dance party. Held in the Haight-Ashbury district, a run down part of San Francisco that was being increasingly taken over by young bohemians and runaways, the Acid Tests were the vanguard of the emerging hippie counterculture.⁴⁰

The trumpet call that announced the advent of the hippie to the larger world, and San Francisco's role therein, occurred in early 1967. After consulting astrologers on the best date for holding a public festival, the Diggers, a local anarchist group that took its name from the radical seventeenth-century English redistributionists, announced a 'Human Be-In' for Golden Gate Park on Saturday 14 January.⁴¹ Perhaps as many as 20,000 free souls made their way into the park: "It was a medieval scene", recalled one observer, "banners flying . . . children wandered around in the nude. People sat on the grass with nothing to do . . . There was no program, it was a happening. . ."⁴² The music of rock bands like Quicksilver Messenger Service and the Grateful Dead provided a soundtrack for the event. Timothy Leary got up and gave his famous injunction to "Tune in, turn on, and drop out". The Diggers were on hand passing out thousands of free turkey sandwiches as well as high-quality tabs of LSD, both donated by 'Owsley', the Bay Area's aristocratic, psychedelic chemist-in-residence. The audience cheered as Gary Snyder blew on a conch shell and Allen Ginsberg chanted mantras. Oakland's notorious Hell's Angels motorcycle gang guarded the stage and served as indulgent babysitters for lost children.⁴³

But the big spectacle was the audience. Attired in every type of costume imaginable, the Park looked like the living, breathing, moving inventory of a Hollywood movie studio's wardrobe department. Even the 'normal' people carried some sign of participation as one remembered: "a young boy with a nasturtium tucked behind his ear, a gray-haired women with a flower tied to her cane with a ribbon". Aided by the music, the marijuana, LSD and free-flowing wine, the festive crowd

danced, swayed, kissed and beat on tambourines until sunset called an end to the day's festivities.⁴⁴

The size and the magnitude of the 'Be-In' was an alert to the national news media and in the coming months widespread TV coverage and colourful spreads in newsmagazines such as *Time* and *Newsweek* spread the word to the nation's footloose youth and searchers that San Francisco was going to be *the* place to be in 1967.⁴⁵ Local hippies spurred the perception; the Diggers began quoting wild numbers--first predicting 50,000 young pilgrims, then 100,000, finally 200,000--spurious predictions which took on a life of their own with the press and public officials.⁴⁶ In May, a flyer from an ensemble of Haight-Ashbury residents proclaimed a "Summer of Love", rhapsodizing that the City by the Bay was to be the site of a "holy pilgrimage" by the youth of the world, and prophesying that "Food is being gathered. Hotels and houses are being prepared to supply free lodging".⁴⁷ New York City's bohemian paper, the *East Village Other* actually took such announcements seriously, advising its readers that San Francisco was transforming itself into a "love-guerilla training school for drop-outs from mainstream America" that would lead the way into a "new world, a human world of the 21st-century".⁴⁸

As the new arrivals filtered in they found a hippie infrastructure that had taken root in Haight-Ashbury. A regular series of free 'Be-Ins' and rock concerts, 'chalk-ins' for sidewalk art, 'clean-ins' and street sweeping fostered a strong sense of community and participation. In addition, crash pads, food co-ops and more-or-less formally organized 'services' such as Neighborhood Legal Assistance, Job Co-op and the Haight-Ashbury Settlement House and Free Medical Center provided a basic safety-net and resources for the hip community.⁴⁹

Further adding to the Haight's distinctive atmosphere were a whole panoply of 'hip' businesses which served the unique needs of the hippie neighborhood. The Weed Patch provided 'head' materials for drug use; the Chickie P. Garbanzo Bead and Storm Door Company sold bead stringer's supplies; and the Print Shop specialised in political posters and ads for rock concerts. God's Eye Ice Cream & Pizza Parlor was a popular snack haven and a hamburger stand served up 'Love Burgers'. There was even a hippified version of the traditional American chamber of commerce--the Haight Independent Proprietors (HIP).⁵⁰ Probably the quintessential hippie 'business' was the Diggers' Free Store which offered donated food, thrown-out clothes, and variously 'appropriated' (read: *stolen*) goods at no cost or in exchange for donations, bartered goods, or labour.⁵¹

Heightening the sense of community was a homegrown hippie media. The underground newspaper, *The Oracle*, served as the Haight's public paper of record. Concentrating on local issues, it provided information about dialogues between the police and the hippie community, personal reflections about the effects of various drugs, a medical question and answer column called "HIPocrates", and news and gossip columns like the "Gossiping Guru" and the "Babbling Bodhisattva".⁵² On the broadcast side, KMPX, a failing San Francisco FM station began playing rock music for the growing hip enclave in late '66. Specialising in long album cuts from California artists like Jefferson Airplane, Country Joe and the Fish, the Mothers of Invention, and Pacific Gas & Electric, the station experienced a major jump in listenership. In the process, it provided a soundtrack for the Summer of Love and started a nationwide boom in 'underground' FM rock stations.⁵³ All in all, San Francisco provided the first embodiment of a full-blown hippie community.

Haight-Ashbury: Hippie Dream or Nightmare?

For all its colourful eccentricity and idealistic hopes, the hippie reality of the 'Summer of Love' in Haight-Ashbury soon revealed a much darker, pathological side. A mixture of hunger, overcrowding, filth, bad drug trips, crime, and predatory personal behaviour often turned the streets of San Francisco's 'do your own thing' hippie ethos into a 'every man/woman for himself' struggle for existence. This jarring reality would ultimately prove fatal to the countercultural dream even as it would provide a powerful impetus to the birth of the Jesus People movement.

Sheer overcrowding was one source of misery in 'the Haight'. Although the swarms of young seekers never reached the heights of hyperbole the Diggers fed gullible reporters, an estimated 75,000-100,000 young people did wend their way to San Francisco in 1967⁵⁴--many more than the hip infrastructure and the city's overburdened social services could handle. Every night thousands of near-penniless young people would 'crash' in whatever hovel they could afford or find, and many slept out in the cold damp of the city night.⁵⁵

With the shortage of housing came a shortage of food. Eager hands snatched up free sandwiches, bread, and donuts distributed by various groups, straight and hip, and a hundred hungry runaways would swoop down on the Diggers' daily late afternoon soup giveaway in the Panhandle. Eventually the need proved so great that the overwhelmed Diggers closed down the free food programme.⁵⁶ By mid-summer 1967 *The Oracle* advised young people who wanted to come to San Francisco that if they were intent on coming they might as well forego the flowers for their hair if they were not also bringing a sleeping bag, clothes, food and money.⁵⁷

The free and easy hippie celebration of sexuality also manifested itself in all sorts of unforeseen 'bummers'. Venereal diseases were rampant in the Haight and

hippies seeking treatment for syphilis, gonorrhea and herpes combined with drug overdoses to overwhelm the Free Clinic and the city's health department.⁵⁸ Even more troubling was the generally degrading effect life in the Haight had on the young runaway girls who came to the Bay area. As one young teenage girl named Alice told early Jesus People figure David Hoyt, "girls didn't have any trouble finding a place to spend the night" if they were willing to pay the right price.⁵⁹ Others turned to full-fledged prostitution to feed themselves and their drug habits. In general, women in the Haight were at risk of all sorts of emotional and physical violence from their male counterparts. As early as April 1967 one hippie broadside lamented the situation: "Rape is as common as bullshit on Haight Street".⁶⁰

While these discomforts and hardships were daunting enough, the hippies' fervent belief in the spiritual and personal blessings of drug use were responsible for perhaps the largest share of trouble. Overdoses, 'bad trips,' and the hyper-aggressiveness associated with 'Speed' (amphetamines) were a constant of life in the Haight and became an ever bigger problem as overcrowding grew and the drug supply's safety and quality were increasingly compromised. A closely-related problem was a dramatic increase in assaults and robbery ('rip-offs') in the hippie district as the need to have drugs and the control of the lucrative drug trade overruled the Golden Rule ethos of the counterculture: even the Diggers began carrying guns. When two popular hippie drug dealers were found brutally murdered in separate incidents late that summer it became clear to many that the bloom was off the hippie rose.⁶¹

The accumulation of problems began to wear on the hippie community as the 'Summer of Love' passed. Many of the area's original hip residents decided to move elsewhere, particularly to less urban settings, in pursuit of countercultural bliss. During the balance of 1967 and early 1968 a number of communal groups headed across the

Golden Gate Bridge into Marin County, while others opted for isolated locations elsewhere in northern California, Oregon, Idaho, Colorado, New Mexico, Minnesota, Indiana and Tennessee.⁶² Clearly, there was a sense that the golden moment had passed. On 6 October 1967 the Diggers and Ron Thelin, the owner of the soon-to-be-closed Psychedelic Shop, sponsored a 'Death of Hippie' march. In the waning afternoon light a couple of hundred marchers followed a casket festooned with posters and artwork to Golden Gate Park where they burned various hippie bric-a-brac and played 'Taps' over the funeral pyre.⁶³

The hippie movement did not end, of course, with the 'Death of Hippie' march--hippie districts had sprung up in cities all across the country during 1967,⁶⁴ the twin result of publicity and the return of hippie pilgrims from the Haight to their own hometowns. However, the funeral for Hippie did reflect a growing sensibility that the idyllic dream of the counterculture was fatally flawed. First in Haight-Ashbury, and then in hippie districts, communes and networks across the country this realization would open the door to the growth of an alternative vision of personal and corporate salvation--the Jesus People movement.

The Straight Roots of the Jesus Revolution

The reaction to the rise of the hippie in the vast majority of the older generation--mainstream, middle-class America--was a mixture of bemusement, outrage, and disgust. "A hippie is someone who dresses like Tarzan, has hair like Jane, and smells like Cheetah:" California governor Ronald Reagan's famous quip light-heartedly, but effectively, revealed the disdain that many 'straights' felt about hippie fashions, androgynous hairstyles and disregard for social conventions.⁶⁵ The straitlaced *U.S. News & World Report's* stern description of the typical hippie in a mid-1967 article

probably reflected the generally negative stereotype that most older 'Establishment-types' had of the counterculture:

The hippie is easy to spot. In most cases he needs a shave, a haircut, and a bath. He makes every effort to look bizarre. The typical hippie has probably been in college at one time or another. He is allergic to steady jobs. He has no political interests. He is not an activist in any sense. He describes his goal in life as serenity.⁶⁶

America's evangelicals, whom many would later point to as the very core of Richard Nixon's Silent Majority', shared this general opinion of the counterculture.⁶⁷ Conservative Protestants were appalled by hippie drug use, the 'new morality', and the counterculture's total disregard for sober, hard work and societal norms. Evangelist Billy Graham's 1967 admission that he would like to grab many young people and "shave them, cut their hair, bathe them and then preach to them" was a typically middle American sentiment.⁶⁸

Yet, although he sternly disapproved of the hippies Graham's attitude, unlike that of many conservative secular critics, was not one of total rejection and condemnation. Young people's rebellious behaviour, he believed, was clear evidence that they were "searching for a meaning in life" but they clearly did not "know where to find it".⁶⁹ That meaning, Graham and evangelicals believed, was to be found in Jesus. David Wilkerson, the author of the best-selling *The Cross and the Switchblade* and head of Teen Challenge, stated similar sentiments in his analysis of the hippie quest:

Hippies claim they are looking for truth. But they are searching in the wrong places. No hunter goes out to sea in search of rabbits. It would be ludicrous for a fisherman to cast for trout on the desert. Hippies will discover themselves, find genuine love and comprehend the truth that sets men free, only as they relate their lives to God's love and His Son Jesus who fought the establishment all the way to the cross!⁷⁰

Despite the cultural and behavioural barriers that lay between evangelicals and hippies--and perhaps because of them--there was within the evangelical mindset a built-in

disposition to reach across the barricades and interact with the hippies, help them, and-- hopefully--save their souls.

Thus it was in the late 1960s that a few scattered evangelical pastors and laypeople would begin to take it upon themselves to reach out and evangelize the hippie segment of the population. Fittingly, the first major documented instances of this occurred within the chaotic circus that was Haight-Ashbury and the San Francisco Bay area hippie scene of 1967 and 1968. Key to the beginnings of this new religious movement in the Bay Area would be the sensibilities and efforts of John MacDonald, a suburban Baptist pastor, and Kent Philpott, a former Beat-friendly Southern Baptist seminarian. It was they who would forge the first contacts with hippies and play instrumental roles in the conversion of key figures who were positioned to proselytize their countercultural peers. With their contacts among other local pastors and congregations, they would prove crucial in raising the financial and material wherewithal needed to establish the first institutional presences of the new 'Street Christians' in San Francisco.

Pastor MacDonald--Meet the Wises

John MacDonald was a native of Stockton, California, and a classmate of Billy Graham's at fundamentalist Wheaton College in Illinois (class of '43). Following seminary training at Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia and the American Baptist seminary in Berkeley, California, MacDonald pastored several churches in Northern California. In 1960 he was chosen as the pastor of the First Baptist Church of Mill Valley, California, a moderate-sized church of about 200.⁷¹ The community was "arty", as MacDonald described it, and "close to some of the other high-toned residential communities" in wealthy Marin County just north of San Francisco across the Golden Gate Bridge.⁷²

Sometime in 1965, a woman by the name of Elizabeth “Liz” Wise began sporadically to attend First Baptist of Mill Valley. Raised in an evangelical home, she had been converted at the age of 11 at a Bible conference at the Mount Hermon campgrounds near Santa Cruz, California. Unknown at the time to Pastor MacDonald and the conservative congregation, the sad-looking, quiet young woman usually attended services while high on acid. Nonetheless, she continued to come back and asked the people at the church to pray for her husband, Ted.⁷³

As it turned out, Ted and Liz Wise were among the flood of Beat-sympathetic free spirits that pre-dated the ‘Summer of Love’ in the Bay area.⁷⁴ The couple married in 1960 after Liz became pregnant and travelled from their hometown of Auburn, California, to San Francisco. Moving into a proto-hippie commune on O’Farrell Street in the city’s North Beach bohemian enclave, Ted earned a living ‘hustling’ through whatever illicit opportunity came his way. Initiated into the world of marijuana and heroin during a Navy assignment in the Far East in the mid-’50s, drugs—including some of the first black market LSD to make the rounds in the San Francisco Beat community—loomed large in his, and his wife’s, lives.⁷⁵

Following the birth of a daughter in the summer of 1961, Wise moved his family across the Bay to the ‘boho-friendly’ village of Sausalito.⁷⁶ There, with a job as a sailmaker for a company that catered to the owners of racing boats and yachts, he was buoyed by a dexodrene prescription with unlimited refills and lived what he later claimed “on the outside looked like the coolest life one could have” with a mix of friends that included “beats to yachtsman (sic), jazz musicians, artists and poets . . . America’s Cup captains . . . Yogis, Buddhists, Anarchists, [and] Communists”.⁷⁷

The internal reality, however, was apparently less than wonderful. Wise was regularly sleeping around and at one time was alleged to have been “in adulterous

relationship with five different women”.⁷⁸ Suspicions of Ted’s infidelities, financial difficulties stemming from the birth of another child, and continued drug use caused increasingly rancorous relations within the marriage. Ted beat his wife routinely and he apparently even toyed with the idea of murdering her.⁷⁹ Mercifully, it was at about this time that he began to be troubled by insights into his own character--or lack thereof--that he was picking up on his frequent LSD trips. He became increasingly convinced that at bottom he was a self-centred liar, cheat and thief; as he put it: “I went into the palace looking for the prince on the throne but discovered only the rat in the basement”.⁸⁰

Ted, whose exposure to Christianity had been minimal, was antagonistic to his wife’s church attendance but nonetheless began to read the New Testament.⁸¹ What he found, however, apparently surpassed his mild expectations of finding a new role model. As he read, he was particularly impressed by Christ’s claims to divinity and Paul’s assertions that all people had a need to respond individually to his invitation to be born again. Convinced that Jesus was God, Wise later described his experience as a Pauline-like conversion: “While on my way to my own Damascus . . . I found it necessary to cry out to God to save my life in every sense of the word. Jesus knocked me off my metaphysical ass. I could choose Him or literally suffer a fate worse than death”.⁸²

The following Sunday (after an LSD trip the night before) Ted joined Liz at First Baptist and went forward at the end of the service to announce his decision to follow Christ.⁸³ In the months that followed Wise renounced drugs and his extracurricular girlfriends, met regularly for personal Bible study with MacDonald, and went through the prescribed course of instruction for baptism. Ted Wise the bohemian

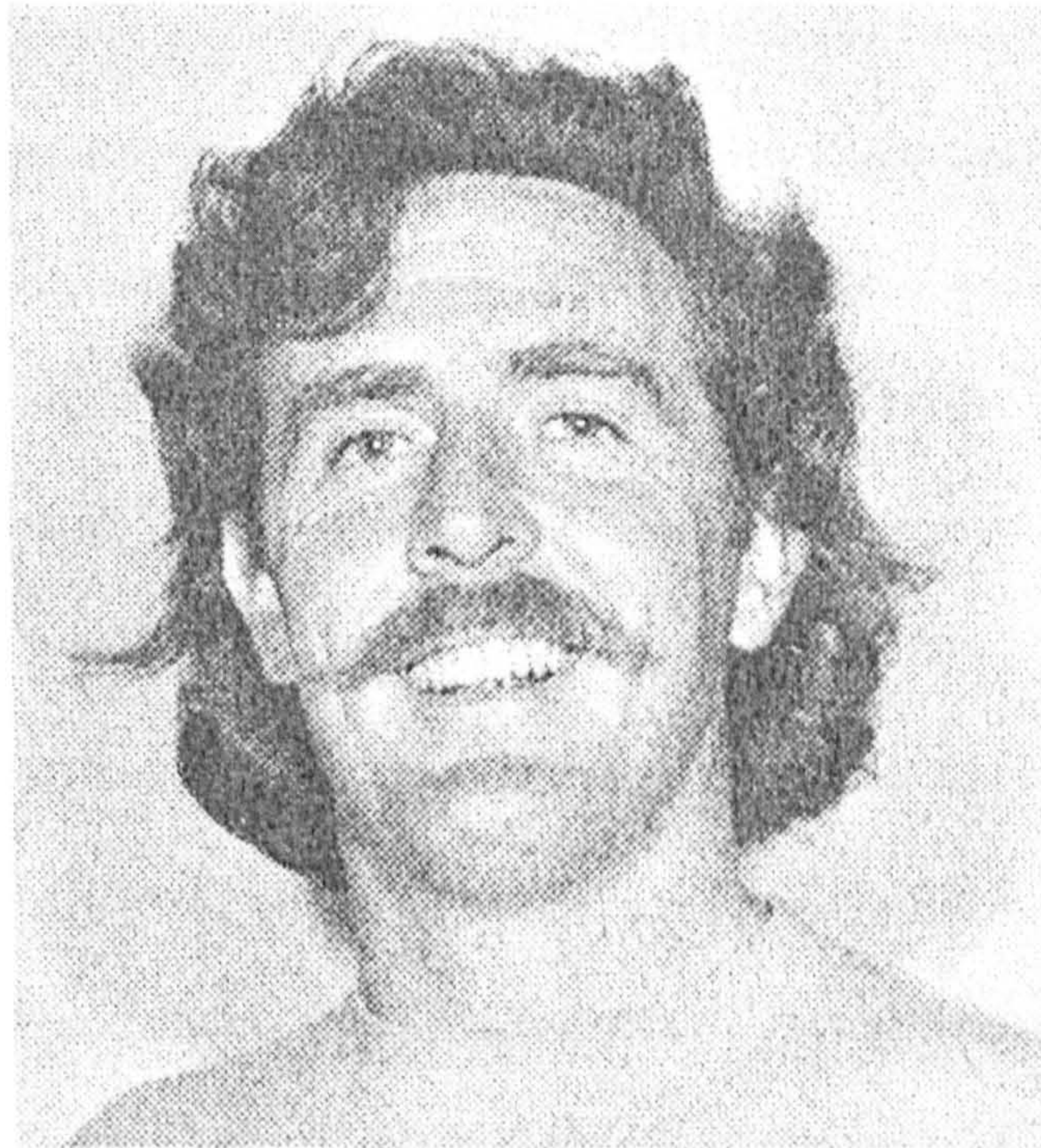


Figure 1: Ted Wise, the “proto-Jesus Freak” ca. 1968 (photo taken from Evangelical Concerns, Inc. brochure, courtesy of John MacDonald).

and former drug-dealer had become, as he said, a “dues-paying, meeting-going, praying-out-loud member” of the First Baptist Church.⁸⁴

As Wise set out on this new personal course he began to tell his friends of his faith and invite them to church. Many thought he had lost his mind, but others were intrigued by the peace that had descended on the Wise household. As a result, some of them--much to the surprise/horror of many in the staid congregation--accepted Wise’s invitation to worship with the Mill Valley Baptists.⁸⁵ By late 1966, three other hippie couples--the Sands, Heefners, and Doops--had become baptized members of the church.⁸⁶ While the congregation extended an official welcome to the new members, many within Pastor MacDonald’s tradition-minded flock were having difficulty adjusting to his growing ‘ministry’ among Marin County’s free spirits. Indeed, MacDonald later estimated that perhaps as many as one half of his ‘original’ congregation eventually left the church because of the hip newcomers.⁸⁷

For his part, Wise and his friends found MacDonald and the ‘straight’ suburban, middle-class folks at First Baptist every bit as frustrating as they found the young bohemians. Wise’s little group was impatient with traditional evangelical worship services, music, and sermons, summed up in Ted’s statement: “I didn’t like church much but I sure liked Jesus”.⁸⁸ Indeed, Wise and his fellows found suburban Californian church life to be a pale contrast to the exciting, radically-committed example of the early Church they were finding in their reading of the New Testament. Reminiscing years later, he recalled thinking that “. . . these church folks were not at all like the people I had read about in the Book of Acts”. Particularly perplexing were the economic dynamics he saw at play in First Baptist. Wise remembers: “They didn’t live together or share much of anything, they didn’t hold everything in common or give to each as any had in need. They had a tough time coughing up the salary for their one pastor”.⁸⁹ Nonetheless, Wise and his circle of hippie friends had been generally won over by MacDonald and his proper Baptist congregation. The beginnings of the Jesus movement were in place.

Into the Haight--Kent Meets David the Hippie

While the alliance between evangelical straights and bohemian believers was developing at First Baptist in Mill Valley, a more intentional, but similar arrangement was developing through the initiative of seminarian Kent Philpott. Philpott had grown up in Oregon and Southern California where he had some contact with the Beat element in the Los Angeles area as a teen. Following an early marriage, a stint in the Air Force and a degree from Sacramento State in psychology, Philpott was converted at a Baptist church and soon thereafter enrolled at Golden Gate Seminary.⁹⁰ While still a student, he accepted a part-time position in October 1966 as the pastor at a small church in tiny Byron, CA, over seventy-five miles from Mill Valley, in rural Contra Costa County.⁹¹

Early in 1967 Philpott's curiosity was piqued by the increasing coverage of what was going on in Haight-Ashbury. Attracted because of his teenage flirtations with the Beat scene, Philpott journeyed into the Haight one night in April 1967. While the major influx of young seekers and runaways would not come until that summer, what Philpott saw during this supposed height of the hippie Nirvana proved quite unsettling:

My first night in the Haight really shocked me. A scene I'll never forget was an old homosexual walking down Haight Street with his arm around a little boy about eleven years of age. The little kid I could see was loaded out of his mind. Also, that night I sat next to a guy my age who was a dope dealer. He told me that his life was ruined and that he was trapped in the dope scene. As I drove home that night, I knew my Lord had shown me these things for a reason The next night I was back in the Haight.⁹²

Coming back the next evening, Philpott roamed the streets. Eventually he wound up in the apartment of a slight, blond-haired, bearded young man named David Hoyt who shared a house with a lesbian commune. A Krishna devotee, Hoyt talked for hours about his beliefs as Philpott, describing himself simply as "a follower of the Lord Jesus Christ," politely listened.⁹³

Hoyt, a native Southern Californian was the product of a broken home who had spent years in foster homes, juvenile detention facilities and had served time in Lompoc Federal Penitentiary for drug running. While in prison he became convinced his life had gone off course and immersed himself in the writings of Eastern yogis, Zen Buddhism, and Scientology as well as experimenting with LSD. Paroled in September 1966, Hoyt was soon invited to San Francisco by prison acquaintance Luther Greene who had become a leading light in the hippie community as the co-owner of the Straight Theater.⁹⁴

With his background in Eastern spirituality, Hoyt found himself captivated by the Haight-Ashbury scene. "It was like the hope of man," Hoyt later wrote, "launching

out desperately against materialism, hypocrisy, hatred, war and impersonalism [sic] trying to find the real way and live it".⁹⁵ He soon began spending a lot of time at the storefront 'Temple' that had been opened by the Swami A.C. Bhaktivedanta, an associate of Swami Prabhupada, the founder of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON).⁹⁶ Enthralled by the Swami's lectures on Vedic literature and the Krishna chants, he became a full-fledged devotee and was enmeshed enough in the life of the Haight to be selected as the Krishnas' representative to the four-member council on the 'Summer of Love'.⁹⁷

Hoyt's initial meeting with Philpott was the first of several visits where they discussed their beliefs. After one meeting, Philpott asked Hoyt if he would be interested in having him lead a Bible study in his apartment. Hoyt agreed, but because of increased duties due to the Swami's absence asked that the study of the book of Ephesians be moved to the Krishna Temple itself. Thus, over the next few weeks the bespectacled Baptist seminarian met weekly with Hoyt and several of his fellow saffron-robed devotees in a weekly examination of the apostle Paul's teachings on salvation by grace.⁹⁸

The breakthrough with Hoyt came when Philpott brought along a fellow seminarian named Timothy Wu. Wu unleashed a barrage of verses about false prophets, idol worship and the exclusivity of Christ's claims. He then cornered Hoyt in a small room next to the Temple kitchen, prayed for him to stop chanting demonic mantras, and prophesied that within two weeks he would leave ISKCON. Hoyt was shaken by this, reinforced by rising doubts of his own ability to reform through Eastern teachings. One night in the Temple basement he had a vision of Jesus gathering children from every country and ethnic group on earth and realized he was not a follower of this universal Christ.⁹⁹ The final straw came a few days later during a



Figure 2: Kent Philpott (2nd from right, back to camera) presides over San Francisco Bay baptism, ca. early 1970s (photo courtesy Kent Philpott).

morning kirtan service when a “universal” Krishna altar near his bed caught fire.

Running downstairs, the only thing he could snatch from the flames was a Bible. By the time the fire department came to put out the flames, Hoyt was on his knees asking Jesus to save him.¹⁰⁰ Helping the other Krishna devotees clean up after the fire, Hoyt painted a message in six inch-letters on the Temple wall:

I HAVE FOUND THE TRUE AND LIVING GOD AND I
THANK YOU LORD JESUS FOR SAVING MY SOUL.
LORD HELP ME TO FOLLOW YOU FAITHFULLY EVERY
DAY.¹⁰¹

At just about this time Philpott happened to drop by and found the place in an uproar. Sizing up the situation he began to pull Hoyt out when the angry devotees seized upon him as the source of their troubles and the defection of Hoyt. With robed Krishna followers hitting, kicking and choking him all the way, Philpott pulled Hoyt out of the

Temple, saved from a major beating by the intervention of a San Francisco fireman. Philpott took Hoyt home to live with him and began to 'disciple' him in the rudiments of the Christian faith. Shortly thereafter Hoyt began to accompany Philpott on his evangelistic treks into San Francisco.¹⁰² A second 'beachhead' of the Jesus movement had been established in the Bay area.

Living Room for Jesus in Haight-Ashbury

As Philpott was attempting to mount his one man-crusade to evangelize the hippies, the Mill Valley Baptist hippies had also begun to frequent the developing hippie haven in the Haight-Ashbury. There, they hung out and met friends, old and new, and testified to people on the streets about their faith in Jesus.¹⁰³ Back in Sausalito, the Wises' apartment continued an open door policy for their grass-smoking hippie acquaintances and local youth who would come by to talk, grab a meal or 'crash' on the living room floor. Holding things together, however, proved to be a problem as Ted had lost his sailmaking job after spending too much work time 'testifying' to fellow workers and customers.¹⁰⁴

For his part, Philpott also felt the pinch of limited resources. One of the major problems he faced was simply what to do with those who responded positively to his gospel message. It was not uncommon, Philpott recalled, to accumulate "three, four, five, six converts" in the course of a day's evangelizing that would simply follow him as he walked around the Haight. Early on, Philpott's basic strategy was to "try and contact parents" and "have them send money" to purchase a bus ticket home. Often, parents would drive hundreds of miles to pick up their wayward sons and daughters, frequently passing along some money to Philpott out of gratitude: "I got some of my early financial support from parents of these kids," he recalled.¹⁰⁵

At this stage, any kind of work among the hippies of San Francisco was in rather perilous straits and the subsequent development of a 'Jesus Movement' no sure bet. It was at this crucial juncture that 'straight' evangelicals stepped in with small amounts of monetary, material and legal support for their penniless 'Street Christian' contacts that would prove adequate to establish an active, visible presence within the countercultural community. This step would, in turn, prove crucial to the emergence of what would become the Jesus People movement.

By the spring of 1967 Ted Wise had become friends with several of the Diggers who, because of the City of San Francisco's health department's attempt to crack down on the Haight, had been ordered to evacuate their 'Free Store' on Page Street. With an order to vacate the premises in a few days, the group's food distribution and housing programmes were in danger of being eradicated at a time when the Haight's population was growing day by day. Wise was distressed at their plight and the possibility of thousands of young people flooding into the city with little prospect for food and shelter. Feeling this was the perfect opportunity for Christians to show their love and concern for these youth, Wise approached MacDonald about the possibility of lending First Baptist's facilities to the Diggers.¹⁰⁶

Knowing his deacon board would never go for such a scheme, the pastor hemmed and hawed about insurance liabilities and Mill Valley's lying across the Golden Gate Bridge from San Francisco. Sensing that the situation was such that it could lead to a permanent rupture between the church and its hippie converts, MacDonald offered to visit the Haight with Wise.¹⁰⁷ He was moved by what he saw there. As they walked, MacDonald became more and more aware of the Haight as being sort of a cross-cultural evangelistic field that deserved the attention of the institutional church but which it--and he--was utterly unequipped to pull off:

Ted and I strolled the streets and entered several establishments together. I noted the ease with which he related to the citizens there--and the estrangement with respect to myself. By dress and appearance, he belonged. Clearly I did not. He readily stopped for a few words or to give some money to someone in need. Obviously, he had remarkable rapport.¹⁰⁸

Back in Mill Valley, MacDonald began to contact various individuals in Bay Area evangelical circles that he felt were less hidebound by tradition and might be open to taking a chance on an unorthodox outreach in the Haight. Rather quickly he drew together a mixed group of mostly Baptist pastors, laymen, and officials who were interested in the project, including the pastor of San Francisco's First Baptist Church, fellow Wheaton alumnus John Streater; Edward Plowman of Park Presidio Baptist; William Mansdoerfer, executive director of Family Radio, a growing chain of evangelical FM stations; George Hardisty, a local attorney; and Jack Karman, a long-time operator of a Bay Area rescue mission. Together, the group became the basis for Evangelical Concerns, Inc., an independent non-profit organisation which was officially incorporated in May 1967 and began raising funds from local evangelicals to establish a "ministry center" in the Haight, provide some food for indigent hippies, and support for "your missionary to the hippie"--Ted Wise.¹⁰⁹

By the late summer of 1967 the group had attained a lease on a storefront in the Armenian Hall on Page Street, a little more than a block north of the intersection of Haight and Ashbury streets and a block south of Golden Gate Park's hippie-magnet the 'Panhandle'. Here the 'Living Room' coffeehouse became a reality during the 'Summer of Love'.¹¹⁰ In the storefront window hung a picture of an oxbow with Jesus' words "My burden is light" painted in psychedelic script. Inside, scripture verses and Christian slogans were painted on the walls in a typical hippie style and a motley assemblage of chairs and tables were available for perhaps two dozen wandering souls

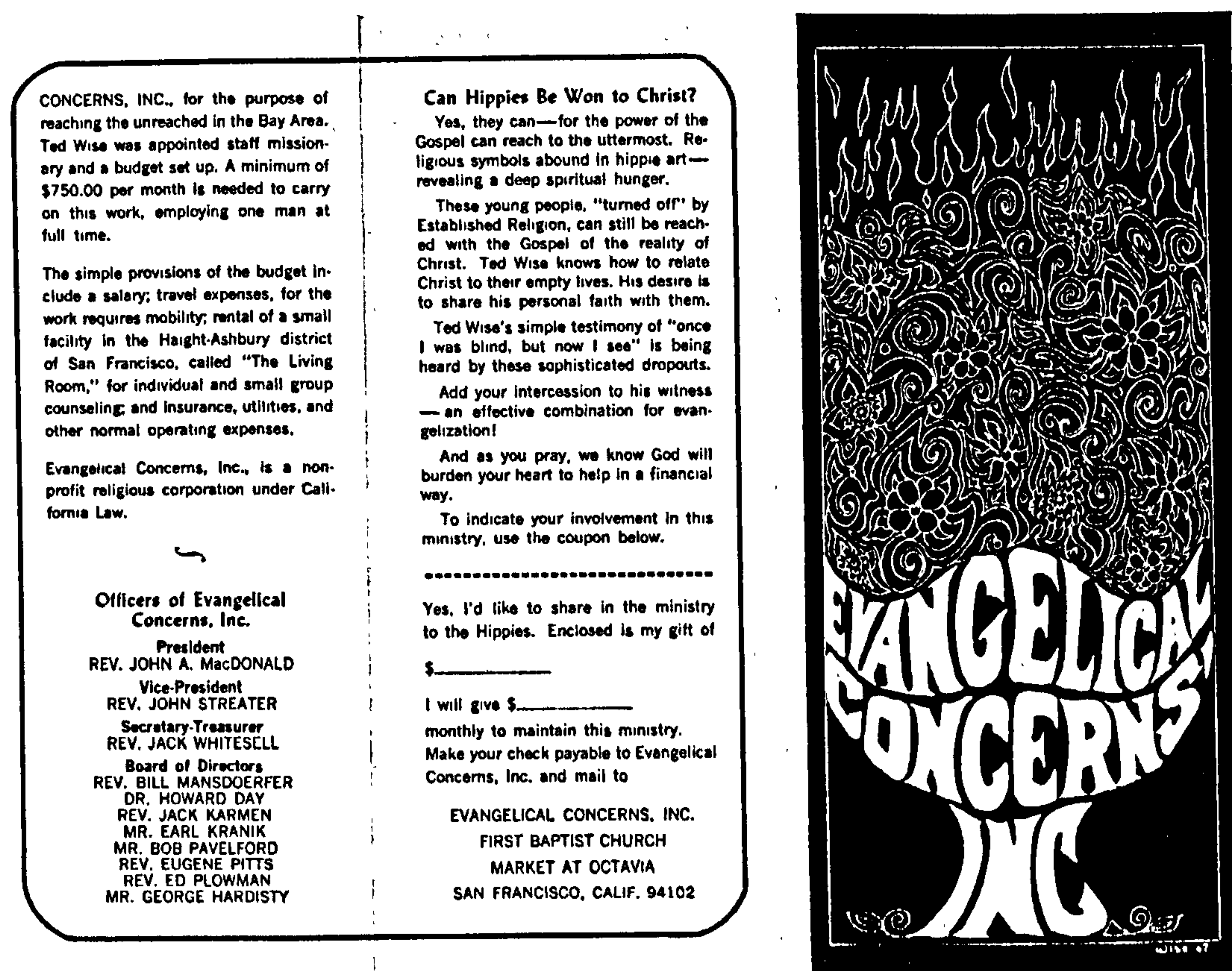


Figure 3: Fundraising brochure from Evangelical Concerns, Inc., ca. 1968 (Courtesy of John MacDonald).

that might come off the street at any one time. From the limited funds available from Evangelical Concerns, the largesse of local businessmen, and the gleanings of Wise and friends' wives from local grocers' refuse, the Living Room group was able to feed its members and offer a cup of coffee or an occasional bowl of soup to the neighbourhood's wandering youth.¹¹¹

By the time the Living Room hit its stride, the ethos of life in the Haight had already undergone its dramatic decline from its early salad days. Amid this chaos, the Living Room proved to be a haven for wandering young people for nearly two years. Estimates vary of the number of young people to whom the coffeehouse staff had an opportunity to 'witness' about their faith in Jesus, but even a conservative estimate made by one of the group in an early 1990s interview would have meant contact with around 20,000 people.¹¹² The vast majority of those who came in would politely listen

or, in the spirit of the counterculture's gregarious tendency, happily engage the staff in philosophical discussions about religion. Surely, most appreciated the chance for a place to sit down for a while, a cup of coffee or meal and, on occasion--in violation of the group's lease terms--a place to sleep for the night. While no records were kept as to how many converts the Living Room group made, during its time in existence they were able to persuade a number of young people to make a Christian commitment. One of these converts, Rick Sacks, a young street hustler from a wealthy Jewish family in Boston, became a Christian and an integral member of the group, evolving into something of a manager for the coffeehouse.¹¹³ Another of the group's early converts would not only become an important member of the group, but would also play a key role in the subsequent growth of the nascent 'Jesus Movement' outside the Bay area.

Lonnie Frisbee was a 17-year-old scholarship student at the San Francisco Academy of Art when he first met the people from the newly-opened Living Room. High on acid and preaching on the sidewalks of the Haight about Jesus and flying saucers, Frisbee was taken in hand and later, in a more lucid state of mind, informed the group that he had just had his own personal theophany.¹¹⁴ Just a few weeks before his meeting with the Living Room set, Frisbee later recalled, he had been wandering nude in the California mountains near Tahquitz Falls where he claimed he was confronted by Jesus:

. . . he explained to me that he was the only way to know God. I accepted him and he said 'I am going to send you to the people.' Then he gave me a vision of thousands of people and they were wandering around in a maze of darkness with no direction or purpose for their lives. He showed me that there was a light on me that he was placing on my life . . . I was going to bear the Word of the Lord.¹¹⁵

Wise and the others perceived from Frisbee's fragmented tale that the boy "had a Christian background" but that "his head was bent out of shape" by drugs.¹¹⁶ Accepted

by the group, Frisbee was weaned from his LSD-use and studied the Bible with the others, eventually coming around to a more orthodox point of view.¹¹⁷ With the addition of converts like Frisbee and Sacks, the Living Room had begun to form the centre of a new evangelical community within the larger hippie enclave.

The Soul Inn

Immediate help from 'straight' sources took longer to develop for Kent Philpott and his hippie associate David Hoyt. For roughly a year and a half, with some interruptions, the ragged pair walked the sidewalks of Haight-Ashbury speaking to whomever they could.¹¹⁸ Kent Philpott kept a diary during most of this time. An excerpt from the early fall of 1968 gives both a picture of the Haight during those times and the challenges facing the countercultural evangelists:

Spent morning doing visitation in Haight and talking to people as we found them.

. . . .

Talked to Luther, co-owner of the Straight Theater who David had known in his 'before Christ' days. Heavy witness, and Luther wanted to talk more in the near future.

Mark, a devotee at the Krishna Temple. Brother David encountered him and was able to give him a full Gospel testimony. Mark actually was shaking as he walked away.

. . . .

Fillmore: very late at night in a tough neighborhood for a lone white person. Two guys tried to rob David but since there was no silver or gold, David gave them the Gospel.¹¹⁹

. . . .

A girl named Space, actually demon possessed, we found in a trance right out on the street. . . . a young beautiful girl had her whole body painted in weird designs. She was staring at an older grey haired cat who was controlling the trance. People on the street thought the whole trip was cool. . . . She was so bound inside she could hardly talk. There was a chain of nails and pins around her neck. We approached her, praying hard, and stepped into the line of sight between Space and the older cat. This move shut down the trance. We began praying in the Spirit and knowing only God could intercede At last she began to break down and she started to cry. When she began speaking she

started telling us she was God. She was bound and trapped by horrible people who used her as they would, And all the hips thought it was good she could do her thing.¹²⁰

....

... we ran into a far out guy named Charlie. He started preaching to us what he called 'God's Ultimate Truth.' He was barefoot, dirty, had Alcohol on his breath, and was just coming off an acid trip. He became very violent when we assured him that he wasn't God.¹²¹

....

We went over to see old friend named Ileen. We found ourselves seated around the kitchen table with about eight lesbians. Many of the girls had been delving into various Oriental teachings. There was a very heavy confrontation and any preaching of the Gospel was tough. However, for about one hour, they heard the Word of God as the Holy Spirit blessed. One girl named Robin seemed very interested. They had so many cats that the smell of their droppings nearly made you sick. Also, God made opportunity to sing a few Gospel songs. These girls are somewhat afraid of men, but they are very precious people and God loves them so much.¹²²

....

Visited Louis and Jenniene. Everything was so good and two hours later little Jenniene accepted Jesus as savior.¹²³

Out of desperation for a place to house converts and seekers, Philpott, with the help of Golden Gate Seminary's Dr Francis DuBose, convinced the pastor of the Lincoln Park Baptist Church, a small Southern Baptist storefront church on Balboa Avenue, between 41st and 42nd streets in the city's Richmond district, to allow him to refit a pair of Sunday School rooms for his work. With a little paint, a new shower, some cots and blankets borrowed from the Salvation Army, and a sign painted by David Hoyt, the 'Soul Inn' was opened in the fall of 1968. The facility had a capacity of about twenty and served as a combination shelter and halfway house, with day-to-day activities overseen by two proven converts, David Palma and Paul Finn.¹²⁴

By the time Soul Inn was up and running, Philpott and Hoyt had established 'fellowship' with Ted Wise and the Living Room set; a relationship facilitated by the fact that the leadership of Evangelical Concerns knew many of Philpott's Golden Gate

Seminary and Southern Baptist connections. For his part Philpott admitted to being of a similar mind to John MacDonald in that he “didn’t really get along too good with Ted and those guys, they were all acid head intellectuals . . . I was too straight”. Philpott realized, however, that, like David Hoyt, they were “better . . . in talking the hippie language” than he was and “were very effective” and thus he would “often bring people there, because [he] thought some of his more ‘hardcore’ hippie contacts “would be better off talking to Ted and these guys”.¹²⁵ While there was no formal link-up, a working ‘fellowship’ emerged and Philpott and Hoyt would often drop by the Living Room or would go out to the ‘Christian House’ in Novato for a meal or to drop off a convert in need of a place to sleep.¹²⁶ So, by late 1968 the foundations of the Jesus People movement had been established in the centre of the very capital of the hippie counterculture, San Francisco’s Haight-Ashbury district.

Conclusion

At first glance, nothing could have seemed more incongruous an outgrowth from the eccentric, ‘do your own thing’ ethos of the counterculture than a strain of hippie evangelical Christians. In reality, however, the convergence of the seemingly polar opposites of evangelical Protestantism and the counterculture was not quite the impossibility it might initially have seemed. The hippie dream which had emerged from its ‘Beat’ predecessor was in many ways a religious quest that sought enlightenment, a change of heart, a new perception. Despite many hippies’ penchant for flamboyant and esoteric religious and occultic practices, they nonetheless held a very positive assessment of Jesus and his disciples and perceived parallels between the first century Christians and their own alienation from twentieth-century American society. Firmly convinced that their quest would lead to the dawning of a new day, many hippies were bitterly disappointed as unforeseen problems and the persistence of



Figure 4: Competition--a 'Street Christian' (left) hands out tracts at a Hare Krishna event in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park, ca. 1971 (photo taken by KQED-TV, San Francisco, found in Enroth, Ericson and Peters, *The Jesus People*).

age-old human weaknesses brought their here-and-now eschatological hopes up short. Taken together, this combination of factors created a potentially receptive audience for an alternative message rooted in traditional American evangelicalism which promised true spiritual renewal and the power to overcome personal, social, and cultural obstacles.

Even yet, however, the spontaneous emergence of a 'Jesus People movement' on the streets of San Francisco would probably not have occurred without the help of a few far-sighted 'straight' evangelicals. Open to the possibility that God had a claim on the lives of those so different from themselves, the efforts of men like John MacDonald and Kent Philpott to reach out to the counterculture would lead to small circles of hippie converts who were better equipped to evangelise among their peer group. With the halting, but nonetheless, crucial support of other 'straight evangelicals', these new

'Street Christians' were eventually able to put together some sort of public, corporate face for their nascent movement on the streets of the Haight. While these beginnings were small, they set the tone for a series of similar interactions in cities across the United States which would eventually morph into a recognisable 'Jesus People' movement among the nation's youth.

ENDNOTES

1. George Gallup and Evan Hill, "Youth: The Cool Generation", *Saturday Evening Post* (23-20 December 1961), p. 64.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 70.
4. Talcott Parsons, "Youth in the Context of American Society", *Daedalus* (Winter 1962): 97-123; quote from pp. 122-123.
5. Michael Brake, *Comparative Youth Culture: The Sociology of Youth Culture and Youth Subcultures in America, Britain and Canada* (London: Routledge, 1985), p. 40.
6. Clark Kerr quoted in Jay Stevens, *Storming Heaven: LSD and the American Dream* (New York: Grove Press, 1987), p. ix.
7. Edward P. Morgan, *The 60's Experience: Hard Lessons About America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), p. 72.
8. Particularly influential was Marcuse's *One-Dimensional Man* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964).
9. Ginsberg's title for America from the poem "Howl!" in Allen Ginsberg, *Howl!* (San Francisco: City Lights Pocket Bookshop, 1956).
10. Seminal works from these 'Beat' intellectuals included Jack Kerouac, *On the Road* (New York: Viking Books, 1957), Gary Snyder, *Riprap: Poems* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1959), and Ginsberg, *Howl!*.
11. David Burner, *Making Peace With the 60s* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 113-125; Morgan, *The 60s Experience*, p. 172.
12. The story of the rise of LSD and its journey from scientific and military research labs to the youth of the Western world is one of the most fascinating tales of postwar history. Jay Stevens, *Storming Heaven: LSD and the American Dream* (New York: Grove Press, 1987) and Martin A. Lee and Bruce Shlain, *Acid Dreams: The Complete Social History of LSD* (New York: Grove Press, 1985) are both excellent overviews of this phenomenon. For a close-up look at the LSD rage in the San Francisco Bay area, see Tom Wolfe, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (New York: Farrar, 1968).
13. Leonard Wolf, *Voices From the Love Generation* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1968), p. xxi. While Wolf's analysis of the differences were very apropos to the San Francisco and West Coast scene and the movement as it developed, it was altogether clear in the evolution from 'Beat' to 'Hippie' that what was emerging was a more zestful, life-filled bohemian style. This was particularly true by comparing the San Francisco version with the emerging New York City 'scene'; see for example John Gruen, *The New*

Bohemia: The Combine Generation (New York: Shorecrest, 1966) for a glimpse of the grittier, more nihilistic East Village ethos.

14. George Donelson Moss, *Vietnam: An American Ordeal*, 4th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2002), p. 462.

15. A constant theme in contemporary discussions and later reminiscences of why American young people 'dropped out' of society and /or supported radical politics in the 60's was a dawning recognition that the middle class values and patriotic loyalties they had been raised with were something less than an empirical, impartial truth. For an extended mid-1980s retrospective look at personal experiences and perceptions in the '60s see Annie Gottlieb, *Do You Believe in Magic? Bringing the '60s Back Home* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987).

16. For a good examination of the development, thought and make-up of the radical 'New Left' of the 1960s see Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam, 1987), and Terry H. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties: Protest in America From Greensboro to Wounded Knee* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

17. This is, indeed, something of a judgment call, but one which is borne out, I believe, by comparing the relative impact of the two segments of '60s youth culture. While the 'New Left' shattered in the early 1970s and virtually disappeared except for its scattered legacy on the activist left, the impact of the counterculture--while not represented in the persona of a triumphant hippie culture--continued to be felt in the far reaches of American culture decades later in terms of music, sexual behaviour, drug use and concern for the environment. This was true even in segments of American society which were hardly in line with hippie styles or concerns: for example the evangelical subculture, which this thesis will demonstrate in the pages to come. For a general, and persuasive, look at the thoroughgoing impact of the hippie counterculture on American society see Timothy Miller, *The Hippies and American Values* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991).

18. For examples and analysis of the strained relations that often surfaced between the hippies and the radicals see Charles Perry's anecdote about the final planning session for the Human Be-In for a fascinating glimpse at the mental geography separating the hippies of Haight-Ashbury and the radicals across the Bay in Berkeley (Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, p. 121). See also Barney Hoskyns, *Beneath the Diamond Sky: Haight-Ashbury 1965-1970* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997), pp., 69, 71; Gitlin, *The Sixties*, pp. 210-214; Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, p. 210; Burner, *Making Peace With the 60s*, pp. 131-133; and Miller, *The Hippies and American Values*, pp. 10-15.

19. Miller, *The Hippies and American Values*, pp. 104-105.

20. Ibid., p. 109.

21. Ibid., pp. 113-114. See also Tuli Kupferberg, "The Coming Catastrophic Age of Leisure: (or how I lost my job and found God)", in Joseph Berke, ed., *Counterculture* (London: Peter Owen, 1969), p. 85.

22. Miller, *The Hippies and American Values*, p. 54.

23. See for example Beth Bailey, "Sexual Revolution(s)", in *The Sixties . . . From Memory to History*, David Farber, ed., (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), pp. 35-62. See also Miller, *The Hippies and American Values*, pp. 54-58; on hippies and nudity see Miller, pp. 59-62.

24. Miller, *The Hippies and American Values*, p. 75.

25. See Miller, *The Hippies and American Values*, Chapter 4.

26. The cross-pollination between various regional and racial musical currents during this period was astounding. See for example George Lipsitz, "Who'll Stop the Rain? Youth Culture, Rock 'n' Roll, and Social Crises" in Farber, ed., *The Sixties . . . From Memory to History*, pp. 216-218.

27. Lewis Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip: A Firsthand Account of the Beliefs and Behaviors of Hippies in America By a Noted Sociologist* (New York: Pegasus, 1968), p. 22.

28. Ibid.

29. The role of psychedelics in spiritual and personal awakenings received a major impetus in the post-war era in Aldous Huxley's *The Doors of Perception* (New York: Harper & Row, 1956), themes which were later popularized for mass consumption by 'LSD guru', Dr Timothy Leary (see particularly his 1968 book *The Politics of Ecstasy* [New York: Putnam]).

30. Miller, *The Hippies and American Values*, p. 36.

31. Ibid., p. 41.

32. Helen Swick Perry, *The Human Be-In* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), p. 69.

33. Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip*, p. 354.

34. See for example Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin, *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 147, 150; Morgan, *The 60s Experience*, p. 172.

35. For examples of the diversity of religious life in the hippie community see Miller, *The Hippies and American Values*, pp. 31-32, 48-49, 94-95; Morgan, *The 60s Experience*, pp. 181, 200-201. For the growth of the Hare Krishna movement among the hippies see E. Burke Rochford, Jr., *Hare Krishna In America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991), pp. 153-159.

36. See for example, Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, pp. 267-268, and Yablonsky, *The Hippie Trip*, pp. 291-292.

37. The "Wanted: Jesus Christ" poster was a popular poster that bedecked the walls of many a Christian coffeehouse, church youth group room, and young believer's bedroom in the 1970s. It was particularly popularized within the Jesus People movement by the merchandising arm of Duane Pederson's *Hollywood Free Paper* (for a reproduction of their product, see Lowell D. Streiker, *The Jesus Trip: Advent of the Jesus Freaks* [Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1971], p. 18). However, the text cited here is of a more secularized, countercultural version of the poster which pre-dated the ubiquitous Jesus People-era poster and is re-produced in Miller, *The Hippies and American Values* (illustration section, no page number). Ted Wise is of the belief that the poster originated early on in the Haight's 'Summer of Love' as the commercial venture of one of the local 'head shops'. He believes that it may have originally been 'Christianized' by somebody over in Berkeley's Christian World Liberation Front (e-mail message from Ted Wise to author, 3 September 1998). A form of the poster which is closer to Pederson's version, but still bearing some of the secular marks, is quoted in the major 1971 cover story on the Jesus People ("The New Rebel Cry: Jesus is Coming!", *Time* [21 June 1971], p. 56).

38. Hoskyns, *Beneath the Diamond Sky*, pp. 9, 11; Morgan, *The 60s Experience*, p. 172.

39. Ken Kesey, *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (New York: New American Library, 1962).

40. For insight into Kesey and the Prankster's role in bringing forth the Bay Area counterculture see Paul Perry, Michael Schwartz, Neil Ortenberg, eds., *On the Bus: The Complete Guide to the Legendary Trip of Ken Kesey and the Merry Pranksters and the Birth of the Counterculture* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1997) and Tom Wolfe, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1968).

41. Charles Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, pp. 121-122.

42. Helen Swick Perry, *The Human Be-In*, p. 86.

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43. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, p. 172; Charles Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, pp. 122-126; Helen Swick Perry, *The Human Be-In*, pp. 86-88.
44. Helen Swick Perry, *The Human Be-In*, p. 86.
45. For examples of some of the coverage of the San Francisco hippie scene in the national press see "Dropouts With a Mission", *Newsweek* (6 February 1967): 92-95; "Spotlight on Hippies", *U.S. News & World Report* (8 May 1967): 61-63; Hunter S. Thompson, "Hashbury is the Capital of the Hippies", *New York Times Magazine* (14 May 1967): 28-29; "Hippies", *Time* (7 July 1967): 18-22.
46. Charles Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, p. 271.
47. Letter from the "Council For a Summer of Love in the City of San Francisco" printed in *The Oracle*, 13 May 1967, quoted in Robert S. Ellwood, Jr., *One Way: The Jesus Movement and Its Meaning* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973), pp. 5-6.
48. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, pp. 172-173.
49. Morgan, *The 60s Experience*, p. 182; Charles Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, p. 131.
50. Nicholas von Hoffman, *We Are the People Our Parents Warned Us Against* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968), p. 16; "Dropouts With a Mission", *Newsweek*, (6 February 1967), p. 92; Morgan, *The 60s Experience*, p. 182; Charles Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, p. 154.
51. The Diggers' 'store' was known as the "Free Frame of Reference" after a huge, yellow picture frame which served as the entry to the garage they used (Charles Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, pp. 108-109).
52. Abe Peck, *Uncovering the Sixties: The Life and Times of the Underground Press* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985; revised ed., New York: Citadel Press, 1991), pp. 36-54; Laurence Leamer, *The Paper Revolutionaries: The Rise of the Underground Press* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), pp. 33-34. A lengthy contemporary interview of one of *The Oracle*'s co-editors, Steve Levine, is found in Wolf, *Voices From the Love Generation*, pp. 39-55.
53. For the best analysis of the growth of 'underground' FM radio see Michael C. Keith, *Voices in the Purple Haze: Underground Radio and the Sixties* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997). See pp. 26-28, 31-32 for insight into KMPX. See also "Digging FM Rock", *Newsweek* (4 March 1968): 92; and, Hoskyns, *Beneath the Diamond Sky*, pp. 134-135, 143.
54. Charles Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, p. 245.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 99. The problem of housing is a ubiquitous observation of every 'eye-witness' account of the Haight-Ashbury neighbourhood in the hippie era.
56. von Hoffman, *We Are the People*, p. 67; Charles Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, p. 212.
57. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, p. 175.
58. Miller, *The Hippies and American Values*, pp. 63; Morgan, *The 60s Experience*, p. 182. The Haight-Ashbury Free Medical Clinic had 30 doctors donating their services part-time during the 'Summer of Love' (Charles Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, p. 201).
59. Kent Philpott and David Hoyt, "Two Brothers in Haight," (unpublished MS., 1970), p. 74.
60. Flyer from the "Communications Company", 16 April 1967, quoted in Charles Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, p. 181.

61. For example see "Trouble In Hippieland", *Newsweek* (30 October 1967), pp. 84-90. See also Hoskyns, *Beneath the Diamond Sky*, pp. 143-147; Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, p. 175; Charles Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, p. 197.

62. See for example Timothy Miller, *The 60s Communes: Hippies and Beyond* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999), p. 68. Miller points out that the hippies did not create the communal 'scene' but certainly were shaped by it and helped enrich and expand it in the wake of urban hippie problems (p. 2). See also Helen Perry, *The Human Be-In*, p. 16; Hoskyns, *Beneath the Diamond Sky*, p. 163; Morgan, *The 60s Experience*, p. 210; Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, pp. 269-270.

63. Hoskyns, *Beneath the Diamond Sky*, pp. 156, 158-159, 163; Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, pp. 175-176.

64. Besides the East Village in New York City, other notable hippie areas in prominent American cities included Old Town in Chicago, Piedmont Park in Atlanta, the Fremont neighbourhood in Seattle and countless similar areas in cities like Boston, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Cleveland.

65. Ronald Reagan quoted in James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 670.

66. "Spotlight on Hippies", *U.S. News and World Report* (8 May 1967), p. 63.

67. The view that evangelicals made up a major slice of Nixon's so-called "Silent Majority" is a major component of the early literature on the "Religious Right". See for example Gary K. Claybaugh, *Thunder on the Right* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1974) and Robert Booth Fowler, *A New Engagement: Evangelical Political Thought, 1966-1976* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1982).

68. "Graham Seeks Out Youth in Crusades", *Madison State Journal* (30 September 1967), Collection 360: Billy Graham Evangelistic Association (BGEA)-Scrapbooks, reel 31 (January 1967-July 1968), Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, IL.

69. Transcript of Graham press conference, 13 May 1968, Los Angeles, CA; Collection 24: BGEA-Billy Graham Press Conferences, box 1, folder 10, BGC Archives.

70. David Wilkerson, *Purple Violet Squish* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1969), p. 17.

71. John MacDonald, Taped Reminiscence, ca. November 1998, in possession of author; John A. MacDonald interview, 7 May 1993, Collection 489-T1, BGC Archives.

72. MacDonald, Taped Reminiscence, 1998.

73. John MacDonald, *House of Acts* (Carol Stream, IL: Creation House, 1970), p. 26; Edward Plowman, *The Jesus Movement in America* (Elgin, IL: David C. Cook, 1971), p. 43.

74. For a look at the early development of San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury countercultural community see Charles Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, pp. 3-86. See also Perry, Schwartz, and Ortenberg, eds., *On the Bus*.

75. Ted Wise, "Jason Questions a Jesus Freak", 13 September 1997, document on Peninsula Bible Church website (<http://www.pbc.org/dp/wise/jason.html>); Ted Wise, letter to Yahoo! message group, 22 February 2001 (<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/daime/message/222>); John A. MacDonald, *House of Acts* (Carol Stream, IL: Creation House, 1970), pp. 22-26.

76. MacDonald, *House of Acts*, pp. 22-25.

77. Wise, "Jason Questions a Jesus Freak"; MacDonald, *House of Acts*, pp. 25-26.

78. MacDonald, *House of Acts*, p. 27.

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79. Maurice Allan, "God's Thing in Hippieville", *Christian Life* (January 1968), p. 21.
 80. Plowman, *The Jesus Movement in America*, p. 43.
 81. Wise, "Jason Questions a Jesus Freak", pp. 1-2.
 82. Ibid., p.1.
 83. MacDonald, *House of Acts*, p. 31.
 84. Wise, "Jason Questions a Jesus Freak", p. 2.
 85. MacDonald, Interview, 7 May 1993, Collection 489, Tape 1, Side 1, BGC Archives; MacDonald, *House of Acts*, p. 31; Wise, "Jason Questions a Jesus Freak", p. 1.
 86. Ronald C. Enroth, Edward E. Ericson, Jr., and C. Breckinridge Peters, *The Jesus People: Old-Time Religion in the Age of Aquarius* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1972), p. 13; Allan, "God's Thing," p. 35; MacDonald, *House of Acts*, pp. 35-39, 42-46, 51-57.
 87. MacDonald, Interview, 7 May 1993, Collection 489, Tape 1, Side 2, BGC Archives.
 88. Wise, "Jason Questions a Jesus Freak", p. 2.
 89. Ibid. MacDonald recalled years later that Wise and his friends were "highly critical of just about everything that was standard for us". He noted one instance in which they attempted to talk MacDonald into getting rid of the pews at Mill Valley First Baptist in favour of putting down pillows for a more casual effect. MacDonald rebuffed the suggestion and reminded them that he had a responsibility to minister to the entire congregation (MacDonald, taped interview, Collection 489, Tape 1, Side 1, BGC Archives).
 90. Kent Philpott interview, Mill Valley, CA, 7 August 2002, Tape 1; Philpott and Hoyt, "Two Brothers in Haight", pp. 42-52.
 91. Philpott and Hoyt, "Two Brothers in Haight", p. 54.
 92. Ibid., p. 55.
 93. Kent Philpott interview, 7 August 2002, Tape 1.
 94. Philpott and Hoyt, "Two Brothers in Haight", pp. 8-26.
 95. Ibid., p. 27.
 96. David Hoyt, "Only One Way? How Narrow Minded!", *Right On!* 1:10 (1 February 1970), p. 3; Kent Philpott interview, 7 August 2002, Tape 1. Swami Bhaktivedanta arrived in the Haight on 16 January 1967 moved into 518 Frederick Street next door to the Diggers and quickly gathered a following after receiving an endorsement from Allen Ginsberg (Charles Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, pp. 129-130).
 97. Kent Philpott interview, 7 August 2002, Tape 1; Hoyt and Philpott, "Two Brothers in Haight", pp. 28-29. For information on the origins, growth and beliefs of ISKCON see Rochford, *Hare Krishna in America*, pp. 9-19.
 98. Kent Philpott interview, 7 August 2002, Tape 1; Philpott and Hoyt, "Two Brothers in Haight", pp. 29-31.
 99. Philpott and Hoyt, "Two Brothers in Haight", pp. 31-33.
 100. Hoyt, "Only One Way?"; Philpott and Hoyt, "Two Brothers in Haight", pp. 34-36.

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101. Philpott and Hoyt, "Two Brothers in Haight", p. 36.
 102. Kent Philpott interview, 7 August 2002, Tape 1; Philpott and Hoyt, "Two Brothers in Haight", p. 37.
 103. David Di Sabatino, "A History of the Jesus Movement", (M.A. Thesis: McMaster University, 1994), pp. 32-33.
 104. MacDonald, *House of Acts*, p. 64.
 105. Kent Philpott interview, 7 August 2002, Tape 2.
 106. MacDonald, *House of Acts*, p. 65; Charles Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, pp. 165-169; Helen Swick Perry, *The Human Be-In*, pp. 22-23.
 107. MacDonald, *House of Acts*, pp. 65-67; MacDonald, taped interview, Collection 489, tape 1, side 1, BGC Archives; Wise, "Jason Questions a Jesus Freak", pp. 2-3.
 108. MacDonald, *House of Acts*, p. 69.
 109. State of California non-profit incorporation charter for Evangelical Concerns, Inc., May 1967; "Evangelical Concerns, Inc." flyer, ca. fall 1967; MacDonald, *House of Acts*, pp. 70-71; MacDonald, taped interview, Collection 489, tape 1, side 1, BGC Archives; Wise, "Jason Questions a Jesus Freak", pp. 2-3.
 110. DiSabatino, "A History of the Jesus Movement", p. 33; MacDonald, *House of Acts*, pp. 71-72.
 111. Kent Philpott, Interview, Mill Valley, CA, 7 August 2002, Tape 2; DiSabatino, "A History of the Jesus Movement", pp. 33-34; MacDonald, Taped Reminiscence, 1998; MacDonald, *House of Acts*, p. 71.
 112. In their book *The Jesus People*, Enroth, Ericson, and Peters estimated that the Living Room made contact with between 30,000 to 50,000 young people (p. 13). In a 1993 interview with David DiSabatino, group member Danny Sands believed this number to be an exaggeration and put forth an estimate of daily contact with 50-75 people. However, even using the lower estimate of 50 per day, six days a week for only 18 months, one comes up with over 20,000 people--significantly higher than the 2,500-4,000 DiSabatino estimated in his thesis ("A History of the Jesus Movement", p. 35, n18).
 113. MacDonald, *House of Acts*, pp. 101-108.
 114. David Di Sabatino, "The 'Holy Boldness of Pentecostal Experientialism: The Influence of Jesus Freak Lonnie Frisbee Upon Contemporary Protestantism", (seminar paper for class at Queen's University [Canada], Fall 1997), pp. 6, 11; Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, p. 13.
 115. Lonnie Frisbee testimony (Anaheim, CA: Vineyard Ministry International, ca. 1980, Tape 003).
 116. DiSabatino, "Holy Boldness", p. 11.
 117. Enroth, Ericson and Peters, *The Jesus People*, pp. 13-14; MacDonald, *House of Acts*, pp. 96-97.
 118. Hoyt and Philpott did not work together continuously in an organized fashion during all of this period, not surprising given the free-flowing nature of the time and their situation. For a fair part of this time Philpott would alternate two-week periods in the Haight and Southern California where his wife and children were living with his in-laws, and where Philpott would work for his father-in-law's construction company to pay the bills for his family. He also had become something of a Grade C celebrity in Southern Baptist circles for his work with youth and spent some of his time speaking to SBC youth groups and retreats (see Letter from John Courtland Shepard to Kent Philpott, 22 November 1968; Letter from Crawford Howell to Kent Philpott, 2 September 1969, photocopies in possession of author). Philpott's role is also alluded to in Charles Marsh's biographical reminiscence of his father--a pastor from Laurel, MS--and a 1968 retreat in the California mountains in his book *The Last Days: A Son's Story of Sin and*

Segregation at the Dawn of the New South (New York: Basic Books, 2001), pp. 198-202. Hoyt, meanwhile, spent some time in Southern California during this period, putting together a drug rehabilitation home called “The Way Inn” in Lancaster, CA.

119. Philpott and Hoyt, “Two Brothers in Haight”, p. 62.

120. Ibid., pp. 64-65.

121. Ibid., p. 72.

122. Ibid., p. 74.

123. Ibid., p. 75.

124. Kent Philpott taped telephone interview, 23 September 2003; Kent Philpott interview, 7 August 2002, Tape 2.

125. Ibid.

126. See for example Philpott and Hoyt, “Two Brothers in Haight”, pp. 61-62, 68, 77, 84-86.

Chapter 4

‘...And Your Sons And Your Daughters Shall Prophecy’: The Establishment of a Jesus People *Movement*, 1968-1969

Amid the accelerating political and cultural upheaval of the late 1960s, the nascent Jesus People movement spread beyond the bounds of its original home in the San Francisco Bay area. During 1968 and 1969 the movement spread to, and absolutely thrived in, the area around Los Angeles and adjacent Orange County in the southern part of the state. The spread of the movement beyond the blocks of the Haight-Ashbury neighbourhood was the result of a complex intertwining of the ‘60s zeitgeist and local circumstances and actors. In almost every instance, the rise of a local Jesus People group in ‘SoCal’ could be traced back to the work of a footloose evangelical minister like Hollywood’s Arthur Blessitt or to visionary youth workers like Hollywood’s Don Williams who took it upon themselves--often in the face of yawning indifference or outright resistance from their evangelical peers--to reach out to the local youth involved in the counterculture and its shadow drug culture. Quick to tolerate hippie trappings within their revamped version of evangelicalism, they garnered zealous hippie converts who, like Lonnie Frisbee at Calvary Chapel, in turn bolstered and authenticated a counter-culturally friendly atmosphere.

The ‘typical’ Jesus People ethos that emerged was dominated by several core characteristics which mixed and matched influences from the evangelical and the countercultural sides of the movement’s parentage. First, the new Street Christians’ literalistic tendencies in interpreting the scriptures led them into a heavy emphasis upon Pentecostal and charismatic phenomena such as glossolalia, prophecy and ‘words of knowledge’. Secondly, the Jesus People inhabited a supernaturally charged world chock-full of signs and wonders and a steady outpouring of what they perceived to be

divine intervention in their lives. Thirdly, their biblicism and emphasis on the supernatural reinforced a pre-existing countercultural pessimism about the direction of the world, creating a pervasive conviction that they were living in the 'Last Days'. Thus, study of Bible prophecy and an emphasis on coming judgement came to preoccupy the Jesus People and figured strongly in their evangelistic message.

At first sight most, or all, of these characteristics could be seen as applying to some extent to a broad swath of American evangelicals and Pentecostals during the 1960s and 1970s. But what would set the Jesus People apart from their 'straight' evangelical and Pentecostal 'cousins' would be the intensity with which these characteristics marked the Jesus People along with their wholesale incorporation into a distinctly, non-bourgeois 'un-churchy' atmosphere that was far removed from 'respectable' America's way of 'doing church'. First, the Jesus People--inspired by both hippie utopianism and their interpretation of the New Testament--placed a high value on communal living. Second, the Jesus People sought out and promoted a casual 'come-as-you-are' atmosphere that embodied the counterculture's emphasis on 'authenticity' and comfort. Third, 'God's Forever Family' seamlessly blended a countercultural penchant for popular culture into their lifestyle, worship, and evangelism. Psychedelically-charged artwork and the use of pop culture bric-a-brac such as jewellery, buttons, t-shirts and, most importantly, in their free-wheeling adaptation of contemporary folk and rock music forms into their worship and evangelism helped proclaim their beliefs and identity to the world.

Taken together, these various characteristics would forge an identity for the developing Jesus People movement. Even in these initial stages of the Jesus movement however, it became clear that this new hybrid combination of evangelical religion and counterculture style had an appeal that was not limited to hard-core street people, ex-

drug addicts and full-blown hippies. Younger adolescents in high school and particularly evangelical church kids would be attracted to the emerging Jesus People style, as it developed in places like Hollywood Presbyterian Church's Salt Company and Calvary Chapel in Costa Mesa, setting the stage for the growth of a truly widespread youth-based movement.

Jesus People Beginnings in Southern California

Early manifestations of what would come to be known as part of the Jesus People movement began to crop up in the Los Angeles area at about the same time as the Living Room group, Evangelical Concerns and Kent Philpott (see Chapter 3) were beginning their various outreaches to the hippies in and around San Francisco. Utterly disconnected from what was going on to the north, these L.A. outposts of the 'Street Christian' movement-- Arthur Blessitt's "His Place", and youth pastor Donald Williams' Salt Company 'nightclub' and David Berg's "Teens for Christ" in Huntington Beach--would initially be targeted at various local 'youth' populations rather than at the counterculture per se. However, as the counterculture's influence and visibility spread, these evangelical outposts would take on more of a decidedly hippie aura in their quest to evangelise L.A. area youth and runaways swept up in the drug culture.

Arthur Blessitt and "His Place"--Hollywood, CA

One of the more visible early outreaches to the developing mid-60s drug scene was that of Arthur Blessitt on Hollywood's famous Sunset Strip. A 25-year-old Southern Baptist minister from Mississippi, Blessitt had come to study at the Southern Baptists' Golden Gate Seminary in San Francisco in 1965 after short-lived pastorates in his home state, Montana and Nevada. More intrigued with personal evangelism than with his studies, Blessitt left school and moved to Southern California in 1967. After

failing miserably in an attempt at traditional crusade-style revivalism at the San Bernardino fairgrounds, Blessitt claimed a direct call from God to minister to the down and out. He and his wife Sherry with the help of New Orleans-born Baptist pastor Leo Humphrey found their way to the Sunset Strip where Blessitt began to work the sidewalks, passing out tracts and sandwiches, and attempting to find help for addicts and runaways.¹

Handsome, friendly, and possessed of a quick smile and wit, Blessitt had found his element. He quickly realised that he would have to adapt to connect with the street scene. In his 1971 book, *Turned on to Jesus*, Blessitt recalled that he soon began to let his hair and sideburns grow and adjusted his wardrobe:

A collar or a business suit wouldn't get you anywhere. The first time I walked into a trip room I wore a tie and a suit. The heads panicked. They thought I was a narc agent out to bust them. After that I switched to turtle-necks and psychedelically-patterned slacks or bell bottoms and sandals. Then came the beads.²

Blessitt also began to mimic the hip argot of the street and the drug culture. In talking to the increasing number of hippies he encountered, he urged them to consider "the Jesus trip" and to try "getting high on Jesus." Instead of smoking grass and "dropping" LSD, Blessitt told his hip listeners of the joys of "dropping Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John", and urged them to "Get loaded on Jesus; 24 hours a day you can be naturally stoned on Jesus!"³

Blessitt began to gather some local notoriety for his ministry, appearing in local churches in Southern California urging congregations--mostly Southern Baptist--to consider reaching out to disaffected youth as a legitimate 'home missions' endeavour.⁴ With the aid of a few pastors and businessman he was able to put together enough financial backing to secure a storefront on Sunset Strip in mid-1968. Dubbed "His Place", the storefront mission at 9109 Sunset Boulevard was surrounded by bars,

nightclubs, and strip joints. Although billed a 'night club', His Place was a cross between the old-style skid row mission and a psychedelic coffeehouse: one room was lit by black lights, had blinking coloured lights and featured an ongoing slide show which featured intermittent gospel messages. Offering Kool-Aid, free peanut butter sandwiches and day-old bagels from a Jewish bakery, His Place quickly became a magnet for the Strip's endless stream of bikers, junkies and runaways.⁵ Open around the clock, seven days a week, Blessitt and a slowly-growing corps of ex-addict 'counselors' and the Eternal Rush house band "made up of ex-drug fiends" preached and witnessed to the ebb and flow of young people--sometimes more than a thousand per night--that sidewalk traffic brought their way.⁶ Among Blessitt's most prominent converts was Glenn Schwartz, guitarist for the rock groups the James Gang, and Pacific Gas and Electric.⁷

One of the more colourful features of the scene at His Place was the evolution of a practice Blessitt came to call a 'toilet service'. In this frequently-repeated ritual, converts who had prayed to receive Jesus were escorted into the washroom and urged to commit his/her "cache of grass, reds, speed, or acid" to the keeping of the Los Angeles sewer system. Sometimes it became crowded. Blessitt recalled one instance where "18 small people" crammed into the little bathroom.⁸ However, not all the drugs at His Place made it into the commode--one night someone spiked the Kool-Aid with LSD and sent everyone on a surprise trip.⁹

Eventually, Blessitt's presence began to grate on some of the owners of the bars and nightclubs on the Strip. Besides the fact that his operation was drawing off some of their best customers, the witnessing teams from His Place trawling for converts were becoming increasingly frequent on the sidewalks outside their establishments. Perhaps even more irritating, his followers had enthusiastically seized upon a Blessitt

innovation--"Reds" (a play on street slang for a type of amphetamines)--a small circular "Jesus sticker" with a motto such as "Smile, Jesus Loves You", and the address of His Place underneath a combination cross/peace symbol. Blessitt's disciples took to plastering 'Reds' all over streetlamps, traffic signals, stop signs and all over the doors of the Strip's non-evangelistic-oriented establishments.¹⁰ In the spring of 1970 Blessitt's landlord, allegedly under pressure from neighbourhood bar owners, abruptly terminated the lease on His Place. Unable to find another piece of property on the Strip, Blessitt claimed there was a "conspiracy" afoot to silence the gospel. To publicize his cause, Blessitt chained himself on to a cross outside Los Angeles City Hall and began a thirty seven-day fast to protest about his situation. Blessitt not only was able to find a new home for His Place, but also, more importantly perhaps, he received a great deal of publicity.¹¹ Blessitt's opportunities for outside speaking engagements increased and he quickly became a headliner at concerts and rallies that had begun to mark the flowering of the Jesus Movement in Southern California.¹² While Blessitt would soon be distracted by other ministry pursuits, his attempts to reach the disaffected youth of the Sunset Strip was an important early part of the Jesus People scene in the Los Angeles area.

Don Williams & the Salt Company--Hollywood, CA

Another of the most influential early examples of what would become the Jesus Movement was the spin put on traditional evangelical youth ministry by Don Williams, college pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Hollywood, at the time the nation's largest Presbyterian church. A Glendale, California, native with a Ph.D. fresh from New York City's Union Seminary, Williams was recruited to the position in 1967 by Henrietta Mears, a towering figure in evangelical Christian education circles whose protégés included Dawson Trotman, founder of the Navigators, and Campus Crusade

for Christ founder Bill Bright (see chapter 2). Mears died a few months before Williams' arrival but what he may have lost in terms of her guidance, he may have gained in independence: "I was a lot more on my own than I had anticipated," reflected Williams.¹³

Starting out with a class of "easily 200 college students" on Sunday mornings but stifled by the fact that the church was miles from any campus, Williams set out to expand his group by starting Bible studies on the campus of the University of Southern California (USC) and the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). He especially targeted campus leaders and celebrities in his efforts, the so-called 'key kids' concept advanced by Mears and by groups such as Campus Crusade and Young Life. Although this strategy seemed to work well, he grew increasingly aware that youth culture was changing. Several teens who did not fit the typical "Hollywood Pres" college student mould drifted into Williams' class and introduced him to the world of the counterculture. One, a pregnant teenage girl named Sarah Lemley, was particularly influential. Once converted, she "literally dragged [Williams] onto the streets of Hollywood" he recalls. "I began to meet hippie tribes . . . I began to go to these coffeehouses" and became familiar with Arthur Blessitt's ministry.¹⁴

What really began to get his attention, however, was the role music played among the alienated youth. "My deepest listening came at the point of music", Williams wrote in 1972. "Here I began to feel the full weight of the cultural revolution, and here I found a great secret: music is the key to this generation because music is the one place in the mass media where kids editorialize to kids".¹⁵ Although Williams described himself at that time as musically in his "Late Ray Coniff Era", one of his students--Bob Marlow-- introduced him to the music of Bob Dylan and soon Williams was fascinated with the folk-rock singer. Dylan, recalled Williams, was "the single most important

influence" on his thinking about what was going on in the youth culture at the time "in terms of understanding [the generation's] . . . idealism on the one hand. . . and then the anger on the other hand".¹⁶ Eventually, in the fall of 1967, Williams decided to do a special Sunday evening service entitled "The Gospel According to Bob Dylan" with Marlow singing songs such as "Blowin' in the Wind" and "It Ain't Me, Babe" interspersed with Williams' commentary. The college group handed out flyers on the Sunset Strip to publicize the event but nobody, Williams included, expected the response they received: the usual Sunday evening crowd of 300 mushroomed to over 1,400, many of them from L.A.'s hippie street culture.¹⁷

By this time Williams had a group of 30-40 counterculturally-oriented kids--many of them musically and artistically-inclined--in the midst of his college age group. It was these youths who came up with the idea of a coffeehouse to reach their own kind more effectively. Familiar with the concept from his seminary days poking around the folk clubs in Greenwich Village, Williams backed their plan to the church board. "The incredible thing", Williams remembered "was that this church--which was a upper-middle class, high-profile church, lots of city leaders as members . . . opened the door for us to do it". With the aid of \$10,000-15,000 from the church and donated labour from a wealthy contractor in the church, the upstairs of an adjacent apartment building was remodelled and christened 'The Salt Company', complete with the "best sound system money could buy at the time".¹⁸

Opened during the summer of 1968, the Salt Company 'nightclub' blended a hip ambience, refreshments and music the rock-attuned youth could appreciate. The new operation was a success from the start, routinely cramming in a hundred teenagers for each of two shows every Friday and Saturday evening.¹⁹ With their \$1 'cover charge', the Club was even a financial success. By the end of the first year, Williams recalls that

they were able “to give back a big pile of money to the church It was fun, I felt a little vindicated”.²⁰ Over the next few years the Salt Company led the way for Williams to widen the scope of Hollywood Pres’ youth-oriented programmes including the oversight of several communal houses, the creation of a Sunday morning worship service in a more informal style, a self-styled ‘underground’ Monday night youth service that attracted upwards of 150 youth each week and occasional weekend concerts in the church’s 2,000-seat sanctuary.²¹

While it was certainly successful in its own right, the Salt Company’s biggest influence was in its role as a prototype for a countercultural-friendly manner of youth ministry. Beginning in 1969, numerous pastors, youth workers and concerned laypeople would visit the Salt Company or correspond with Williams to learn “how it was done”.²² “We didn’t turn out books and how-to’s and run seminars”, Williams later remembered “but I literally . . . had to set aside at least once a month, for 2-3 hours for pastors and youth leaders to meet me to tour through the facility and talk about leadership”. At some point when the Jesus People were at their height Williams recalls an attempt to estimate the number of coffeehouses that may have been directly inspired by the Salt Company and put the number--at the least--at about 400.²³ Whatever the exact numbers, through its example Williams’ Salt Company was a major influence on the proliferation of Christian coffeehouses that would dot North America in the 1970s (see chapter 6).

Teens for Christ/The Children of God (COG)

A third early manifestation of the Jesus People in the Los Angeles area was David Berg’s Teens for Christ (later re-named the Children of God [COG]) in Huntington Beach in Orange County. Characterized by a creeping separatism, and a zealous, radically anti-establishment message, Berg’s organisation was early on

counted among the most influential Jesus People groups.²⁴ However, the 'COG' would gradually move beyond the pale of evangelical-Pentecostal orthodoxy as it grew in the shadows of the counterculture, attracting both counterculture youth and young people from evangelical backgrounds hungry for an "all-out" commitment to Christ.

The group's founder, David Berg, was the son of two evangelists, Hjalmer Emmanuel Berg--a pastor and professor at evangelical Westmont College in California--and Virginia Brandt Berg, a Christian and Missionary Alliance evangelist and radio preacher. Following a few years as a pastor in the Christian and Missionary Alliance, the younger Berg found a position in 1955 as public relations director and booking agent for Pentecostal evangelist Fred Jordan's radio and television shows. After spending nearly a decade in his employ, a personal squabble caused Berg to sever ties with Jordan. After several months on the road as an itinerant evangelist, Berg--now in his late forties--accepted an offer from his mother in December 1967 to join her in a ministry she was working with part-time, a coffeehouse sponsored by David Wilkerson's Teen Challenge organisation in Huntington Beach.²⁵

Berg's mother died in early 1968 and he quickly became the dominant force in the coffeehouse, re-naming it the Light Club, calling his group Teens for Christ, and severing all connections with Teen Challenge. By this time Berg had attracted several converts from the hippie 'beach bum' element, lured initially by free food and up-beat, almost-rock, music supplied by Berg's children. Looking back on this period, Berg's daughter Linda remarked that "Teens for Christ had discovered the secret to gathering lost and wayward youth: free peanut butter sandwiches and live music."²⁶ These earliest disciples, along with Berg's four married children, formed a close-knit group that would eventually become the COG's elite cadre.²⁷

Kent Philpott from the Jesus movement scene in San Francisco (see Chapter 3) recalled visiting the Light Club in the early part of 1969 and being struck by the incongruity of what he saw there. The place was packed with scruffy, barefoot kids who contrasted with the Bergs' austere demeanour. "I'll never forget" said Philpott in a 2002 interview, "he and his sons were all dressed in black suits . . . we thought that was very peculiar . . . wall-to-wall kids . . . and here's this guy dressed in a black suit". And unlike the broadly evangelical cooperative spirit which characterized the relationship between hippies and straights in the San Francisco scene, Philpott and friends found no sense of brotherhood or welcome from Berg: "We didn't like him and he didn't like us we were not gonna be involved with these people and it was real clear . . . there was no 'Lord bless you'".²⁸

Berg's group, perhaps influenced by Philpott and company's visit, took more of a countercultural turn in the immediate months that followed. Long hair and beards became the typical style of the male leadership and women wore long 'granny'-style dresses. Demonstrating a fanatical loyalty to Berg, they quit their jobs at his behest and embarked on an experiment in communal living.²⁹

Around this time the group also began a practice that came to be known as 'smiting:' the invasion of 'straight' churches in the midst of Sunday morning worship services. Barefoot and dressed in typical hippie garb, Berg's followers would march into a church shouting "Amen!" and "Praise the Lord!" and proceed to denounce the institutional church and the lukewarm spirituality of churchgoers. With the beginning of this practice, they also began to receive press coverage as local newspapers in Orange County began to run stories on the bizarre incidents.³⁰

This strategy also attracted attention from local authorities and Berg's landlord forced the group to vacate the coffeehouse in mid-1969. Berg and several of his

followers believed they had received a revelation from God that California was in imminent danger of destruction from a looming earthquake. He set the group-- numbering about 50 to 60--on the road. After brief stays in Palm Springs and Tucson (in the latter city the group nearly doubled in size), the COG spent the next eight months moving from place to place, ranging as far north as Quebec, east to Virginia, and back west to the Houston area.³¹ This period, in the estimation of sociologist Robert Ellwood, became a central motif in the group's internal mythology, comparable to the Children of Israel's wandering in the desert.³² It was during this time that a newsman first called them the "Children of God", a name which Berg liked and began to use.³³

In February 1970 the bedraggled and emaciated COG--now numbering about 200--found refuge when Berg's old employer, Fred Jordan, offered them the use of his Los Angeles skid row mission and a run-down ranch about 70 miles west of Fort Worth, Texas.³⁴ For the next eighteen months Jordan's organisation provided the COG with much-needed food and shelter. It also provided a much-needed aura of respectability by the association with the 'straight' Pentecostal community as well as a secure base from which they would be poised to expand in 1970-1971(see Chapter 5). The Children of God were set to become an important, if often controversial, part of the early Jesus People movement.

Calvary Chapel-Costa Mesa, CA

What would prove to be the largest single example of the developing Jesus Movement in Southern California was Calvary Chapel in Costa Mesa, California. At the beginning of 1968 Calvary Chapel was a middling-sized independent church in conservative middle-class, and heavily Republican, Orange County, southeast of Los Angeles. Its pastor, Chuck Smith, was a balding, middle-aged minister who had tired

of denominational politics and bureaucracy and left the International Church of the FourSquare Gospel after several nondescript pastorates. Invited to take on the struggling Costa Mesa congregation in December 1965, the church numbered fewer than forty people when Smith arrived. Under his leadership the church underwent a modest renaissance, saw its attendance climb to near 200 per week and had a building programme put into place.³⁵

As Smith went about the business of shepherding his suburban flock, his wife Kay began to express an increasing concern for the hippies gathering at nearby Huntington Beach. Armed with an Orange County establishment revulsion for hippies and all they stood for, Smith would go with his wife to Huntington Beach to gawk at the long-haired youth. Eventually, his wife's concern for the hippies' temporal and eternal needs began to melt Smith's resistance and he began to wonder how they might make contact with these prodigal youth.³⁶ Through his teenage daughter and her fiancé, Smith was introduced to a number of the beach hippies. To Smith's surprise one young man--"a long-haired, bearded young man with bells on his feet and flowers in his hair. A real live hippie!"--also turned out to be an enthusiastic Christian: Lonnie Frisbee, a native of Costa Mesa and the former LSD-tripping art student who had been taken into the Living Room/House of Acts group in Haight-Ashbury (see Chapter 3).³⁷

Impressed by Frisbee's "love of Jesus and his Spirit-filled personality", Smith asked him to stay at his home for a few weeks and supported him as something of an unofficial missionary to the Huntington Beach hippies while Smith learned "what makes them tick". Frisbee agreed and began to preach and testify at Huntington Beach and other local hippie hang-outs. The slight, Jesus-look-alike's evangelising proved effective and soon Frisbee led a growing corps of long-haired, casually-attired, barefoot or sandalled youth trooping in amid the button-downed 'straight' congregation at

Calvary Chapel.³⁸ Given the rootless, runaway status of many of these young people, however, it became apparent that ministering to them would entail more than the opportunity to avail themselves of Calvary Chapel's regular services and meetings. The new converts needed a place to live, food to eat and an atmosphere where Bible reading and prayer could replace drugs and sex as their main pastimes.

In response to this need, in April 1968 Smith and Frisbee found an apartment to house some of their born-again hippies. This rapidly proved too small and an old two-bedroom house in Costa Mesa was rented out as Calvary Chapel's first commune house, the House of Miracles, which opened on 17 May 1968.³⁹ Frisbee and his wife Connie, along with John Higgins--a hip seeker who had self-converted to Christianity by reading the scriptures two years earlier and who thought he alone had the correct interpretation of the Bible until he met Frisbee and then Smith--were put in charge of the house. Calvary Chapel paid \$50 of the monthly \$90 rent and provided living expenses for the house staff and a portion of the money needed for utilities and food. Within a week, more than 30 new hippie Christians had piled into the modest bungalow and neighbours were seething about the swarm of longhairs descending upon their subdivision.⁴⁰ The overcrowding intensified as one runaway girl named Cherise was converted and by herself was responsible for bringing over 50 people to the house in a three-week period.⁴¹

This early success and the arrangement with the 'straights' at Calvary Chapel proved daunting to the insecure Frisbee, and he sought advice from his former mentors in the Bay area. In response, David Hoyt, Kent Philpott, Rik Sacks and Danny Sands from the Evangelical Concerns-backed group piled into a car and drove down to Orange County to investigate the arrangement. While they knew Frisbee was gifted in dealing with people one-on-one, they were unsure about his leadership potential: "We didn't

feel real strongly about Frisbee,” recalled Philpott, “. . . he was a weak personality I had never even heard him speak to a group because he was a nobody, he would never [have been] entrusted [even] to lead a Bible study [back in San Francisco]”. One evening the San Francisco group sat down with Frisbee and Chuck Smith and his elders at the House of Miracles: “They sat in chairs and all had coats and ties on, we all sat on the floor”, remembered Philpott. As they listened to the details of the situation, the Bay Area ‘Street Christians’ were convinced Smith’s guidance would be a real plus. Thus re-assured, Frisbee plunged full-ahead into his role as ‘hippie evangelist’ at Calvary Chapel.⁴²

There was much to do. With the House of Miracles overflowing and people sleeping in the backyard, a search quickly began for other facilities to house the growing stream of converts and inquirers. A sympathetic evangelical judge stepped forward with an old rundown motel he owned in Riverside, a city fifteen miles to the east. With materials provided by some of Smith’s contacts and labour from the hippies, the motel was made inhabitable in early June. With four ‘elders’ (two of them under 20) in charge, the new facility absorbed the overflow from the Costa Mesa house. The Riverside house’s residents quickly set to work witnessing and preaching on the city’s streets. Within a week 65 young people had been ‘saved’ and subsequently baptized in the motel’s old fish ponds. By the end of the summer it was claimed that over 500 young people--including several members of the Diablos motorcycle gang--had been converted through the efforts of those at the old motel. Still, the commune itself was forced to close down early that fall after problems policing drug and alcohol use among some visitors and a power grab by one of the elders.⁴³ Nonetheless, the communal houses overseen by Calvary Chapel--Philadelphia House, Mansion Messiah, I

Corinthians House and others--continued to multiply in Costa Mesa and other nearby towns.⁴⁴

As Calvary Chapel's string of 'Jesus Houses' prospered, the church itself was increasingly dominated by its ministry among the hippies and the church's Sunday services and weeknight Bible studies reflected their presence. While at first the music used in services was a very traditional 'gospel' style of music,⁴⁵ eventually the presence of the hippies led to the incorporation of more informal, folk-style songs and choruses and eventually the introduction of full-fledged Jesus rock bands such as "Love Song", "Country Faith" and "Blessed Hope" that emerged from within the church (see chapter 7). The overall atmosphere of the church also became more relaxed and informal. An average service would feature young people sitting cross-legged in the aisles, forming impromptu prayer circles following services and greeting friends and visitors with warm embraces.⁴⁶

But much of the appeal went beyond matters of style, resting in the contrasting, but complementary, figures of Smith and Frisbee. Smith, with his engaging smile, avuncular manner, and warm, radio announcer's voice became a father figure to the street kids: 'Papa Chuck'. His main strength lay in his role as Bible teacher, particularly in leading the youth into the 'deeper truths' of Bible prophecy as contained in the complex premillennial dispensationalism he fervently espoused. Indeed, it is not surprising to learn that Smith had embarked on a lengthy verse-by-verse study of the Book of Revelation just before Calvary Chapel's contact with the local hippie community began.⁴⁷ Undoubtedly, within the context of campus unrest, the sexual revolution, race riots and the Vietnam War, an explication of John the Revelator's apocalypse proved an effective 'hook' for attracting the attention of disillusioned, questioning young people.



Figure 1: Lonnie Frisbee (center) leading a worship session at a ‘Jesus Concert’ at the Hollywood Paladium, ca. 1970 (photo courtesy of David Di Sabatino).

However, it was the contrasting figure of ‘the hippie preacher’, Lonnie Frisbee, who, clad in bellbottoms and speaking in the vernacular of the street, initially proved most important in pulling in the crowds of young people during Calvary Chapel’s early days. A young hippie, David Rosales, remembers that the Calvary scene “blew [his] mind . . . the teacher was Lonnie Frisbee and he was a real hippie”.⁴⁸ Oden Fong, an ex-member of Dr Timothy Leary’s Laguna Beach-based Brotherhood of Eternal Love and son of Hollywood character actor Benson Fong, was of the opinion that Frisbee was the story at Calvary Chapel in the early days. Asked if Frisbee was something of a ‘lodestone’ for young people, he replied “Yes, absolutely . . . just because of his personality anywhere he’d go he would draw people like he was a pied piper”. Yet Fong could not quite put a finger on what it was about Frisbee in front of an audience that was such a draw, noting that it certainly was not his expertise that intrigued people: “I don’t think he knew the Bible all that well” he remembers, and “He was a horrible worship leader . . . he was awful”. Looking back, Fong was at a loss: “You couldn’t

really explain if you sat around and tried to look through his merits . . . except that he had so much boldness and conviction . . . his message was very simple”.⁴⁹

Don Williams echoed Fong’s impression. Recalling his first-ever visit to Calvary Chapel sometime in 1969 he vividly remembered that Frisbee “had trouble reading the Scriptures, he stumbled all over the words--he was reading out of the King James Version . . . he just slaughtered the text. He then started to preach from it and he woefully misinterpreted [the passage]”. But to Williams’ surprise “[Frisbee] went on to preach one of the best evangelistic sermons” he had ever heard. At the end of the sermon Frisbee gave an invitation and Williams remembered that “all over the place, people stood up”.⁵⁰ Kent Philpott, who had initially thought of the young Frisbee as a “nobody” and a “weak personality” (see above), was similarly floored after actually seeing Frisbee speak in front of an audience:

...it was amazing to see Lonnie Frisbee in action, you just have no idea, he attracted hundreds if not thousands of kids . . . he looked like a picture of Jesus, he had the hair, the beard . . . if he had wanted to he could have passed himself off as the reincarnation of Jesus . . . here was an authentic hippie kid, when he got up to talk, I don’t know to use the word mesmerising, or hypnotic, or whether it was just the Holy Spirit. I don’t think I’ve seen that kind of power before . . . it was incredible . . .
51

Undeniably part of Frisbee’s magnetism stemmed from his personal emphasis on the Pentecostal-style ‘baptism of the Holy Spirit’ and accompanying ‘signs and wonders’. Frisbee’s ministry emphasized Pentecostal manifestations such as speaking in tongues and being ‘slain in the Spirit’.⁵² After the main service in the Calvary Chapel sanctuary Frisbee was perhaps most truly in his element leading an ‘afterglow’ service in a side room. The side room service was apparently Chuck Smith’s idea. Although raised within Aimee Semple McPherson’s International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, Smith had long been dismayed by the excesses of Pentecostal

fervour he had witnessed in his youth, and tended to interpret glossolalia as a private spiritual exercise and downplayed other 'signs'. Indeed, he was perceived by more than one observer to be 'keeping the lid down' on Frisbee's penchant for boisterous charisma.⁵³

While the church experienced impressive growth under the two men's very different styles, not everyone among the church's old-timers was happy with Smith, his young hippie protégé, or Calvary Chapel's new direction. Some members were scandalized by the dozens of youth who would plop down on the church's lawn after Sunday morning services reading their Bibles while enjoying a relaxing cigarette. Others were concerned after moving into their new--and already outgrown--300-seat sanctuary, that the hippies' dirty feet and blue jeans would soil their plush new carpet and padded pews. Before one Sunday morning service several church members put up a sign that read "No Bare Feet Allowed in the Church". Smith was incensed and promptly took it down. After services that morning there was a hastily-called meeting of the church board; what transpired there was certainly a pivotal turning point in the history of Calvary Chapel, and probably for the entire Jesus Movement. Smith told his elders in no uncertain terms that if they had to turn away young people because of bare feet and dirty clothes they would be better off ripping up the carpet and removing the pews and replacing them with steel folding chairs. With this figurative line drawn in the sand Smith won his board over to a no-reservations approach to their ministry among the hippies.⁵⁴

For the most part, the old-line membership of Calvary Chapel agreed--Smith remembers the departure of only a few people--and the church's already impressive growth increased.⁵⁵ But a new and important development was also beginning to manifest itself at Calvary Chapel. In addition to the hard-core hippie element, the



Figure 2: Calvary Chapel mass baptism at Corona Del Mar, California, ca. 1971 (photo taken by KQED-TV, San Francisco, contained in Enroth, Ericson and Peters, *The Jesus People*).

church was proving an even greater attraction for rank and file Orange County teenagers for whom the informal style, music and acceptance of hippie fashion nicely dovetailed with the currents of contemporary youth culture. Lonnie Frisbee and Kenn Gulliksen had begun Bible studies at nearby Costa Mesa and Harbor High Schools and the appeal of the new, hip version of evangelical Christianity proved popular there, too. One woman recalled the ‘overnight’ impact of the movement on her peer group at Costa Mesa High in 1969: “I used to go out to the field and smoke a joint with my friends, one day they were reading their Bibles instead”.⁵⁶

The impact of this new flow of youth into the church was momentous. By late 1969 and early 1970 the church was running three Sunday morning services which attracted about 1,500. Additionally, a Sunday night service attracted close to 1,000

every week, as did weeknight Bible studies on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday nights.⁵⁷ Monthly baptisms held along the rocky beach at Corona Del Mar State Park that would become a staple image of the Jesus Movement (see chapter 5) were a popular feature of Calvary Chapel's programme, often seeing more than 500 young people being baptized in the Pacific Ocean.⁵⁸

By late 1969 these most prominent of the pioneering Jesus People groups were hardly alone. Christian coffeehouses and various outreaches to hippies and their teenaged admirers had popped up all over the region. In Redondo Beach at Bethel Tabernacle, Pentecostal evangelist Lyle Steenis and former hippie Breck Stevens ministered to the local drug culture.⁵⁹ Just off the campus of UCLA, former Campus Crusade staffer Hal Lindsey had established the JC Light & Power House, a combination communal house/Bible training centre with an emphasis on Bible prophecy.⁶⁰ In blue-collar Covina and West Covina, Ron Turner's Agape Force had established coffeehouses, communal houses and a following in the several hundreds.⁶¹ Dave Anderson straddled mainline denominational youthwork, the charismatic movement and the developing Jesus movement with his Van Nuys-based group Lutheran Youth Alive.⁶² First in Beverly Hills and then rural Saugus, Tony and Susan Alamo's (pronounced ah-LAH-mo) Alamo Foundation was a strict, separatist-leaning group that worked mainly with runaways and hippie druggies. Down in San Diego there were the thriving Lost Coin and Lighthouse coffeehouses.⁶³ And back in Hollywood, a mild-mannered conservative Minnesota Baptist and would-be-vaudevillian, Duane Pederson, had brought the new movement into the media by starting the *Hollywood Free Paper* (HFP), a Christian version of a hippie 'underground' newspaper (see chapter 5) that was soon being handed out in the tens of thousands.⁶⁴

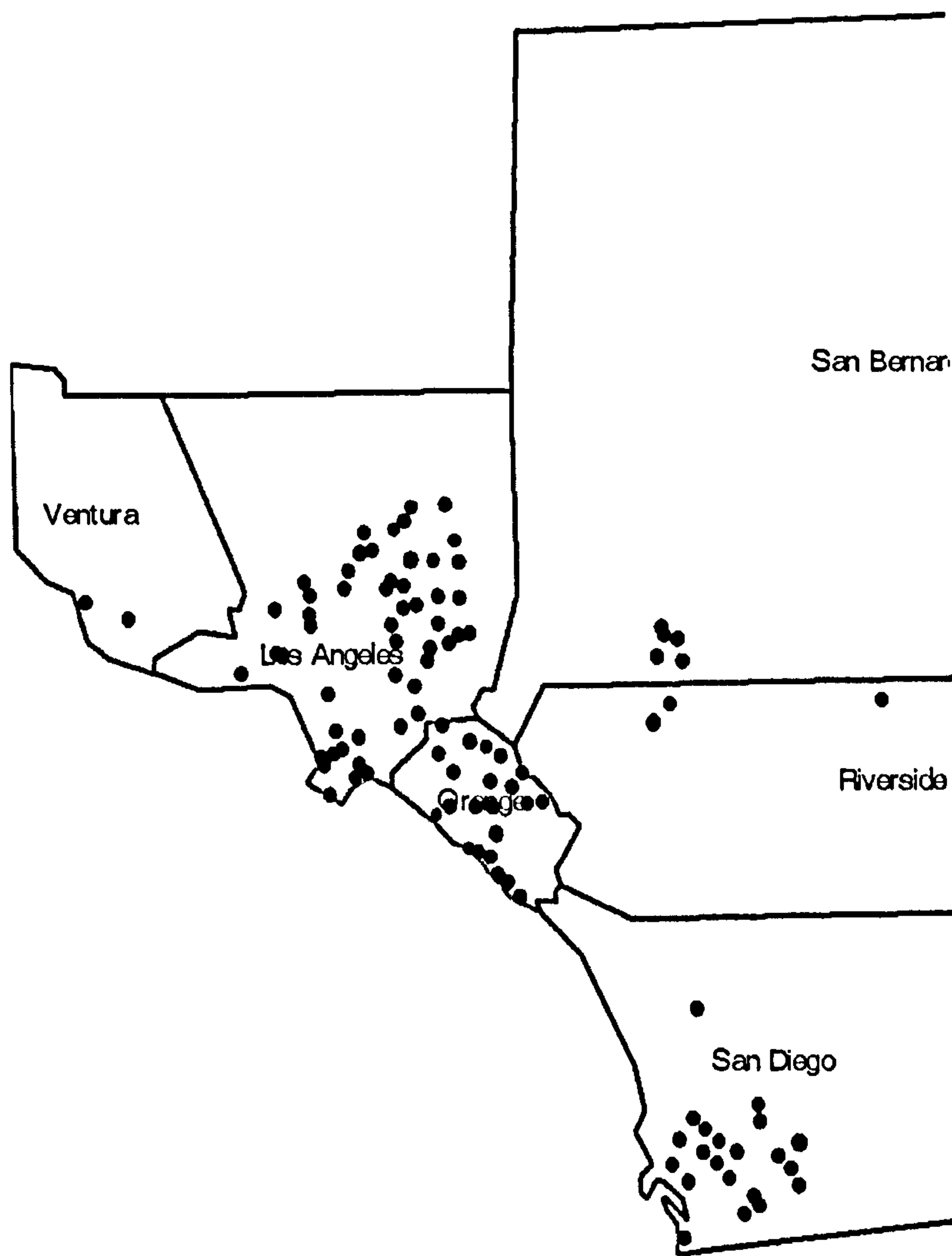


Figure 3: Known centres of movement activity--churches, coffeehouses, communal houses--in the Southern Californian Jesus People "scene" ca. Summer 1970. Note that much of the "blank" region lying between Orange County and the San Diego area is the huge Camp Pendleton United States Marine base, while other "blank" areas north, east and northwest of the "scene" is largely thinly-inhabited farming, desert and mountain areas (map by author).

The movement continued to grow over the next year and--as the map in Figure 3 shows--by the summer of 1970 there were at the least over one hundred known Jesus People groups and centres functioning in the Southern California Jesus People scene. However, despite the fact that the movement was informal, far-flung and unorganized, there were several readily identifiable markers--some clearly evangelical in origin, others stemming from the countercultural side of the ledger--which most of these groups shared, setting the Jesus People apart as an actual 'movement' with a readily



Figure 4: A trio of influential ‘straight’ evangelical Jesus People leaders; l to r: Arthur Blessitt, Duane Pederson, publisher of the *Hollywood Free Paper*, and Jack Sparks, leader of the Christian World Liberation Front in Berkeley, California (photo courtesy of David Di Sabatino).

recognizable form to both those on the inside and outside of the new ‘hippie Christians’.

The Pentecostal Ethos of the Jesus People

Not surprisingly given the evangelical backgrounds of the movement’s ‘straight’ sponsors, the Jesus People thoroughly reflected the four-fold definition of evangelicalism as classically set forth by D.W. Bebbington⁶⁵--the ‘Street Christians’ were certainly bibliocentric (and strongly fundamentalist in their interpretation of the Bible), placed a heavy emphasis on conversion and the atoning, substitutionary role of Christ’s death on the cross, and were decidedly ‘gung-ho’ in their activist inclinations to evangelize their peers. No one was confused about where the Jesus People fitted into the spectrum of American Christianity. As scholar Robert S. Ellwood put it in the introduction to his 1973 analysis of the movement, the Jesus movement was made up of “young people in considerable numbers” who were “rejecting both conventional

Christianity and counter culture religions” to “take up with evangelical Christianity”.⁶⁶ But within its broadly evangelical contours, there were specific aspects of the evangelical subculture which tended to characterise the Jesus People.

The first major characteristic that set them apart was the major role that the ‘baptism of the Holy Spirit’, speaking in tongues, and other distinctives of Pentecostal-style worship played within Jesus People circles. Not all Jesus People groups or ministries were necessarily Pentecostal in their orientation--as Detroit-based journalist Hiley Ward commented in his 1971 tour of Jesus People communes, there was a segment of the movement that struck him as ‘Baptist’.⁶⁷ Indeed, the role of Southern Baptists like Blessitt, Sammy Tippitt in Chicago and Richard Hogue in Houston and others would have--understandably--fitted this mould as would some other major groups such as Berkeley, California’s Christian World Liberation Front (CWLF) (see chapter 5) and many of the later church youth group-based manifestations of the movement. For the most part, however, the movement was thoroughly awash in a Pentecostal ethos of glossolalia, prophecy, ‘words of knowledge’, ‘singing in the Spirit’ and divine healing.

Recent research for this study proves just how pervasive the acceptance and experience of Pentecostal-style phenomena within Jesus People ranks truly was. In a web-based survey of former Jesus People, when asked if they had personally experienced or participated in, or observed people having, the baptism of the Holy Spirit, over 75% of the 812 respondents replied in the affirmative.

Table 4.1

Did you participate in, or see the ‘Baptism of the Holy Spirit’ in your JP involvement?

-Participated:	76.6%
-Saw:	17.2%
-No Answer:	06.2% ⁶⁸

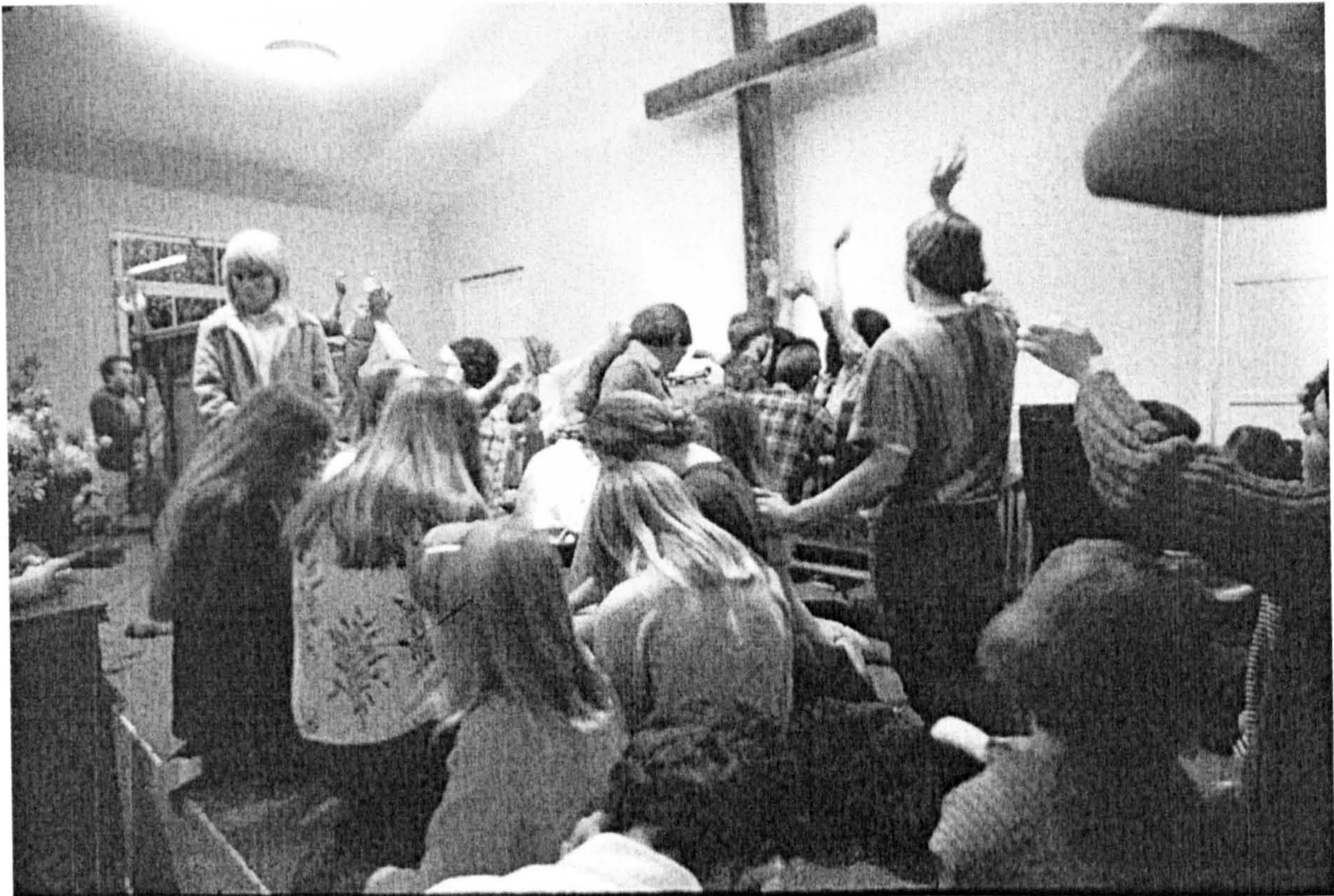


Figure 5: A California Jesus People group raises their hands in Pentecostal-style worship (photo courtesy of David Di Sabatino).

Likewise, nearly as many claimed to have personally spoken, or observed, the practice of speaking in tongues.

Table 4.2

Did you participate in, or see, ‘Speaking in Tongues’ in your JP involvement?

-Participated:	72.2%
-Saw:	23.2%
-No Answer:	04.6% ⁶⁹

While part of this was the direct result of interaction with Pentecostal and charismatic ministers and evangelists, as well as contact with books like John Sherrill’s *They Speak With Other Tongues* and David Wilkerson’s *The Cross and the Switchblade*,⁷⁰ much of the impetus arose simply from the Jesus People’s literal, fundamentalist readings of the Bible and their primitivist expectations. The Early Church in the Book of Acts had spoken in tongues and the Apostle Paul spoke of various ‘gifts of the Spirit’ and the Jesus People thought it only natural that they too would experience these things. This



Figure 6: Two Illinois Jesus People in spontaneous prayer, ca. 1971 (photo courtesy of Ron Rendleman).

dynamic was apparent from the movement's earliest beginnings in San Francisco where Ted Wise and the Living Room group studied their Bibles and soon--to the discomfort of many of their Baptist and baptistic evangelical mentors--were in full-blown Pentecostal mode.⁷¹ Likewise, even the Baptist seminarian Kent Philpott, in his rejection of stuffy formality and 'dead' Christianity, embraced a Pentecostal reading of the New Testament and experienced the baptism of the Holy Spirit in a mysterious, middle-of-the-night 'filling' in 1968.⁷² Between the influence of 'Spirit-filled' straights and their own desire to relive the Book of Acts, the Jesus movement was markedly Pentecostal in orientation.

The Miraculous World of the Jesus People

Just as the literalist approach of the Jesus People led them to expect direct, supernatural encounters with God during their worship, so too the movement was characterised by a larger acceptance of and preoccupation with signs, miracles,

instances of divine provision and encounters with the forces of spiritual darkness. Accounts of miraculous events, strange happenings, immediate answers to prayer, angelic encounters and confrontations with demons provided a common source for praise and wonder in the corporate and personal testimony of those involved in the movement. Probably the most common brush with the miraculous reported by Jesus People consisted of those instances in which they claimed a specific need that had been committed to prayer and that was answered “immediately” by the seemingly miraculous supply of the need or answer to the problem. These stories took many forms. Scott Ross (see chapter 5) from the upstate New York commune and ministry the Love Inn recounted an instance where they believed God answered a specific prayer for the donation of a red and white Volkswagen mini-bus. In another instance a load of donated cement for a kitchen foundation arrived just as they needed it. Once, Ross wrote in his 1976 book *Scott Free*, a much-needed commercial freezer arrived in mid-prayer.⁷³ Craig Yoe, leader of a Jesus People group in Ohio, reminisced about a rickety old furnace which had quit running and when prayed over jumped back to life.⁷⁴ One of the most common stories among the Jesus People was the nick-of-time delivery of a bag of groceries or provision of a meal as a group was sitting down at the normal meal time when no food was to be had.⁷⁵ All of these instances were seen as evidence of God’s supernatural response to prayer and routine intervention in day-to-day affairs.

These kinds of stories, while convincing to the Jesus People themselves, could easily be chalked up by sceptical outsiders and in-house doubting Thomases as coincidence or fortuitous happenstance. However, the Jesus People were making claims about other miracles by which these previous stories were merely scratching the surface of what they thought God was doing in their midst. For example, not only was God supplying groceries, many Jesus People believed he was actually in the business of

multiplying the ingredients on hand. Stories of modern day fishes-and-loaves-type wonders were rampant in Jesus People circles. Kent Philpott recalled an incident at the Soul Inn in San Francisco in which he claimed that a single can of beef stew cooked over a hot plate fed dozens of homeless hippies.⁷⁶ Marlon Finley remembered being at a Christian commune in Paducah, KY, and seeing “one box of beef stroganoff . . . [feed] twelve people to capacity.”⁷⁷ Brad Davis was living at a “discipleship house” run by Tony Salerno’s Agape Force in Southern California and claims that over thirty young people were fed by a single can of tuna.⁷⁸ Perhaps most specific of any of these sorts of stories, James K. Foley, who belonged to a communal house ministry in Burlington, VT, makes the astonishing claim that “at one meal . . . 24 pieces of chicken were put in front of 20 people; everyone had at least one piece, some as many as four, and there were nine pieces left over”, adding that “No, you wouldn’t believe it even if you saw it!”⁷⁹

Food was not the only area in which the Jesus People saw the miraculous at work. As in other Pentecostal circles, cases of divine healing were also noted, although, given the younger age of the movement’s participants, such stories did not get as much play as among older Pentecostal audiences. Nonetheless such testimonies were in evidence. Mary Anne Miller, a volunteer secretary at the Fire Escape Coffeehouse in Stanton, CA, claimed she was instantaneously healed of a painful ganglion cyst on her wrist after being prayed for on the way to a Calvary Chapel baptism at Corona Del Mar.⁸⁰ The members of the Love Inn community reported eyesight restoration, reversal of infertility and the healing of dental cavities among its constituency.⁸¹ There were even Jesus People who spoke of lives being miraculously spared from certain death and of auto accident fatalities inexplicably being brought back to life.⁸²

While these stories bespoke the Jesus People's belief in divine response to their prayers, they were also convinced that God was reaching out to them through faith-affirming, other-worldly signs and angelic ministrations. One man involved with a coffeehouse in Harrisonburg, VA, recalled being in a room praying when suddenly he and others noted that "the room filled with a mysterious bluish light".⁸³ Jackie Alden claimed that in one instance at the Cave Adullam coffeehouse in Tacoma, WA, a group of local gay teens called the "Wiz Kids" entered the building and were startled to "see" the Holy Spirit hanging "thickly" in the air like a cloud.⁸⁴ Scott Jacobsen snapped a photo of Jesus People music artist Barry McGuire (see chapter 7) at a coffeehouse in Wichita, KS, and claimed that when the picture was developed the symbol of the Holy Spirit, "a dove appear[ed] to be resting on [McGuire's] shoulder". This was particularly curious because, as he remembered it, Jacobsen did "not recall seeing a dove on [McGuire's] shoulder when [he] snapped the photo".⁸⁵

Visual signs were augmented by tales of aural wonders from the angelic realm. One girl who frequented Calvary Chapel and the One Way Coffeehouse in Norwalk, CA, was positive that on one occasion her brother was augmented by an angelic choir as he played his guitar and sang praise songs in the backyard. "There is no doubt in my mind" she later stated, "that a huge choir of angels joined his singing".⁸⁶ Others told similar stories, while northern Californian David Ruffino claimed to have had an experience that paralleled the author of the Book of Hebrews' insistence in Chapter 13:2 that believers' kindnesses to strangers could involve "entertaining angels unawares". Ruffino stated that once he "minister[ed] to an angel", the down-and-out stranger's status becoming clear "after he disappeared in front of my eyes".⁸⁷ His tale recalled a story printed in an issue of the *Cincinnati Jesus Paper*:

Recently it has been reported to the police of Eugene, Oregon of twelve different occasions of a man approaching individuals on the street and proclaiming the gospel of Christ. These people accepted Christ and as they came out of their waters of baptism they saw the man disappear before their eyes. Angel? Another Phillip experience? Kinda hard to take!⁸⁸

The sense that the supernatural world was immanent in the day-to-day lives of the Jesus People also meant, however, that they believed that they were constantly grappling with the powers of darkness. Just as Jesus, the power of the Holy Spirit and angels were present and working, so too were Satan and his legions of demonic helpers, a fact that Jesus People believed was manifest in the popular upsurge of interest in witchcraft and the occult. The struggle between the forces of light and darkness was not simply fought on the grand scale, either; it intimately involved the Jesus People and their quest to proclaim the gospel and “be a testimony” to those around them. Kent Philpott and David Hoyt’s diary of their days on the streets of Haight-Ashbury is peppered with Satanic opposition and demon-possessed street people (see chapter 3). A similar encounter was reported by one woman who recalled encountering in a prayer room at a coffeehouse in Washington state a chilling woman who was “of the devil”. Rebuking the interloper in the name of Jesus, the stranger “immediately stopped talking, began to shake, sat up and left!”⁸⁹ Dale Yancey, an early Calvary Chapel follower, claimed that the “casting out of demons” was a feature of life at the Burlington, VT, commune he helped found in the early ‘70s. In one particular instance Yancey believes that he was “given a word of knowledge” that a particular individual that had begun coming to his meetings “was a Satanist”, that “had come . . . to try and destroy our work”.⁹⁰ Clearly, the Jesus People were convinced that the landscapes of their day-to-day lives were a spiritual battlefield.

Just how big a role did this ‘supernatural warfare’ play in Jesus People circles? The print sources are replete with such stories and references, but the extent to which these encounters occurred ‘on-the-ground’ is hinted at by the results from the recent web-based survey of ex-Jesus People. When asked if they had ever participated in, or seen examples of demonic possession or exorcism, slightly over 60% of the respondents replied that they had contact with these sorts of occurrences:

Table 4.3
Did you participate in, or see “Demon Possession/Exorcisms” in your JP involvement?

-Participated:	30.4%
-Saw:	30.6%
-No answer:	39.0% ⁹¹

Taken together, stories of demon possession, angelic choirs and miraculously multiplying fried chicken may indeed strike the rational outsider as well beyond the pale of credibility. However, to the Jesus People who fully expected such things and believed in them--and sometimes to the individuals they proselytised--they were powerful testimonies of God’s power and provision. Whatever the case, the widespread tale of signs, wonders and the supernatural certainly bespeak the miraculous sensibility that underlay the Jesus People movement.

The Apocalyptic Orientation of the Jesus People

Another key characteristic of the Jesus People movement was the apocalyptic fervour which pervaded the movement. ‘Maranatha’--the Aramaic word meaning ‘the Lord cometh’--was on the minds, lips and bumper stickers of the Jesus People. This expectation not only played a major role within the Jesus People’s devotional life and study, but profoundly affected the urgency of their evangelistic efforts and moulded their perceptions of the cultural, social and political world around them. Almost without exception, the movement as a whole confidently expected the second coming of

Jesus Christ to take place--probably in the immediate future--but surely within their lifetimes. According to the results of the recent survey of ex-Jesus People, nearly 80% of those who responded to a question about their beliefs at the time responded that they believed the return of Christ would occur within the near future:

Table 4.4

Were you convinced that Jesus' return was imminent during your involvement with the JP movement?

-Yes:	79.2%
-No:	09.8%
-Not sure:	07.0%
-No answer:	04.0% ⁹²

For the most part, the movement fully imbibed the Darbyite dispensational premillennialism that characterised so much of the larger evangelical and fundamentalist subcultures. That particular interpretation of the scriptures' prophetic passages had received an extra boost in the post-war period because of its emphasis on the role of the Jewish people and a reconstituted nation of Israel. With the founding of the Zionist state in 1948 and the nation's seemingly miraculous series of triumphs down to the Six-Day War in 1967, the system's understanding of the Bible appeared to many to have been vindicated. When coupled with the cultural chaos of the Sixties, the dispensational view's pessimistic perspective on the world's slide into the End Times seemed to be right on target not just to the 'straights' in the pews at First Baptist but also to the 'Street Christians' down at the Mustard Seed Coffeehouse as well.

One reason for the Jesus People's acceptance of premillennial interpretations of the Bible was the result of a sweeping pessimism about the future that reinforced both their old countercultural and newfound Christian perceptions. On the one hand, many hippies who had heretofore condemned the 'Establishment' for its greed and violence had become disillusioned about the direction and nature of the counterculture. Bad

drug trips, dishonesty, selfish behaviour and violence among youth seemed to make a mockery of the mantra of 'peace and love'.⁹³ Now upon conversion, the new Jesus People had an explanatory apocalyptic framework that made sense of the downward spiral of both straight and hip culture.⁹⁴

Another reason for the Jesus People's enthusiastic embrace of dispensational teachings lay in the countercultural penchant for esoteric philosophical, occult and religious literature. In some ways, the hippie Christians merely shifted cultural gears. Whereas before many of their number pored over the *I Ching*, *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, *The Urantia Book* and the works of Carlos Castenada such as *The Teaching of Don Juan* for clues to meaning and spiritual enlightenment, they now could happily indulge their mystical bent by studying the symbolism and hidden prophetic clues in the writings of the Old Testament prophets and John the Revelator.

However, a more important influence on their apocalyptic leanings was undoubtedly the result of the direct impact of evangelical mentors and literature upon the movement. In almost every instance where an evangelical pastor, evangelist or youth worker helped establish or supported a local Jesus People group, they brought dispensational teachings with them.⁹⁵ In Bible studies, sermons, informal 'raps' and in the dispensing of tapes and literature, straight evangelical collaborators and enablers like Chuck Smith at Calvary Chapel regularly turned to the prophetic to snare their audiences' interest and in the process presented them with the full gamut of dispensational teachings such as the importance of Israel, the secret 'Rapture' of the church, the appearance of the Antichrist and the horrors of the 'Tribulation'.

The ubiquity of dispensational doctrine among the Jesus People would be cemented with the 1970 appearance of Hal Lindsey's breezy, best-selling analysis of Bible prophecy, *The Late Great Planet Earth*. The book achieved remarkable

penetration into the ranks of the Jesus movement, in part because its author had honed his material on college students and counterculture types with his involvement at the JC Light and Power House in Los Angeles. As Ellwood observed in his travels among the Jesus People in the early '70s: "The book *The Late, Great Planet Earth* is one of the few volumes besides the Bible found in virtually every movement commune, home, and church parlor. Next to the Scriptures, probably no other book is more read".⁹⁶

Taken together, these various influences made the belief that mankind was in the prophesied 'Last Days' a dominant leitmotif of the movement. Jesus People tracts and underground street papers were filled with headlines of "Get Ready!" and prophecy articles on "Daniel's Seventy Weeks".⁹⁷ Painted warnings and bumper stickers that proclaimed "Maranatha!", "Guess Who's Coming Again?" and "Be Prepared: Jesus Is Coming at any Moment . . . Driver Will Disappear!" festooned Jesus People vehicles.⁹⁸

And many of the popular songs of the new 'Jesus Rock' such as Larry Norman's "I Wish We'd All Been Ready" and Randy Matthews' "Evacuation Day" expressed concern or anticipation about the Second Coming.⁹⁹

The Jesus People's fascination with the End Times undoubtedly fuelled the content of, and their enthusiasm for, evangelism. But it also--for the short term at least--seems to have had a major impact upon the day-to-day living as well as the life and career expectations of many within the movement. Pat Cordial of the Fishmarket coffeehouse in Lawton, Oklahoma, relates that once during a retreat he slept through a tornado warning that sent everyone in the camp into a shelter. Upon waking he found no one in the camp. His immediate assumption was that the rapture had taken place and "everyone else had been raptured" but him.¹⁰⁰ Such was concern over the imminence of the rapture that many Jesus People were fearful that they would never be able to experience many of life's basic joys. One man in the Midwest recalled: "I remember

being afraid I may never get married before the Rapture”.¹⁰¹ Others surveyed the roll call of expected End Times’ horrors and came to the conclusion that it would be prudent to avoid such entanglements. One Canadian woman involved with the Toronto Catacombs group recalls being so convinced by rampant Last Days’ speculation that she “once considered calling off [her] wedding and refused to have children because [she] was so terrified of what was about to happen!”¹⁰² As historian Paul Boyer demonstrated in his seminal 1992 volume *When Time Shall Be No More*, interest in Bible prophecy and speculation about the second coming is a central feature of the larger American evangelical subculture characterized by waves of interest that vary in intensity.¹⁰³ However, it is clear that for the Jesus People the expectation of the second coming played a particularly crucial role in defining the nature and emphases of the movement.

The Communal Tendency of the Jesus People

While the preceding characteristics that helped define the Jesus People movement would be categorised as falling under an ‘evangelical cluster’ of attributes, the next three major characteristics would be classified as partaking of forms and attitudes inherited from the countercultural side of the ledger. One of the most obvious and widespread phenomena the Jesus movement readily absorbed from the hippies was their penchant for communal living. While by no means most Jesus People lived communally (and the overall percentage undoubtedly dropped a great deal as the movement expanded in the wake of widespread publicity--see Chapters 5 and 6), the ubiquity of communal houses and communes within the movement, in all regions of North America, was so radically at odds with normal American lifestyles--particularly those of the middle-class evangelical ‘Silent Majority’--that it definitely set the Jesus movement apart as something different.

Communal living was, seemingly, a natural development within Jesus People circles. There were three major reasons behind this communal reflex. First, was the tantalizing glimpse of utopia offered in the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles where it tells of how the early Church in Jerusalem “were together and had all things in common . . . [selling] their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men as every man had need”.¹⁰⁴ Taking the scriptures at their word and believing that the straight church had strayed from this truth, many Jesus People were eager to reclaim first-century authenticity in this regard, just as they did with the spiritual gifts. Ted Wise, the early Bay Area movement leader, summed up this attitude best: “[we] agreed on one thing: that we ought to live out the Book of Acts like a script”.¹⁰⁵

A second factor was the dire financial demographics of many of the hard-core ‘street people’ who joined the early Jesus movement. It was not without reason that prayers for miraculous provision of food and basic supplies (see above) and free/cheap handouts of food by groups like the Jesus People Army in Vancouver, WA,¹⁰⁶ were a staple of Jesus People group life--money was almost always in short supply. The Street Christians themselves were, of course, overwhelmingly young; a large number of potential communalists were runaways, and even more were just coming out of the drug culture. There could not have been a much scruffier or more destitute group of people: communal living, as it did in the counterculture, was a practical strategy that allowed struggling Jesus People groups--and the straight evangelical laypeople, churches and organizations that struggled to support many of them financially--to keep its young cohort fed and in some semblance of decent shape.

A third factor was like the second: given the characteristics of many of the hardcore counterculture and street people the movement was reaching, there was a very real need to provide order, discipline and a watchful eye to maintain progress in



Figure 7: Commune members at a northern California ‘Jesus House’ ca. 1970 (photo courtesy of Kent Philpott).

converts’ ‘Christian walk’ and to keep them from relapsing into their old ways.

Communal life provided an extended opportunity to teach the ‘babes in Christ’ and to see to it that they learned not only basic Christian doctrines and behaviour but, in many cases, basic life skills. Many communal Jesus houses, like the Sheepfold House in Milwaukee, WI, had an extensive list of rules, regulations and expectations of its members:

Consideration for the brethren: Quiet before rising hour, after 11 P.M. Keep music pleasing to God. See elders about overnight guests. Dress to come downstairs. Fellows and girls meet down-stairs, not in rooms. Keep your own room neat--clean up after yourself. Be responsible for chores assigned. Let your elder know where you are at all times. Smoking guests use porch. Use pay phone for personal calls. Praise the Lord in all things!¹⁰⁷

All in all, the communal dimension of the Jesus People subculture played a major role in the movement’s internal culture and image, even though it was not a universal



Figure 8: Residents of Zion Inn, a girls communal home in San Rafael, California, ca. 1969. “House parents” David and Victoria Hoyt at extreme left, Bobbie and Kent Philpott at extreme right (photo courtesy of Kent Philpott).

experience or--with a few exceptions--an essential doctrine. In fact, according to historian Timothy Miller’s 1999 study *The 60s Communes: Hippies and Beyond*, there may have been as many as several thousand Jesus People communes in existence at one time or another.¹⁰⁸ Some Jesus People groups operated multiple communal houses and largely communal groups such as the Love Inn in upstate New York and JPUSA in Chicago numbered their members in the hundreds, operated multiple businesses and ministries as well as daycare centres, clinics and schools.¹⁰⁹ The most successful communal element of the movement, the Oregon-based Shiloh commune founded by John Higgins (see above, Chapter 5 and 8), had more than 175 communes around North America and owned millions of dollars in property and equipment.¹¹⁰ While communal living proved difficult or ultimately undesirable to many, nearly all Jesus People groups

had at least part of its constituency--often its most committed members--involved in some sort of communal arrangement at some point in its history.

Come (Dressed) As You Are to Jesus

A second major characteristic the Jesus People inherited from the counterculture was a decided preference for informality in dress and behaviour which they carried over into their worship and evangelistic pursuits. Jesus People were just as likely to wear their workaday blue jeans, t-shirts, tennis shoes or sandals (or to show up in their plain bare feet) to a worship service as they were to a rock concert. Women--while urged by most Jesus People groups to dress chastely--frequently sported much the same attire or inexpensive dust smocks or 'granny' dresses. All of this was, of course, a far cry from the reigning attitude among church-going Americans which had traditionally emphasised wearing one's 'Sunday best' to the 'Lord's House'.

The Jesus People's continued embrace of relaxed, hippie fashions smacked heavily of countercultural attitudes about comfort, authenticity and the living of a 'natural' lifestyle. Within hippie circles this often devolved into a celebration of, or excuse for, nudity.¹¹¹ Obviously, this was not an option for the Jesus People, but they nonetheless persisted in countercultural sensibilities that saw no merit in tight, uncomfortable, formal clothing that frequently constituted the bearer of vain statements about one's status, income, taste, or physique.

But it was more than just clothing that the Jesus People were relaxed about. Posture and the arrangement of the 'congregation' in Jesus movement gatherings were also decidedly informal. As the good burghers of Calvary Chapel had discovered to their perplexity and sometime discomfort, the young enthusiasts were given to plopping down on the floor, cross-legged and sprawled out as space would allow. Used to the informal cosiness of Bible studies and prayer groups in communal houses and private

homes, circles and face-to-face arrangements were often preferred in almost any context where the size of the gathering, acoustics and logistics allowed.

But even as straight evangelicals and middle class-churchgoers were scandalized or discomfited by the dress and seating preferences of the Jesus People, the relaxed wardrobe and informal atmosphere proved to be a major attraction not only to hippies, but their younger ‘wannabe’ admirers. Dan Brookshire who was involved with communes in the Charlottesville, VA, area remembered how he “liked going to a church where long-haired, barefoot, music-loving folks like myself were welcome”.¹¹² Barb Link, a South Dakota teen who became involved with a Jesus People group, recalled how the atmosphere in the Aldrich House group compared to her “stuffy, formal and totally irrelevant” church: “I could wear my long granny dress and waffle stompers and odd jeans with patches and embroidery and not feel out of place or looked down on. It was an incredibly liberating experience”.¹¹³ Similarly, a teenage girl in Michigan looked back at her experiences with the Lord’s House in Livonia acknowledging that “My best friend and I were interested in going there because we wanted to be Jesus followers and they said we could wear blue jeans to church!”¹¹⁴

The Jesus People and Popular Culture

A third, and perhaps most important defining characteristic the Jesus People carried over from the counterculture was one which was much at odds with reigning attitudes and practices within the evangelical subculture--the Jesus People’s comfort with and--often, ironic-utilization of popular culture within their circles. Unlike their evangelical brethren who had been battling to keep popular culture and ‘worldly entertainments’ at arms’ length for years (see Chapter 2), the Jesus People exercised a reflexive use and adaptation of various elements of popular culture both within the movement and in their attempts to connect with their youthful peers. The resulting



Figure 9: A Charismatic prayer session in a side room at Calvary Chapel, ca. 1971 finds a casually dressed group of Jesus People, most of whom are seated on the floor (photo courtesy of David Di Sabatino).

hybrid, while striking many within both the straight church and the hardcore counterculture by turns as curious, outrageous and ridiculous, nonetheless positioned the Jesus People closer to the world inhabited by American youth.

Taking their cues from both the counterculture and the larger referent world of popular entertainment and advertising, the Jesus People happily decorated their world with artwork, posters, bumper stickers and buttons. A quick ducking of one's head into the vast majority of Jesus People coffeehouses or communes was enough to relieve any casual observer of the suspicion that the Street Christians advocated a brand of grim, Puritanical iconoclasm. Artwork--from thrift-store purchased paintings of Christ to home-made murals to an ever-increasing retinue of Jesus posters--and Bible verses in day-glo letters frequently covered the walls. Their buildings were not the only thing they decorated. The Jesus People festooned themselves in colourful buttons

Page 4

WANTED:



JESUS CHRIST

ALIAS: THE MESSIAH, SON OF GOD, KING OF KINGS, LORD OF LORDS, PRINCE OF PEACE, ETC.

- ★ Notorious Leader of an underground liberation movement
- ★ Wanted for the following charges:
 - Practicing medicine, wine-making and food distribution without a license.
 - Interfering with businessmen in the Temple.
 - Associating with known criminals, radicals, subversives, prostitutes, and street people.
 - Claiming to have the authority to make people into God's children.
- ★ APPEARANCE: Typical hippie type — long hair, beard, robe, sandals, etc.

- ★ Hangs around slum areas, few rich friends, often sneaks out into the desert.
- ★ Has a group of disreputable followers, formerly known as "apostles," now called "freemen" (from his saying: "You will know the truth and the Truth will set you free.")

BEWARE — This man is extremely dangerous. His insidiously inflammatory message is particularly dangerous to young people who haven't been taught to ignore him yet. He changes men and claims to set them free.

WARNING: HE IS STILL AT LARGE!

Figure 10: A famous poster of the Jesus People movement, the Christian World Liberation Front's adaptation of a hippie original as printed in *Right On!* ca. August 1970 (courtesy of Jesus People USA papers collection).

announcing “Jesus Is Lord” or “Have a Nice Forever” as well as religious jewellery (generally anathema to most straight evangelicals up until this time) ranging from simple wooden crosses on leather straps to--as the movement matured--silver ‘ICHTHYS (fish)’ and ‘One-Way’ pendants and pins. Meanwhile, their ever-present Bibles became an object of beautification via hand-tooled leather bindings and leather and fabric Bible covers.¹¹⁵

Another aspect of the pop culture the Jesus People created was found in the splashy, often colourful ‘underground’ newspapers they imbibed from their countercultural forbears. Reborn as the ‘Jesus Paper’, there were dozens of these street papers which appeared between 1969 and the late ‘70s--including not only the *Hollywood Free Paper*, but also papers like Buffalo’s *Dust, Truth* from Spokane, Denver’s *The End Times, Cornerstone* put out by the Jesus People USA (JPUSA) in Chicago, and the Berkeley, CA-based Christian World Liberation Front’s (CWLF) *Right On!* The quality, circulation and lifespan of these papers varied due to the interplay of local personalities and circumstances, yet their general tone and content was similar. Chock-filled with artwork, cartoons, photographs and ads, the Jesus papers were multipurpose tools within the Jesus People ‘community’--at once an evangelistic broadside, a venue for edifying literature, a news source and an advertising forum for regional and national resources.

Given that the Jesus People’s generation had been raised on movies and television, it is not surprising that they went beyond the use of print media in their public ministrations. Many Jesus People groups utilized skits, street theatre and drama troupes as a routine part of their meetings, worship services, and evangelistic efforts. Thus it was not unusual to encounter mimes from the CWLF’s Street Theatre group performing in Cal-Berkeley’s Sproul Plaza; to see Akron, Ohio’s Avalon group



Figure 11: The front page of the October 1971 issue of *Dust*, a “Jesus Paper” put out by the New Community in Christ group, Buffalo, New York (courtesy of the Jesus People USA collection).

stage an Easter-time passion procession on a downtown street as members passed out nails tipped in red paint to onlookers; or to find members of JPUSA's Holy Ghost Players staging a play in a suburban Chicago park about a helmeted, tin-foil encrusted 'alien' wondering what all the fuss was about Jesus.¹¹⁶ And at Toronto's Catacombs several student members of the Canadian Ballet who had come under the influence of the Jesus movement regularly contravened standard evangelical mores with interpretive evangelistic and worship-oriented dance routines.¹¹⁷

However, probably the single way in which the Jesus People appropriated elements of the larger popular culture was the manner in which they reflexively adapted the musical sounds and rhythms of the contemporary youth culture to their own worship and evangelism. Everywhere one went in the Jesus People movement there was music, from the strictly amateurish folk-guitar plunking at a local Bible study to full-blown rock 'n' roll ('Jesus Rock') concerts and festivals. And by and large it was music that not only incorporated modern styles and phrasings, but was altogether new music that arose from within the movement itself. "Rarely do you hear any of the old-time hymns" wrote one contemporary evangelical observer who was struck by the "preoccupation of the Jesus People with new music."¹¹⁸

As we have seen, many of the earliest 'straight' evangelical mentors of the Jesus movement--Don Williams, David Berg and Chuck Smith (see above)--recognized the vital role of folk and rock musical stylings within the youth culture and brought it centre stage in their efforts to reach out to teens. Former Maranatha! Music head Chuck Fromm has gone so far as to echo earlier arguments about the key role of music in evangelical revivals, contending that it played an even more central role within the Jesus movement.¹¹⁹ Indeed, it is not too presumptuous to argue that wherever the Jesus movement flourished there was probably--as had been the case at the Salt Company and



“I am the way, the truth and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me., — Jesus Christ.

Figure 12: Cartoon version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son from a 1973 issue of *Jesus Loves You*, Akron, Ohio (courtesy of Jesus People USA paper collection).

Calvary Chapel--at the least a few competent guitar-strumming singer-composers or 'worship leaders' on site, if not a house band(s) or soloists of near-professional quality. Whatever the case, music would only continue to grow in its influence within the movement as it matured into the new genre of 'Jesus Rock' that began to ape the elements of the larger music business (see Chapter 7).

Conclusion

By the end of 1969, then, the phenomenon of the hippie 'Street Christian' had become an identifiable Jesus movement in Southern California. Buoyed by the efforts of individuals like Arthur Blessitt and inspired by the pioneering efforts of ministries like Hollywood Presbyterian Church's Salt Company Christian 'nightclub' and Calvary Chapel of Costa Mesa, a far-flung network of coffeehouses, communal homes and street ministries emerged as part of the Southern California 'Jesus' scene. While the nascent subculture was as disorganised and de-centralised as both the evangelical and countercultural sources from which it had sprung, the Jesus movement nonetheless displayed a general set of characteristics which gave it a cohesive hybrid form that set it apart from both its cultural parents.

On the one hand the Jesus People displayed a trio of distinctives which reflected particular aspects of their evangelical heritage. First, they demonstrated an overt Pentecostal orientation in their worship and practice, with an emphasis on the baptism of the Holy Spirit, speaking in tongues and other charismatic gifts. Second, the Jesus People displayed a particularly heightened emphasis on miracles, signs and the supernatural within the context of their corporate and personal spiritual experience. Third, they were seized with expectation regarding the imminent return of Jesus Christ to earth, a belief which shaped their personal, corporate and evangelistic emphases.

Complementary to these ‘evangelical distinctives’, the Jesus People also bore the marks of a trio of characteristics which bespoke the movement’s countercultural origins. First, they demonstrated an affinity for communal living which, although it resonated with New Testament example, was firmly shaped by the countercultural experience. Second, the Jesus People carried a hippie emphasis on comfort and unconcern about dress and demeanour into their new Christian community, establishing a ‘come as you are’ ethos that greatly contrasted with the norms of the evangelical subculture. Finally, they brought with them an enthusiastic embrace of popular culture which they utilized through visual, material, print and--especially--musical forms to edify their own and evangelise their peers on the outside.

Taken together these six general characteristics would typify the new Jesus People movement as it developed and matured, not only in Southern California, but increasingly, in other cities and regions across North America. The predominance of the ‘evangelical’ or ‘counterculture’ cluster of attributes seemed to be rather evenly influential although, arguably, the overriding influences were probably perceived differently by ‘evangelical straights’ (who tended to notice the hippie side of the Jesus People’s family tree) than by ‘mainstream hippies’ (who probably would be most taken by the evangelical features of their Jesus Freak cousins). By 1970, however, it was becoming evident that this marriage of the counterculture and evangelical religion was not just a curiosity of California culture.

ENDNOTES

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2. Arthur Blessitt with Walter Wagner, *Turned on to Jesus* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1971), p. 110.

3. Arthur Blessitt, *Life’s Greatest Trip* (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1970), p. 26; Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, p. 73.

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4. *Santa Ana Register*, 27 April 1968, p. A5; 17 August, 1968, p. A5.
 5. Glenn D. Kittler, *The Jesus Kids and their Leaders* (New York: Warner, 1972), pp. 41-43; Blessitt, *Life's Greatest Trip*, pp. 13-16.
 6. Back cover notes, *Soul Session at His Place*, Arthur Blessitt, Creative Sound, CSS-1530, ca. 1970, RE-2065, Frank Edmondson Contemporary Christian Music Collection, Judson College, Elgin, IL; Rita Klein, "God, Blessitt and 'His Place'," *Eternity* (January 1971), pp. 34, 46-47; Blessitt, *Life's Greatest Trip*, pp. 19-23.
 7. Edward Plowman, *The Jesus Movement in America*, (Elgin, IL: David C. Cook, 1971), p. 97.
 8. Blessitt, *Life's Greatest Trip*, pp. 40-41.
 9. Kittler, *The Jesus Kids and Their Leaders*, p. 43.
 10. Michael McFadden, *The Jesus Revolution*, (New York: Harrow, 1971), pp. 28-29.
 11. Kittler, *The Jesus Kids and Their Leaders*, pp. 43-44.
 12. For example see photo of Sacramento March for Jesus, February 1970 in Lowell D. Streiker, *The Jesus Trip: Advent of the Jesus Freaks* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1971) pp. 16-17, and the *Hollywood Free Paper* Vol. 2, Issue 22, ca. early 1971, p. 7.
 13. Interview with Don Williams, La Jolla, CA, 1 August 2002.
 14. Williams interview.
 15. Don Williams, *Call to the Streets* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972), p.23.
 16. Williams interview.
 17. Williams, *Call to the Streets*, pp. 27-28; Williams interview.
 18. Williams, *Call to the Streets*, pp. 28-32; Williams interview.
 19. Williams, *Call to the Streets*, pp. 29-34.
 20. Williams interview.
 21. Williams, *Call to the Streets*, pp. 59-72; Williams interview.
 22. Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, p. 145.
 23. Williams interview.
 24. For an example of the manner in which the Children of God were routinely grouped with other 'mainstream' Jesus People groups until their aggressive, separatist nature became apparent, see books on the Jesus movement from evangelical sources such as Edward E. Plowman, *The Jesus Movement in America* (Elgin, IL: David C. Cook, 1971), pp. 59-61, and interspersed comments by COG members in Ruben Ortega, *The Jesus People Speak Out!* (Elgin, IL: David C. Cook, 1972).
 25. David E. Van Zandt, *Living in the Children of God* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 31-32. Walter Martin, *The New Cults*, (Ventura, CA: Vision House, 1980), pp. 143-144.
 26. Deborah (Linda Berg) Davis, *The Children of God: The Inside Story* (Grand Rapids, Zondervan, 1984), p. 36.

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27. Van Zandt, *Living in the Children of God*, pp. 33-34; Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, p. 23.
 28. Kent Philpott interview, 7 August 2002, Mill Valley, CA.
 29. Van Zandt, *Living in the Children of God*, pp. 33-34; Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, p. 23.
 30. McFadden, *The Jesus Revolution*, pp. 89-90.
 31. Van Zandt, *Living in the Children of God*, pp. 34-35.
 32. Ellwood, *The Jesus People*, p. 107.
 33. Moses David, "Survival", in *The Basic Mo Letters*, #70-73 (Hong Kong: Children of God, 1976), p. 138; McFadden, p. 95.
 34. Van Zandt, *Living in the Children of God*, p. 37.
 35. Donald E. Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism: Inside Calvary, Vineyard, & Hope Chapel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p. 33; Chuck Smith with Hugh Steven, *The Reproducers: New Life For Thousands* (Glendale, CA: Regal Books, 1972), pp. 13-36.
 36. Taped interview with Chuck Smith, Costa Mesa, CA, 9 February 2000; Chuck Smith in *A Venture in Faith: The History and Philosophy of the Calvary Chapel Movement*, videotape, Logos Media Group, 1992.
 37. David DiSabatino, "A History of the Jesus People Movement", (M.A.: McMaster University, 1994), p. 57; Smith, *The Reproducers*, pp., 37-38.
 38. Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, p. 93; Smith, *The Reproducers*, pp. 55-59.
 39. Transcript of John Higgins interview with Chuck Fromm, 14 March 2000, Tape 1.
 40. James T. Richardson, Mary W. Stewart, and Robert B. Simmonds, *Organized Miracles: A Study of a Contemporary Youth, Communal, Fundamentalist Organization* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1979), pp. 7-8; Smith, *The Reproducers*, pp. 43-47.
 41. Richardson, Stewart, and Simmonds, *Organized Miracles*, p. 7; Smith, *The Reproducers*, pp. 46-47.
 42. Philpott Interview.
 43. Richardson, Stewart, and Simmonds, *Organized Miracles*, pp. 8-9; Smith, *The Reproducers*, pp. 48-53; Smith interview.
 44. Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, p. 90; Richardson, Stewart, and Simmonds, *Organized Miracles*, pp. 8-9.
 45. Transcript of John Higgins interview with Chuck Fromm, 14 March 2000.
 46. Paul Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music: Where It Came From, What It Is, Where It's Going* (Westchester, IL: Crossway Books, 1985), pp. 35-41; Higgins interview transcript; Kittler, *The Jesus Kids and Their Leaders*, pp. 100-106; Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, pp. 85-89.
 47. Chuck Smith interview, Costa Mesa, CA, 9 February 2000.
 48. Survey submitted by David Rosales, Chino, CA, 27 January 2001 to Jesus People survey webpage linked to "Remembering the Jesus Movement" at <http://one-way.org/jesusmovement/>.

49. Oden Fong Interview, Huntington Beach, CA, 31 July 2002.

50. Williams interview.

51. Philpott interview.

52. Frisbee seemed to divide his attention rather equally between the need to evangelize the unconverted and the need to usher believers into the baptism of the Holy Spirit. See for example, Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, p. 93; and, Kittler, *The Jesus Kids and Their Leaders*, p. 105. Given his important role in the Jesus People Movement, and subsequently, in the 'Third Wave' of North American charismatic renewal in the Vineyard Movement, Lonnie Frisbee (who died in 1993) has not been given the historical treatment he deserves. To date, the best analysis of Frisbee is a seminar paper for a Queen's (Canada) University course written by David Di Sabatino, 1997. Di Sabatino is also the creator of a fine documentary film entitled *Frisbee: The Life and Death of a Hippie Preacher* (Jester Media) which was making the film festival rounds and was in search of a distribution deal in 2005.

53. Donald E. Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism: Inside Calvary, Vineyard, & Hope Chapel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 94-95; Smith, *The Reproducers*, pp. 75-76. Description of Frisbee as being "kept in line" by Chuck Smith: Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, p. 93.

54. Peter Micheltmore, *Back to Jesus* (Greenwich, CT: 1973), pp. 142-143; Smith, *The Reproducers*, pp. 55-61.

55. Smith interview.

56. Survey submitted by Noel Holly, Costa Mesa, CA, 23 January 2004; quote from survey submitted by "Elizabeth" of Morrison, CO, 13 February 2004.

57. Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism*, pp. 33-34; Smith, *The Reproducers*, pp. 62-63.

58. Pictures of Calvary Chapel's ocean baptisms at Corona Del Mar became one of the ubiquitous images of the Jesus People movement and were featured in such prominent publications as *Time* (21 June 1971), *U.S. News and World Report* (20 March 1972) and *Look* (9 February 1971) magazines, to say nothing of the books about the movement (the cover of Walker L. Knight's *Jesus People Come Alive* [Wheaton: Tyndale House, 1971] featured a front-to-back panoramic shot of a Calvary Chapel baptism). Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, pp. 91-93, and, Smith, *The Reproducers*, pp. 91-97 discusses the role and symbolism of these events in the life of Calvary Chapel. Other California-based Jesus People groups followed Calvary Chapel's lead, making the ocean baptism something akin to a California Jesus People staple (see for example the paper of the San Diego Jesus People's "Inter-Faith Center" *Logos*, Vol. 1, No. 2 [August 1971], p.3).

59. See Brian Vachon, "The Jesus Movement is Upon Us", *Look* (9 February 1971), pp. 16-21; see also Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, pp. 94-98.

60. See Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, p. 137-140.

61. Aside from occasional citations of Agape Force coffeehouses and groups in local Jesus papers (for example, see the *Hollywood Free Paper*, Vol. 2, Issue 24, ca. Dec. 1970, p. 8), there was very little information floating around about the Agape Force. Don Williams believes this may be because the group's constituency among lower-middle class youth in the less well-heeled suburbs never evoked much curiosity in the press: "They were under the radar" said Williams (Williams interview).

62. See Plowman, *The Jesus Movement in America*, 57-58; Enroth, Ericson and Peters, *The Jesus People*, pp. 148-149; Lutheran Youth Alive published its own toned-down version of a street paper, *Speak Out*.

63. Another part of the early Southern California scene about which very little is known except for mentions in street papers such as the *Hollywood Free Paper* and the San Diego-based *Logos*. An

interview I conducted with a former member of a San Diego-based Jesus band, "Children", hinted at the early scene which pre-dated his band and immediate circle (Andy Smith interview, Nashville, TN, 11 July 2002).

64. One of the most publicised elements of the Southern California Jesus People scene because of its mass distribution and visibility. For further information on the paper's history and Pederson See Duane Pederson with Bob Owen, *Jesus People* (Pasadena, CA: Compass Press, 1971), and Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, pp. 73-79.

65. See D.W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History From the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin-Hyman, 1989), pp. 2-17.

66 Robert S. Ellwood, Jr. *One Way: The Jesus Movement and Its Meaning* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973), p. ix.

67. Hiley H. Ward, *The Far-Out Saints of the Jesus Communes: A Firsthand Report and Interpretation of the Jesus People Movement* (New York: Association Press, 1972), pp. 122-126.

68. The survey, a joint collaboration by the author and David Di Sabatino was hosted on the website "Remembering the Jesus Movement" (<http://oneway.org/jesusmovement/index.html>) from November 1997 through the end of April 2004. The site drew people who had 'surfing in' via search engines and through a direct link with a larger site catering to fans of the 'classic' beginnings of Contemporary Christian Music, "A Decade of Jesus Music, 1969-1979" (<http://one-way.org/jesusmusic.index.html>). Overall a total of 812 surveys (after taking care to eliminate incomplete surveys, hoax responses, surveys that clearly indicated that the respondent was not an actual Jesus movement participant or was a music fan who was too young to have been involved in the movement) were completed by people who considered themselves a part of the Jesus People movement. The tabulations of survey responses were completed by the author in May 2004 and compiled in a document entitled "Jesus People Survey Tabulations and Comments" (see Appendix A).

69. Éskridge, "Jesus People Survey Tabulations & Comments," (see Appendix A).

70. John H. Sherrill, *They Speak With Other Tongues* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964); David Wilkerson, *The Cross and the Switchblade* (Old Tappan, NJ: Fleming H. Revell, 1963).

71. See for example Kent Philpott and David Hoyt, "Two Brothers in Haight", unpublished ms, ca. 1970, p. 87.

72. Philpott's embrace of Pentecostalism caused troubles between him and his seminary mentor, see Letter from Francis M. Dubose to Kent Philpott, 11 July 1969 (Kent Philpott Collection). Philpott's stumping for the Baptism of the Holy Spirit is reflected in his personal diary--see the Journal of Kent Philpott, (March 1970-August 1971), entry for 20 April 1970, p. 28; Philpott interview.

73. Scott Ross with John and Elizabeth Sherrill, *Scott Free*, (Old Tappan, NJ: Chosen Books, 1976), pp. 115-118, 137-138; Interview with Scott Ross, Virginia Beach, VA, 14 August 2002.

74. Craig Yoe, taped telephone interview, 13 July 2004.

75. For example, see the survey response submitted by Marie Ray of Brighton, England, 6 February 2000 (in possession of author), she recalled that during her involvement with the Jesus People in Phoenix, AZ, that the group at the "7th Street House" had no food and were out of money, only to have folks from a local church show up with bags of groceries. Mark MacDonald, one of the leaders of a Jesus People group in Duluth, MN/Superior, WI (and who became the Episcopal bishop of Alaska in 1998) remembered these sorts of instances as happening "all the time". (Mark MacDonald, telephone interview, 29 July 2004). For another example, see Philpott interview.

76. Philpott interview.

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77. Survey response submitted by Marlon Finley of Mableton, GA, 10 December 1998.
 78. Survey response submitted by Brad Davis of Clovis, CA, 24 March 1999.
 79. Survey response submitted by James K. Foley of Bradford, VT, 29 April 1999.
 80. Survey response submitted by Mary Anne Miller of Sweet Home, OR, 1 December 1997.
 81. Ross, *Scott Free*, pp. 115-118, 137-138; Ross interview.
 82. Peter Romanowsky of the Crown of Life coffeehouse and Agape Church groups in Marin County, CA, claimed he and his brother witnessed a boy who was hit by a car and “[thrown] out of his socks and shoes”. The boy had stopped breathing but when prayed over by Romanowsky and his brother began breathing again, and survived the accident (Survey response submitted by Peter Romanowsky of Sausalito, CA, 1 April 1998, in possession of author). Dennis Knotts of Simi Valley, CA’s Lighthouse coffeehouse claimed that he was the victim of a “fatal auto accident” and remembers “standing on the side of the road watching them carry my body out of the back of the van”. Knotts claims that as he “stood there” he heard “a voice from behind” that he “could only describe as the voice of Jesus” say to him “You’re not done yet”. He eventually recovered from the injuries. (Survey submitted by Dennis Knotts of Moreno Valley, CA, 25 December 2001, in possession of author). Keith Swaine before his conversion claims that he was on Sunset Strip in the spring of 1971 when he shoved a witnessing Jesus Freak off the sidewalk into oncoming traffic: “I waited to push him until he couldn’t help but be hit” and yet somehow the car stopped. “My friend and me saw the bumper up against the guy’s belt buckle and we just shrugged at each other”, said Swaine, later coming to see “that God did a miracle and saved that guy!” (Survey submitted by Keith Swaine of Leonard, MO, 5 December 2003, in possession of author). Kevin Newman who was attending Calvary Chapel related that one time following a Sunday evening service they decided to play a trick on a friend by removing the distributor coil wire. Moving over to the far side of the parking lot to watch their friend’s distress, they were amazed to see him climb into his car, start it up and drive away--a mechanical impossibility. “Just then”, Newman stated, “a pickup truck ran off the road” and struck a power pole that crashed down “on the spot where he had been parked. Freaked us all out...” (Survey submitted by Kevin Newman of Chesterfield, VA, 27 February 2003).
 83. Survey response submitted by ‘anonymous’ who was affiliated with coffeehouses in Harrisonburg, VA, 17 May 2003.
 84. Survey response submitted by Jackie Alden of Fife, WA, 5 August 2003.
 85. Survey response submitted by Scott Jacobsen of Hamilton, ON, 20 June 1998.
 86. Survey response submitted by Doreen Laughlin of Tigard, OR, 23 November 2002.
 87. Survey response submitted by David Ruffino of Sacramento, CA, 3 May 2003.
 88. “Hard to Take”, *Cincinnati Jesus Paper*, Vol. 1, Issue 3 (ca. July 1971), p. 3; the story is very similar to the urban legend of “The Vanishing Hitchhiker” (See the classic treatment of this story and the entire realm of “urban legends” in Jan Harold Brunvand, *The Vanishing Hitchhiker: American Urban Legends & Their Meaning* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1989).
 89. Alden survey.
 90. Survey response submitted by Dale R. Yancy of Merrimack, NH, 27 June 2000.
 91. Eskridge, “Jesus People Survey Tabulations & Comments” (see Appendix A).
 92. Ibid., pp. 10-11. Nearly 90% of those surveyed believed in the rapture of the church (p. 11).
 93. The disillusionment of the hippies in the wake of the problems they faced within their own community and in light of the seemingly worsening problems of the larger world is a major theme in

studies of the Sixties. For example see, Terry H. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties: Protest in America From Greensboro to Wounded Knee* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 279-289.

94. Ellwood, *One Way*, pp. 17-18.

95. The examples of this would be legion--it would be much easier to point to the occasional Jesus People outpost like Hollywood Presbyterian's Salt Company where dispensational teachings were not taught and 'overlooked' in joint efforts (Williams interview).

96. Ellwood, *One Way*, p. 89.

97. "Let's Get Ready!", *Hollywood Free Paper*, Vol. 3, Issue 12 (ca. June 1971), p. 2; "Daniel's Seventy Weeks", *Right On!* No. 9 (15 January 1970), p. 3.

98. For example see the ads: "Emporium", *Logos* (vol. 1, No. 3, ca. September 1971, p. 7), and "Witness Items", in the *Hollywood Free Paper* (vol. 4, issue 5, ca. 1972, p. 9).

99. "I Wish We'd All Been Ready", appeared on Larry Norman's 1969 Benson album *Upon This Rock*; Randy Matthews' song "Evacuation Day" appeared on his 1972 album *Son of Dust*.

100. Survey response submitted by Pat Cordial of Lawton, OK, 29 March 1999.

101. Survey response submitted by David Bielby of Normal, IL, 31 July 2003.

102. Survey response submitted by Nancy Vander Schaaf of London, ON, 20 March 1998.

103. Paul S. Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1992), p. 80.

104. Acts 2: 44-46 (KJV).

105. Ted Wise, "Jason Questions a Jesus Freak", (13 September 1997), p. 3, (<http://www.pbc.org/dp/wise/jason.html>).

106. Ward, *The Far-Out Saints*, p. 76.

107. Ibid., p. 174.

108. Timothy Miller, *The 60s Communes: Hippies and Beyond* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1999), p. 94.

109. For an account of the Love Inn commune in Freeville, NY see Ross, *Scott Free*. For a history of the Jesus People USA in Chicago see Jon Trott, "Life's Lessons", *Cornerstone*, 22:102 (1993), pp. 11-21; 23:104 (1994), pp. 18-23; 23:105 (1994), pp. 36-39.

110. The most complete examination of the Shiloh communal network is found in Richardson, Stewart, and Simmonds, *Organized Miracles*.

111. See Timothy Miller, *The Hippies and American Values* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), pp. 59-62; Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, p. 261.

112. Survey response submitted by Dan Brookshire of Charlottesville, VA, 16 January 2001.

113. Survey response submitted by Denise Peca of Westland, MI, 14 March 2002.

114. Survey response submitted by Barb Link of St. Louis Park, MN, 3 December 2003.

115. For example see Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 250-260.

116. For a contemporary look at JPUSA's Holy Ghost Players in action see "Resurrection Band & the H.G. Players: Some Like It Hot", *Cornerstone*, vol. 5, no. 31 (1976), p. 23; CWLF's Street Theater troupe had at least five full-time 'workers' led by a graduate of the University of South Florida and Dallas Theological Seminary (CWLF Newsletter, ca. 1973, pp. 1-3); Akron, OH, passion parade anecdote supplied in survey response submitted by John White of Kent, OH, 28 January 2002.

117. Vander Schaaf survey.

118. Excerpt from a letter by John R. Sampey, III in "Jesus Explosion", (Part II), *Home Missions XLII*: 8 (August 1971), quoted in Ward, *The Far-Out Saints*, p. 29.

119. See Charles E. Fromm, "New Song to Contemporary Christian Music", (M.A. thesis: Fuller Theological Seminary, 1996).

Chapter 5

It Only Takes a Spark: The Jesus Movement Moves Into the National Spotlight, 1971

At the end of 1968 the Jesus People movement was a California phenomenon. The countercultural ministrations of Ted Wise, Kent Philpott and associates under the umbrella of Evangelical Concerns in the San Francisco Bay area (see Chapter 3) had marked the beginnings of the 'Street Christian' movement. In Southern California the hybrid outgrowth of the counterculture and evangelical religion had struck a resonant note within the youthful population through the outreaches of Hollywood Presbyterian's Salt Company, Arthur Blessitt's His Place on the Sunset Strip and Calvary Chapel in suburban Orange County (see Chapter 4). These major centres, however, were but the tip of the Californian Jesus People phenomenon. In the Los Angeles area, congregations at Sierra Madre's Congregational Church and Bethel Tabernacle in Redondo Beach had been virtually taken over by hippie Christians. Farther to the north, the Peninsula Bible Church in Palo Alto also had a significant ministry among counterculture youth.¹ In Santa Cruz in 1969 the Koinonia Community had begun a commune which quickly grew to include a coffeehouse, boutique, and singing group.² And across the Bay in the radical hotbed of Berkeley, a group of former Campus Crusade for Christ workers led by ex-statistics professor Jack Sparks had begun the Christian World Liberation Front, a ministry specifically targeted at reaching those youth more oriented toward the New Left.³

As 1969 progressed, however, it became evident that California did not hold a monopoly on the requisite cultural tinder needed to spark and feed the fires of Jesus People revival. The movement had begun to surface in other cities and regions across the United States, a seeming inevitable result of the counterculture's rubbing cultural

shoulders with the ubiquitous presence of evangelical Christianity. By 1970 one could find Jesus People in just about every part of the nation, a movement that was expanding even as its parent hippie culture was beginning to decline.

The Shiloh Communes, Oregon & Elsewhere

One of the earliest major components of the Jesus People movement outside California--and one of the few that could also trace direct ties to what was going on in that state--was the Shiloh Commune movement. Shiloh developed out of the House of Miracles and the early Jesus Houses operated by Calvary Chapel in Orange County, CA (see Chapter 4). House of Miracles co-founder John Higgins had a vision for a network of self-sustaining Christian communes, a vision which differed from the more utilitarian outlook of Calvary Chapel which saw the houses as a temporary solution to the problems of runaways. As the Calvary Chapel network of houses expanded in late 1968 and early 1969, several communes came under Higgins' management.⁴ By mid-1969, Higgins controlled Jesus People houses in Costa Mesa, Fontana, Riverside, Corona, San Francisco (2), San Diego and Sacramento, California.⁵

In the spring of 1969 Higgins decided that the Holy Spirit had instructed him to establish communes outside of California. Consulting with Calvary Chapel's Chuck Smith--who was personally relieved to pass Higgins' communes outside Calvary Chapel's formal orbit of responsibility⁶--he received encouragement for the move and with a group of fourteen men, women, and children set out for Eugene, Oregon. There with the help of the local Salvation Army and Goodwill Industries Store they equipped a house which they dubbed Shiloh, after the first prophetic name given for the Messiah in the Old Testament.⁷ A second house in the area was soon added as two 'brothers' equipped with .65 cents between them moved out and utilized what would become a classic Shiloh strategy: entering a local hippie commune, converting most of its

members, and taking it over. Quickly developing a reputation as dependable, hard workers the Oregon Shiloh houses made ends meet by hiring out members as fruit and vegetable pickers to farmers sympathetic to the Shiloh youth's Christian values.⁸

At about this time, Higgins claimed God sent him a vision of "a white-haired pastor coming from the north" who "proceeded from a white building" with a plan to ordain Higgins and transfer legal non-profit papers for his organization "for the glory of God". After relating this to his followers, a month passed until a pastor fitting the above description arrived at Shiloh and told them he believed God was telling him to offer Shiloh his articles of incorporation for a small youth organization he oversaw. Scurrying to ascertain what colour the man's building was painted, the commune rejoiced when it verified that it had indeed been repainted white about two weeks earlier. Higgins accepted the offer, the pastor joined the group and Shiloh found the new non-profit status immediately helpful in saving money on its fruit-picking profits.⁹

Late in 1969 Shiloh learned of an opportunity to purchase a ninety-acre tract about twenty miles outside Eugene for \$55,000. Although the group was poverty-stricken, its members decided to go ahead with the purchase after being offered an option to pay off the mortgage without interest if the property was paid off within one year. Believing themselves to be dependent upon God alone, the group prayed and refused to make their need known. In what was perceived as a miracle, they managed to raise over \$100,000 in less than six months, paying off the bank note in May 1970, and using the remaining money to begin construction of housing and offices at what was now dubbed 'The Land'.¹⁰

By this time Shiloh had well over a hundred full-fledged members in Oregon and in its California houses. Each commune generally had a two-level structure consisting of pastors and members, with the former group containing gradations of rank

including assistant pastors, deacons, and sometimes deaconesses. Yet a further division of the commune was the internal differentiation between 'brothers' and 'sisters' which reflected their beliefs—common also among 'straight' evangelicals and fundamentalists—that women were 'weaker vessels' who must submit to male leadership.¹¹ Day-to-day life in the communes depended on whether one lived in the city or on Shiloh's rural holdings. City-based members frequently worked in Shiloh-created moving, construction or painting businesses or held jobs in the community, with domestic housekeeping tasks divided largely upon gender lines. At The Land or other operations in the countryside, life was more routinised around the seasonal demands of agricultural work and the needs of the community and was based in part upon an expedition of Shiloh leaders to observe the Hutterites in action. As the group grew, The Land shifted to a role as a training and Bible school for new members and a tightly-scheduled regimen of work, classes, study and recreation occupied trainees from 6:30 in the morning until lights out at 10:30 p.m.¹²

During 1970 and 1971 Shiloh attracted many new members, enabling the opening of a number of new houses averaging about twenty members each in Oregon and California as well as new sites in Idaho, Washington, Colorado, and back east in Georgia, Tennessee, and North Carolina.¹³ This growth contributed to the expansion of its Oregon-based projects and holdings. 'The Farm', a leased 110-acre berry farm, was added in the summer of 1970 and was soon joined by a Shiloh-owned goat dairy, a 70-acre sheep farm, and an 80-acre orchard. In Eugene itself, a former fraternity building near the University of Oregon campus was purchased to house financial and organizational offices. Other operations included a printing business, a cannery (which in 1973 would can over 170 tons of fruit and vegetables, largely for commune consumption), a touring drama troupe, as well as several groups of travelling hippie

evangelists.¹⁴ As its full-time membership pressed over 1,000 during 1971, Shiloh was a nationwide organization and was among the largest of the communal groups that had grown out of the hippie movement.¹⁵

The Jesus People Army--Washington State

Another early bastion of the Jesus People movement was built in the Pacific Northwest, beginning in Seattle, Washington, and branching out from there to cities such as Spokane, Yakima, Everett, and Vancouver, British Columbia. The movement there had its earliest roots in the work of John and Diana Breithaupt's outreach to young dopers in Seattle's University district. A Conservative Baptist logger from rural northwest Washington state, Breithaupt had come into contact with the charismatic Episcopal priest Dennis Bennett and had received the Pentecostal baptism in the Holy Spirit. Believing God wanted him to abandon his lucrative logging business for some as-yet-unspecified work, Breithaupt moved his family to Seattle in early 1967. Casually dressed, Breithaupt spent months along the hippie district's University Avenue--'the Av'--just playing his guitar, talking to the young hippies, and giving them an occasional helping hand. With the financial help of an older couple from Bennett's St Luke's Episcopal Church, the Breithaupts opened up the 'House of Zaccheus' (named after the Breithaupts' pet dachshund) in the fall of 1968, accommodating up to twenty young people at a time. Within a few months a coffeehouse--'Zach's House'--was opened a few blocks away.¹⁶

Among the early visitors to the Breithaupts' operation was a woman named Linda Meissner. An Iowa farm girl who had dropped out of a Pentecostal Bible college, Meissner had travelled in the early 1960s to Brooklyn where she helped young Assemblies of God preacher David Wilkerson in his work with street gangs. After two years with Wilkerson's Teen Challenge (a period covered in his influential book *The*

Cross and the Switchblade), Meissner returned to the Midwest.¹⁷ For a while she spoke in local churches before heading off on a series of missions trips to the West Indies, Mexico, and Hong Kong.¹⁸ During her travels, Meissner claims she was bombarded with a series of visions for a period of a year and a half in which God told her she should go to “Seattle, Washington I will raise up a mighty army of young people, and you’ll go forth and speak the words of life”. Hedging on whether this was a revelation or some sort of a “brainstorm,” she claimed that later in Mexico City she had a similar vision about Seattle:

The Spirit said that there would be a great youth revival It showed me about the coffeehouses, although I didn’t know a thing about coffeehouses at the time. It told me to get a location, about painting the tables different colors, about building a stage, and to go out in teams throughout that city inviting kids to this coffeehouse. And hundreds, literally thousands of young people who didn’t know Jesus before were going to ask Him into their hearts--an army for Jesus that glorified His name”.¹⁹

Meissner arrived in Seattle in 1968 and quickly made a name for herself speaking in local Pentecostal congregations. Opening a coffeehouse called ‘The Eleventh Hour’, she made little impression on Seattle’s hippie teens with her combination of Pentecostal austerity and already outdated East Coast perceptions of youth culture. Recalled one girl quoted in the 1971 book *The Jesus People Are Coming*:

There was this jukebox playing funky New York-type music . . . there were these two chicks [Linda and a friend] in bouffant hair styles, wearing black dresses and high heels and trying to tell us that dope was hell and Jesus could take us out of that hell. We laughed because the music was so ridiculous that it blew our minds...²⁰

Following this failure, Meissner made contact with the Breithaupts and observed them in action, while continuing to cultivate a backing in local churches. In early 1969, now with her hair down and dressed casually in blue jeans, Meissner established a

counselling centre she called The Ark. Soon she began to gather a following of converted street people around her which she dubbed the “Jesus People Army”. As the group grew she was given an opportunity by a local layman to take over warehouse space across the street from the city’s famous ‘Space Needle’. Soon thereafter she opened the Catacombs coffeehouse which often hosted up to 2,000 people per week listening to Meissner’s talks and a rock band called the Glorious Liberty.²¹ In 1970 the group began to print their own underground newspaper, *Agape* (of which they once dropped 10,000 copies upon a local rock festival from an aeroplane that circled overhead²²), and opened two communal houses--the House of Esther for girls, the House of Paul for boys. One of the JPA’s innovations was the first ever ‘Jesus March’, a public demonstration in the Spring of 1970 that saw an estimated 5,000 young people march in downtown Seattle.²³ In early 1971 the JPA undertook an “evangelistic blitz” in the western portion of Washington state which led to the establishment of JPA branches, communal houses, and coffeehouses in Tacoma, Everett, and Vancouver, B.C.²⁴

About a year prior to the ‘71 blitz, Meissner had met and established an alliance with Carl Parks from eastern Washington state’s major city, Spokane. The son of a pair of Assembly of God evangelists, Parks walked away at the age of 31 from a position as the regional representative for a correspondence school to pursue a calling to Christian ministry. Meeting members of the JPA during a trip to Seattle, Parks investigated the Catacombs and talked with Linda Meissner. Imbued with a new vision for work in Spokane, Parks went home and with the help of a few friends soon started a coffeehouse, several communal homes, and a well-produced Jesus paper, *Truth*. Parks adopted the Jesus People Army name and used it in his work but the official connections with Meissner’s organization were loose and informal.²⁵ One of Parks’



Figure 1: A member of Carl Parks' Jesus People Army 'witnesses' to 'straights' on a street in downtown Spokane, Washington ca. 1971 (photo from Carl Parks, printed in Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*).

early coups was to convert all the members of Wilson-McKinley, Spokane's leading rock group. With this solid attraction in his pocket, Parks had no problem drawing a crowd to his I Am coffeehouse and to outdoor evangelistic meetings.²⁶ Parks' Jesus People Army grew to include a half dozen communal houses in Spokane alone, along with the Jesus Free Store, a pay-as-you-are-able thrift store. In addition, Parks was able to establish outposts of his group in Walla Walla and Yakima, WA, as well as Couer d'Alene, ID, and Portland, OR.²⁷ Between his and Meissner's groups the Jesus People movement was well-entrenched in the Pacific Northwest by the start of 1971.

Scott Ross and the Love Inn Community, Freeville, NY

Far from the hippie magnet of California's beaches and mountains, the beginnings of the Jesus Movement in central upstate New York took place amid the rural isolation of woodlands and dairy farms near Ithaca as the response to a radio show that combined rock music with spiritual banter, interviews, and phone calls from the audience. In July 1968 televangelist Pat Robertson's Norfolk, Virginia-based Christian

Broadcasting Network (CBN) received a notice from a telecommunications company which announced that due to various legal and financial complications it was selling five signal-overlapping FM stations in upstate New York. At \$500,000, the stations--which made it possible to drive the 300-mile distance between Albany and Buffalo and always be within range of a signal--were a broadcasting windfall. CBN quickly contacted the company and convinced it to donate the stations in exchange for a tax write-off as a charitable contribution. Linking the stations together in a network, CBN sent 28 year-old Scott Ross to Ithaca in September to serve as caretaker, transmitter operator and nighttime announcer.²⁸

Charles Edward Ross, a young Scottish immigrant of Pentecostal family background, had come to America shortly after the end of World War II, and grew up in New Jersey and Maryland. He arrived at CBN in mid-1967 after a meteoric, but short-lived, career as a big-time rock n' roll disc jockey in New York City. Originally a producer for WINS' star disc jockey 'Murray The K' Kaufman, his career received a major boost in early 1964 when his girlfriend, Nedra Talley, of the popular female singing trio, the Ronettes, introduced him to the Beatles. Taking a liking to Ross because of the traces of Glasgow that remained in his speech, the Beatles gave him entree to a series of interviews which amid the hysteria of American Beatlemania made Ross a major commodity. As a result he landed a regular show in which he interviewed pop stars, as well as a syndicated newspaper column entitled 'Scott on the Rocks'. Hanging around the likes of Bob Dylan, Peter, Paul and Mary, and the Rolling Stones' Brian Jones, Ross quickly became mired in a regimen of sex, alcohol, and drugs.²⁹

In late 1966 he was arrested for possession of marijuana and lost his radio and newspaper jobs. Reduced to part-time announcing jobs, he began to reinvestigate his family's Pentecostal heritage. Marrying Talley he moved home to Hagerstown,

Maryland, and took on a low-level job at a local station. Soon thereafter, Ross and his wife underwent a conversion experience and spoke in tongues. Attending a meeting of the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship in Baltimore a few months later, Ross met Robertson who invited the young disc jockey down to Virginia Beach for an interview and subsequently offered him a job with CBN.³⁰

As Ross began his new programme on 'CBN Northeast', he was mindful of the negative reaction he had received from his superiors in Virginia when he had attempted to play spiritually-sensitive music by the pop-folk group Peter, Paul, and Mary. That incident—in which the station manager stormed into the studio and pulled the power cords out of the socket in order to stop the transmission of 'sin music' over the air--had made it clear that secular rock music on CBN was *verboten*.³¹ But, isolated in upstate New York, far from his superiors, Ross revived hopes of putting together a programme that would utilize the serious new sentiments that were appearing in rock n' roll to reach a younger audience. Soon he began to play songs such as Barry McGuire's "Eve of Destruction", and others by Bob Dylan, the Beatles, and other rock musicians. Interspersed with banter about God and the meaning of life and phone calls from his audience, the programme enabled Ross to forge a loose, but growing, group of young, hip Christians and Ithaca-area converts around the radio show.³²

Ross sought a way to begin a more concrete ministry off the air that could help perpetuate what was happening during the programme, and a step in that direction came about inadvertently after a cold spell caused the water pipes to burst in his mobile home. Putting out a call over the air for a new home, Ross received a call from Peggy Hardesty, an evangelical widow who owned a small farm in nearby Freeville, New York. On the first night she listened to one of Ross' broadcasts, she claimed to have been healed of arthritis. Hearing of his new plight she phoned Ross and offered him her

barn for whatever ministry purpose he saw fit. Upon visiting the site Ross claimed he had seen that exact barn in a vision about the new work and accepted her offer. He then began to tell his audience about his efforts to renovate the barn into a hip meeting place for local believers. With the help of dozens of his newfound 'fans', Ross cleaned up and renovated the barn, adding a stage, a stone fireplace, kitchen, and small meeting rooms.³³

By the late spring of 1969, the "Love Inn" (as it was dubbed by a young girl who had been converted through the show) was hosting regular weeknight Bible studies and coffeehouse nights on the weekends. Almost immediately, it also began to attract young people as a place to 'crash' while hitchhiking through the area and as a place for new converts to 'get their heads together'. Eventually a commune was established with Ross at its head. That summer Hardesty donated the barn and adjacent thirty acres to the new non-profit group they labelled 'Jesus People, Inc.' The scope of the group began to expand as Ross began to syndicate his nightly 'Scott Ross Show' to stations across the country (see chapter 7). Soon one of the commune members began to manage Hardesty's farm for the commune and a secretary moved out from New York City to handle the radio programme's growing correspondence.³⁴ While the commune's membership varied from between 15 to 40 in its first two years or so (it would eventually top out at over 250 in the mid-'70s), it became well known in the East as a counterculturally-friendly outpost of evangelical Christianity through the impact of Ross' radio programme and through the hundreds who visited the Love Inn's Bible studies and Music nights.³⁵

David Hoyt and the House of Judah: Atlanta and the Southeastern U.S.

The arrival of the Jesus People movement in the South began as the result of a short speaking tour of several Southern Baptist Churches and colleges during the winter

of 1969/70 by Kent Philpott's ex-Hare Krishna colleague, David Hoyt (See Chapter 3). Despite the heavily-churched, evangelical ethos of the South, Hoyt was "gripped" by the need for a hippie-sympathetic "out-front ministry" in that part of the country. He was particularly struck by the similarities in expectations for an explosion in runaway youth coming to Atlanta in that coming summer of 1970 as had accompanied the famed 'Summer of Love' in San Francisco three years earlier. Convinced God was calling him to the South, Hoyt announced his resignation from the Evangelical Concerns-related group ('Upper Streams') he was leading in Walnut Creek, CA.³⁶

Accompanied by his wife Victoria and several other members of the Upper Streams group, Hoyt moved east in the spring and soon secured an old house on Piedmont Avenue that had once been Atlanta's French consulate.³⁷ Dubbing it the House of Judah, Hoyt and company announced their mission to Atlanta by placing a hand-painted sign in the front yard reading: "Jesus Loves Viet Cong & G. I.'s, Parents & Cops, Rednecks & Freaks and YOU!"³⁸ So successful were Hoyt and friends in winning converts among Atlanta's hippie population that the House of Judah was soon joined by two other facilities, the Lighthouse and the Temple of Still Waters housing more than 80 young Jesus People.³⁹

Life in the Atlanta houses was disciplined, revolving around regimens of Bible study, worship and street evangelism combined with housekeeping chores and gender-specific lessons in skills such as carpentry and knitting. Despite the determined efforts to straighten out the new converts' wayward hippie ways, the group's purpose was not to turn them into prospective Chamber of Commerce boosters. This much Hoyt made



Figure 2: The Occupants of the House of Judah, Atlanta, Georgia, ca. Summer 1970 (photo courtesy of Kent Philpott).

clear in a letter he wrote prospective supporters from the ‘straight’ churches in which he described the demands being placed upon the new converts:

We suggest and encourage our new brothers and sisters who are somewhat freaky in dress, hair, and general appearance to ask the Lord in prayer for a balance. We do feel that the beads, bells, and various astrological signs along with the no-bra philosophy of the Hip Scene should be forsaken. We do not believe, however, that a shave and a haircut makes you a Christian any more than long hair and sandals. . . . We are not rehabilitating people to melt back into society as good, clean-shaven and well-spruced American citizens, but rather to learn to follow Jesus Christ and do the will of the Father.⁴⁰

Throughout 1970 and into 1971 the Atlanta operation continued to roll on. Under the collective title the ‘Atlanta Discipleship Training Center’, Hoyt’s group operated one of the first-aid tents for the 600,000 youth who attended the massive Atlanta Pop Festival over the 4th of July weekend.⁴¹ In December 1970 the group was



Figure 3: The Jesus Christ Power House Coffeehouse, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, ca. summer 1971 (photo contained in clipping from the *Milwaukee Journal*).

given a fast-food restaurant in the heart of downtown Atlanta. Christened the ‘Bread of Life Restaurant’, the establishment provided work and evangelism opportunities if not much profit to the group. Soon, the group opened up the ‘Chamber Gates Lightclub’ in the Bread of Life’s basement, offering music and Bible raps on Friday and Saturday evenings.⁴² Perhaps most importantly for the visibility of the Jesus movement, Hoyt’s lieutenants began fanning out to other Southern cities to establish work within their hippie enclaves. By early 1971 the group had also established communal houses in Nashville, Knoxville, Chattanooga, Birmingham, Gainesville and Jacksonville.⁴³

The groups and organisations cited above were among the largest and best known manifestations of the movement outside California. However, they were hardly the extent of the burgeoning national footprint of the Jesus movement. In Portland, Oregon, the Maranatha Assembly of God church had begun a string of commune houses on the city’s northeast side.⁴⁴ The Kansas City area was the site of ten Agape House communes led by David Rose, a former denizen of Blessitt’s His Place.⁴⁵ Venturing out from Seattle’s Jesus People Army, Wisconsin native Jim Palosaari returned to the Midwest and opened up the Power House Coffeehouse in downtown

Milwaukee. His group, the Milwaukee Jesus People, grew to over 150 within a few months, published the *Street Level* newspaper, and with their rock group, the Sheep, conducted evangelistic forays into northern Wisconsin and Minnesota.⁴⁶ Beginning in 1969 in West Chicago, Illinois, several dozen local youth and ex-drug users formed an amorphous fellowship around the estate of sometime television commercial actor, model and charismatic evangelist Ron Rendleman.⁴⁷ In Ohio, students from the Church of Christ's Cincinnati Bible College had established 'The Jesus House', a coffeehouse that supported a thriving countercultural ministry among that city's street people.⁴⁸ To the north in Mansfield, Ohio, former Campus Crusade worker Gordon Walker's Grace Haven Farm functioned as a combination commune and retreat centre attracting numerous drop-outs from the counterculture seeking to "get their heads right."⁴⁹ Philadelphia was the site for 'Fink's Zoo', a group of several dozen Jewish hippie converts led by Joe Finkelstein, a thirty-year-old chemist and his wife Debbie.⁵⁰ In Buffalo, New York the House of Life commune published the *Together* street paper, operated the Power & Light Company coffeehouse, and was actively engaged in reaching out to political radicals.⁵¹ The Proclaim commune house, established in 1969, had a viable presence as an outreach among the hippie youth of Norfolk, Virginia and in nearby Virginia Beach the Fire Escape coffeehouse had a similar ministry to that city's beach hippie population.⁵² In New Milford, New Jersey, a local Nazarene pastor opened a coffeehouse in early 1970 which soon became a vibrant 'Jesus Freak' outpost for the New York metropolitan area.⁵³

And the list could go on. Occasionally the result of direct 'fertilisation' by California Jesus People, more often the result of attempts by local 'straight' evangelicals to minister to the counterculture, God's Forever Family multiplied itself.

By 1971 then, the Jesus People movement had established a significant, and increasingly national, presence within the counterculture.

The Jesus People in the Press: 1968-1970

As the examples of this unlikely hybrid form of hippie Christianity multiplied across the country it increasingly called attention to its existence to both the overall culture and the evangelical subculture. Despite a lone--and controversial article--written during the early days of the Living Room group in the January 1968 issue of the evangelical periodical *Christian Life*⁵⁴, the nascent Jesus movement had received almost no coverage in the press--either religious or secular. This lack of coverage continued during the balance of 1968 and throughout 1969 with the exception of some stories on the individual evangelistic activities of Arthur Blessitt and others which appeared in *Christianity Today* in June 1968 and in stories circulated by the Southern Baptist Convention's Press Service.⁵⁵ These articles, however, like a short blurb about Blessitt that appeared in the *Santa Ana Register* in August 1968, were focused on the novelty of evangelical outreach to the counterculture ("Rev. Blessitt . . . is said to speak the language of today's youth"), rather than any cognizance of a distinguishable 'Jesus Movement' within the counterculture.⁵⁶

It was not until the first months of 1970 that either the nation's religious or secular media began to sit up and take notice of the unusual conjunction between the hippie sub-culture and the 'Old-Time Religion'. The evangelical press was first to do so in articles in *Christianity Today*, *Campus Life*, and *World Vision Magazine*, pointing out the existence of groups like Linda Meissner's Jesus People Army and the Christian World Liberation Front as part of a growing network of 'Street Christians' or--in evangelical theologian Carl F.H. Henry's description--'evangelical hippies' that were

making their presence known in the hip underground and within the evangelical church.⁵⁷ As Rita Klein described it in June 1970 story on the “Spiritual Revolution”:

Some call it an ‘underground movement’. Others describe it as the closest thing to New Testament Christianity this country has ever seen. But those involved--thousands of bearded, long-haired, rather unkempt former hippies--term it a ‘spiritual revolution.’⁵⁸

At about the same time, this phenomenon also began to gain its first coverage in the secular media. *Rolling Stone*, the irreverent ‘bible’ of the avant-garde rock fan, first noticed the perplexing visibility of ‘Jesus Freaks’ in a short blurb in the April 1970 issue of the magazine.⁵⁹ A few other secular media outlets took notice of the movement that year, the most important of which was a two-page piece in the 3 August issue of *Time*. Replete with photos of Arthur Blessitt carrying his cross in Manhattan and a demonstration by members of the Children of God in Los Angeles, the article described them as:

The latest incarnation of that oldest of Christian phenomena: footloose, passionate bearers of the Word, preaching the kingdom of heaven among the dispossessed of the earth. Their credentials are ancient, for they claim to be emulating Christ and his disciples . . . They evoke images of St. Francis of Assisi and his ragged band of followers, or of the early Salvation Army, breaking away from the staid life of congregations to find their fellow man in the streets.⁶⁰

Compiled by staff writers, the article centred on David Hoyt’s group in Atlanta as its main ‘personal-interest’ focus, but also gave a broad overview of the movement, paying attention to its San Francisco origins, the CWLF in Berkeley, Arthur Blessitt, and the Tony & Susan Alamo Christian Foundation in Saugus, CA. While the *Time* and a few other 1970 articles signalled a growing awareness of the movement, the eventual outpouring of interest and publicity that would appear in 1971 would take more than a few magazine articles.

The Spiritual Side of Rock 'n' Roll: 1968-1970

One of the most important elements in setting the stage for the 1971 Jesus People media blitz was the movement's timely intersection with larger currents in the worlds of the youth culture and popular entertainment--specifically pop music. As the emergence of the Jesus People reflected religious undertones present within the counterculture, so too the world of popular music began to evidence a new spirituality during the late 1960s. This was a departure from previous content and subject matter. Although black and white gospel music exerted tremendous influence upon the musical styles and performance of rock n' roll spiritual, and specifically Christian, subject matter and themes were rare in secular popular music during the first decade of the rock 'n' roll era.⁶¹

The year 1969 marked a turning point in this regard, however, as a flurry of spiritual tunes, many with forthright Christian subject matter and content, began to get airplay and climb up the charts. The first of these was "O Happy Day", a traditional gospel hymn sung by the Northern California State Youth Choir (later redubbed the Edwin Hawkins Singers), a little-known black gospel group from Oakland, California. Originally played as a joke by a disc jockey on an 'underground' San Francisco FM station in late 1968, the station was bombarded with telephone requests for the song. Despite the blatantly traditional lyrics ("O Happy Day/When Jesus washed my sins away/He taught me how/to watch and pray"), the song took off as a national hit, selling over a million copies and reaching as high as #4 in the *Billboard* Top 40 in June 1969.⁶² Just a few weeks later, a country-rock gospel tune, "Jesus is a Soul Man", by an unknown Alabama singer named Lawrence Reynolds entered the charts, peaking at #28 in late September.⁶³ RCA Records then re-released the Youngbloods' 1967 song "Get

Together”. Featuring lyrics about “The One who left us here” who “comes for us at last”, the song’s re-release reached the #5 slot nationally during the autumn of 1969.⁶⁴

These songs were quickly followed by Norman Greenbaum’s massive hit, “Spirit in the Sky”. Complete with a throbbing fuzz pedal-guitar and hysterical-sounding female singers in the background, some young Christians perceived the hit to be a ‘Jesus song’ despite sporting such irreverent, theologically-incorrect lyrics as:⁶⁵

*Never been a sinner, I’ve never sinned,
I’ve got a friend in Jesus,
So you know that when I die,
He’s gonna set me up with the Spirit in the Sky.
Oh, set me up with the Spirit in the Sky,
That’s where I’m gonna go, when I die;
When I die and they lay me to rest,
I’m gonna go to the place that’s the best.*⁶⁶

Greenbaum, an agnostic Jew, told *Hit Parader* magazine that “Jesus Christ is popular” and that he had decided “to write a thing called a religious song.”⁶⁷ When all was said and done, his “religious song” had earned gold record status and rocketed to the #3 spot in the nation in February 1970.⁶⁸

Now that it was apparent that religious themes could ‘make it’, it was clear that there was an industry-wide ‘ok’ for the release of more songs with spiritual themes. As a result, the success of ‘spiritual rock’ continued apace during 1970. Early in the year, the British group the Hollies reached #7 in the U.S. charts with their song “He Ain’t Heavy, He’s My Brother”, while at the same time Simon and Garfunkle’s “Bridge Over Troubled Water” spent six weeks in the #1 spot.⁶⁹ That summer, Ray Stevens’ “Everything is Beautiful”--featuring a Nashville, Tennessee, second grade class singing “Jesus Loves the Little Children” as the song’s intro--reached #1.⁷⁰ Also hitting the charts that year were the Byrds’ recording of “Jesus is Just Alright” from the soundtrack of the smash film *Easy Rider*, and the Pacific Gas & Electric Company’s apocalyptic “Are You Ready?”⁷¹ Near the end of the year, two more songs with strong spiritual

overtones placed high on the charts: “Fire and Rain” by new artist James Taylor (#3), and George Harrison’s repetitive ode to various Hindu deities, “My Sweet Lord” (#1).⁷²

While none of these hits was directly linked to the Jesus Movement at the time, the success of these songs concretely demonstrated that a large segment of early ‘70s American youth was sympathetic to spiritual matters and was expressing it through youth culture’s most telling yardstick: record sales. But it was the release of another record in November 1970 that provided the appropriate cultural momentum, controversy, and interest that made the Jesus Movement a natural for the national stage--Andrew Lloyd Webber and Tim Rice’s rock opera, *Jesus Christ Superstar*.

Jesus Christ--Superstar

In early November 1969 a preview copy of “Superstar”, the pilot song from a yet-to-be-written recording project by the unknown British duo of Webber and Rice, was played before a roomful of astonished American MCA/Decca executives gathered for their weekly audition of potential releases. The song caused an enormous reaction with the meeting split between those who felt it would be a controversial, but blockbuster hit, and those who wanted to avoid the sort of bashing the Beatles had taken in the American South after John Lennon’s off-handed 1966 remark about the Beatles being “more popular than Jesus”.⁷³ After several days of debate, the executives finally agreed to bankroll the expensive project. While Webber and Rice spent the next few months writing and fine-tuning the ‘rock opera’, Decca decided to release “Superstar” as a 45 rpm single in the American market.⁷⁴ Sent to radio stations in early December, the majority of stations refused to touch it, but rotation on major FM stations in New York, Miami, and Cleveland opened the door to wider airplay.⁷⁵

The double album of the complete rock opera was released in the United States in November 1970 and was greeted with a mixture of rave reviews from critics and

outrage from conservative Christians. For their part, most reviewers in secular newspapers and periodicals seemed intent to outdo their peers in lavishing extravagant praise upon the album. While the critic in the music industry's 'bible' *Billboard* prophesied that "This brilliant musical . . . is destined to become one of the most talked about and provocative albums on the pop scene",⁷⁶ *Newsweek* arts critic Hubert Saal saw it as a triumph which spoke not only to religious questions but the current political and social climate in the U.S.:

Jesus Christ Superstar . . . is nothing short of brilliant--and reverent . . . Without any heavy-handedness the opera makes it natural to see Jesus as a superstar, the new Messiah, who's at 'the top of the poll,' with Mary Magdalene as his chief groupie, Judas as conniving manager, the Apostles his turned-on band, the priests the blind guardians of rigid law and order, Pilate a kind of smooth university president, Herod governor of the state . . .⁷⁷

Many, however, saw the whole endeavour as anything but "reverent". Frank Garlock, of the music department at the fundamentalist Bob Jones University, criticized the rock opera for emphasizing the humanity of Christ and "deliberately trying to portray a man who was *only* human and not God".⁷⁸ A reviewer in an evangelical periodical lamented that youth were being targeted with a false view of Christ and his mission on earth:

The wordless finale, entitled "John Nineteen Forty-One," leaves Christ in the grave. No faith and no victory emerge from this weary music, but the relentless quest remains, haunting and hollow. Here is a work that sets the standard for full-length rock--and an idiom for reaching this generation. Perhaps some Christian composer will take the cue and produce a rock opera about Christ that ends not with hollow questions but with triumphant answers.⁷⁹

Overall, however, the tremendous reaction proved--to the relief of MCA/Decca executives--the old public relations axiom that there is no such thing as bad publicity--the album became a genuine religio-cultural phenomenon. In response, many radio stations did the unthinkable--scheduling special playings of the entire piece without commercial interruption.⁸⁰ By early February the expensive double record (retailing for

\$12) had reached the number one spot on *Billboard's* Hot 100 album charts, a position it would twice re-capture, during the course of 1971 in racking up over \$15 million in North American sales.⁸¹ Additionally, the re-released single "Superstar" went 'gold' (i.e. sold over a million copies) at #14 and two versions of the ballad, "I Don't Know How to Love Him"--the original by Yvonne Elliman and a cover version by Helen Reddy--earned peak positions of #28 and #13, respectively.⁸²

By the spring several unauthorized touring troupes were presenting a staged version of the rock opera, joined by an 'official' ensemble on Broadway that fall.⁸³ During the same time, another hip musical play about the life of Christ--*Godspell*, based upon the Gospel of Matthew--had opened and soon achieved tremendous success off-Broadway at the Promenade Theatre in Manhattan.⁸⁴ Set in modern-day New York with a Jesus in clown's greasepaint make-up followed by a band of hippie flower children for disciples, the musical was light-hearted and upbeat in contrast to *Superstar's* dark, brooding tone. Jesus was big on Broadway. But the success of *Jesus Christ Superstar* and *Godspell* was more than a phenomenon in and of itself. Along with the religious pop music of the period, they helped create a cultural atmosphere which meshed spiritual themes, rock music and the counterculture into an understandable cultural template that paved the way for the 1971 Jesus People media onslaught.

The Jesus People Publicity Blitz of 1971

In retrospect, the beginning of 1971's Jesus Movement media blitz seems to have arrived with the new year itself. Indeed, it was on New Year's Day that America's premier evangelist and "Protestant Pope", Billy Graham, came face-to-face with the Jesus People as he served as the Grand Marshal of the annual Tournament of Roses Parade in Pasadena, California. Writing later that year in his book *The Jesus*

Generation, Graham claimed that it was not until that day that he really became aware of the movement.⁸⁵

Among the Jesus People in the crowd that day, were a group from a Fullerton coffeehouse passing out tracts and an assorted band of Los Angeles 'Street Christians' handing out nearly 200,000 copies of the *Hollywood Free Paper*--both groups augmented by a large Nazarene youth choir. As Graham and his wife Ruth rode down the boulevard in their convertible, they began to notice that a number of young people were holding up placards and standing "with raised index finger lifted upward" shouting "One Way!" Graham returned the gesture to the crowd and began shouting back "One Way--the Jesus Way!" The scene duplicated itself all along the parade route as Graham continued to hold his finger aloft and thousands amid the throng responded in kind--the whole scene being beamed live across the country on both the CBS and NBC television networks. At the end of the parade Graham commented that he and Ruth felt as if they had "been in a revival meeting".⁸⁶ The event certainly caught Graham's attention. Not only would he soon set to work on a new book built around the theme, but he and his staff also made plans to incorporate it as a theme in the upcoming summer schedule of evangelistic 'crusades'. In the meantime, Graham talked positively to the press during the following months about the wonderful youth revival he saw "sweeping across the country" in the Jesus Movement.⁸⁷

The Secular Media Notices a "Jesus Revolution"

Graham's New Year's Day apotheosis on the streets of Pasadena had far-reaching implications, particularly for evangelical cognizance and acceptance of the Jesus People. But it was the major coverage in the mainstream secular media in the first half of 1971 that ensured that the movement took its place in the national consciousness. Crucial in this regard was a two-hour documentary on NBC's *First*

Tuesday that was broadcast in late January. Focusing on the Children of God's (COG) encampment near the tiny town of Strawn, TX, as typical of the movement, the broadcast pulled no punches on the group's spartan communal lifestyle, rigid morals, fanatical dedication to worship, Bible study and evangelism. Nonetheless, the COG's single-minded devotion to God, flair for theatre, rejection of sexual immorality, drugs, and materialism apparently proved attractive to a number of viewers. For days afterward NBC was swamped with requests for information about the group and literally hundreds of eager young recruits began showing up at COG's Texas compound.⁸⁸

Close on the heels of the NBC special, *Look* magazine carried a major spread in its 9 February issue entitled "The Jesus Movement is Upon Us". True to the magazine's visual style, the article was structured around large photographs of Calvary Chapel's ocean baptisms and intense, grainy pictures of young people in the throes of charismatic worship.⁸⁹ Reporter Brian Vachon summed up what must have been the feelings of many who were suddenly noticing the new interest in Jesus that was, seemingly, all around them:

This is a movement that started subtly--almost secretly, as if religion's widespread unfashionableness made faith a bit felonious. But signs began to appear, little obscure signs that seemed almost to be teasers from some clandestine underground. A bumper sticker on an occasional car: "Have a Nice Forever". . . Popular music began getting slightly religious and then obviously so. Two teen-agers would pass each other on the street and exchange a private signal. The new sign: the forefinger pointed heavenward. An instant, unprefabricated way of relating was being developed. "I'm a Christian. Are You a Christian? Oh, wow. Praise the Lord."⁹⁰

After the feature in *Look*, the Jesus Movement was featured in several other leading papers and magazines including a front-page story in the *Wall Street Journal* on 2

March, an article in *Newsweek* later that month, and a feature on a Jesus commune in upstate New York in the 14 May issue of *Life*.⁹¹

While almost all the stories highlighted the Jesus People's curious, and highly photogenic, mixture of the counterculture and American revivalism, the secular coverage was also characterized by a surprisingly upbeat, perhaps even charmed, sensibility. In many ways, the advent of the Jesus People must have seemed like an oasis in a desert of distressing news about the younger generation. The Jesus movement had, as one national periodical put it, "an uncommon morning freshness...a buoyant atmosphere of hope and love along with the usual rebel zeal...[a] love [that] seems more sincere than a slogan, deeper than the fast-fading sentiments of the flower-children".⁹² For American adults buffeted by the previous several years' worth of bad news about the sexual revolution, the rise of the drug culture, the generation gap, the domestic chaos and violence surrounding the civil rights movement, and the seemingly intractable nightmare that was the Vietnam War both 'over there' and on the homefront, the Jesus People were a refreshing bit of good 'youth news'.

By June, the Jesus People constituted a big enough story to merit the cover of the nation's premier newsmagazine, *Time*. In an eight-page feature story, "The New Rebel Cry: Jesus is Coming!", the *Time* staffwriters portrayed the Jesus Revolution as a major new force within both the youth culture and American religion. Although noting the faddish, adolescent trappings such as bumper stickers and buttons, the article concluded that the Jesus People showed evidence of considerable staying power: "the movement is something quite a bit larger than a theological hula hoop, something more lasting than a religious Woodstock. It cuts across nearly all the social dividing lines...[and] its appeal is ecumenical".⁹³ As the *Time* article amply demonstrated, the

coverage of the Street Christians in the nation's newspapers, magazines and electronic media both reflected and amplified the Jesus People as a major cultural event.

Evangelical Coverage of the Jesus People

While the *Time* cover story dramatically displayed the impact of the 'Jesus Revolution' upon the mainstream, its message was, by June, old news to the millions of evangelicals who had been reading their subculture's periodicals. If the Jesus Movement sent tremors throughout the national secular media in 1971, it registered a ten on the journalistic seismic graphs of the evangelical world. Indeed, the evangelical press ran with the story for all it was worth, trumpeting the good news that the long-awaited national revival was in progress in the most unlikely of places: among America's unruly youth. The story that had barely registered among evangelical journalists in 1970, received top billing in 1971.⁹⁴ During 1971 nearly every major evangelical periodical, denominational magazine and organizational publication prominently featured news of the movement and/or highlighted an institutional, organizational, or denominational connection to the amazing revival that was taking place among the nation's young people.

Leading the way in evangelical coverage of the Jesus People was *Christianity Today*. Featuring over three dozen features, stories, or items on, or with connection to, the Jesus Movement in 1971, *Christianity Today* enthusiastically covered the movement from a number of angles, reporting on personalities such as Arthur Blessitt, 'Jesus Festivals' in Daytona Beach, Florida, and Evansville, Indiana, and the proliferation of underground 'Jesus Papers'.⁹⁵ The pipeline for much of the magazine's information was its recently-appointed news editor, Edward Plowman, a San Francisco-area Baptist pastor and long-time board member of John MacDonald's Evangelical Concerns group (see Chapter 3). His positive spin on developments constituted an almost regular up-

date throughout the year.⁹⁶ Indeed, Plowman served as something of a one-man press liaison between the movement and the ‘straight’ press—it was he who had first urged *Time*’s religion editors to investigate the burgeoning hippie Christian scene in early 1970.⁹⁷ His support was reflected by the magazine’s executive editor, a former Fuller Seminary professor Harold Lindsell, who, while cautious about the movement’s lack of theological sophistication, nonetheless endorsed the Jesus People in strong terms and urged his fellow evangelicals to do likewise:

. . .to the extent that the new believers are out to integrate belief and experience in a biblical dimension they have our unwavering support. We sense that this may be the Holy Spirit’s way of bringing revival to our society. If the Church turns its back, it does so to its own detriment.⁹⁸

While not devoting quite as much space as did *Christianity Today*, other major evangelical periodicals also hyped the Jesus Movement with coverage that in tone and outlook was nearly identical. *Campus Life*, Youth for Christ’s crisp, visually-appealing magazine targeted at the high school crowd, devoted its entire June/July issue to the Jesus People.⁹⁹ The popular evangelical monthly *Eternity* featured no fewer than five feature articles on the Jesus Movement during 1971 (including one article by Plowman), along with several stories on the ‘young sounds’ that were changing evangelical music.¹⁰⁰ *Christian Life*, finally recovering from its shell-shocked reticence about the “Street Christians”, printed three major articles on the Jesus People in its April issue.¹⁰¹ Even the Moody Bible Institute’s conservative *Moody Monthly* featured photographs and enthusiastic reports about the adventures of Arthur Blessitt, the movement’s growth in various cities, and the selection of a beauty contest-winner who had participated in a “Jesus demonstration”.¹⁰²

The eagerness with which the news about the Jesus explosion was covered in these general-audience evangelical periodicals was duplicated in various

denominational organs from around the country. The Assemblies of God's national magazine, *The Pentecostal Evangel* happily reported news of a Calvary Chapel ocean baptism of over a thousand young people along with other hopeful updates on the movement's growth.¹⁰³ A number of state Baptist newspapers and magazines such as the *Alabama Baptist*, the *California Southern Baptist*, and, particularly the *Indiana Baptist*, likewise printed constant updates about the rise of the Jesus People along with news of signs of revival among their own youth.¹⁰⁴ Writing for the Christian Missionary Alliance's *Alliance Witness*, J. Furman Miller went so far as to proclaim the Jesus Movement as a fulfilment of the prophet Joel's declaration in Joel 2:28 that in the last days God would pour out his Spirit upon "your sons and daughters".¹⁰⁵

Even periodicals from denominations and traditions whose theology and liturgical style were quite a bit removed from the styles of the Jesus People and their evangelical backers carried optimistic, approving news and reviews of the movement and the prospect of the renewed appeal of Christianity among the young. As Father Mikulski told the readers of the *Catholic Weekly* that the Jesus People were "groovy", a writer for the *Lutheran Standard* glowingly related how denominational youth had begun to cheer for Jesus at their youth meetings.¹⁰⁶

Billy Graham Boosts the Jesus People

As the media publicity surrounding the Jesus Movement in both secular and religious American periodicals hit high gear in the summer of 1971, the phenomenon received a highly visible place on the national religious stage as Billy Graham incorporated the youth revival as the major theme in that summer's round of domestic crusades. Consistently voted among the nation's most admired men and a close friend and spiritual adviser to President Richard Nixon, Graham may well have been at the zenith of his national influence in the early 1970s.¹⁰⁷ However, his decision to embrace

the Jesus People was not one without personal risk for his reputation and evangelistic organization. Lending support to a movement that seemed to legitimatise heresies like long hair, beards, rock music, and informality in dress and worship went against the long tradition of fundamentalist/evangelical taboos against 'worldly' fashion and entertainment (see Chapter 2) and was definitely on the other side of the cultural barricades manned by the Nixon-Graham Silent Majority. At the very least he could expect (and he received) a fresh salvo from those ultra-fundamentalists who had criticised him in the past.¹⁰⁸ Yet, for an evangelist whose *modus operandi* often utilised the headlines for maximum audience impact, the terrain of public interest was too inviting to ignore--evangelical Christianity was arguably culturally relevant to the American masses in a way that it had not been since the 1920s. Billy Graham would not be the one to miss such a golden opportunity.

Graham's domestic crusades for summer 1971 were slated for Lexington, Kentucky, Chicago, and Oakland. The utilisation of the new interest in Jesus and the Jesus Movement took on escalating importance with each meeting. In Lexington, the major headline-getter of the entire Crusade was a 'Jesus March' that attracted 1,200 banner-carrying and sign-waving high school students. Graham noted with satisfaction that this was "about three times the number who staged a protest demonstration" a year earlier after the Kent State disturbance.¹⁰⁹

The Greater Chicago Crusade began in early June. The influence of the Jesus Movement was readily apparent throughout the Crusade from Graham's flashing up the 'One Way' sign for photographers in Mayor Richard J. Daley's office, to the presence of Jesus People outside the meetings handing out papers and 'Jesus Loves You' stickers. The meetings featured special music and guest speakers aimed at youth, as well as sermon topics targeting the youth audience such as "Youth's Hang-ups" (a

sermon about the long-haired rebel Prince Absalom), “Jesus Christ: Superstar”, and “The Gospel in Modern Youth Jargon”.¹¹⁰

The crowd of 27,000 who attended the fifth service at Chicago’s McCormick Place Convention Center received a special dose of ‘Jesus Power’. At that meeting an assorted rabble of 200-300 hippies, leftists, and self-described “Satanists” attempted to disrupt the service. Led by a high-stepping young man wearing a cape and wielding a baton, the protesters moved forward into the aisles during the invitation hymn. It was then that a cluster of about thirty hand-holding, praying Jesus People from Ron Rendleman’s West Chicago-based Jesus Is Lord, Inc., appeared and blocked the group’s vanguard. Eventually joined by Crusade ushers and hundreds of young people who poured out of their seats, the unruly intruders--under the watchful eye of the Chicago police--were slowly pushed out of the exits.¹¹¹

Moving west for the Northern California Crusade, Graham was ebullient about the Chicago experience. Over lunch with Governor Ronald Reagan in Sacramento, he related his story about the protestors and the Jesus People, suggesting that Reagan might want to try his newly-developed technique with student demonstrations in California.¹¹² However, with the exception of a few Viet Cong flag-waving anti-war demonstrators and someone bearing a “Gay Lib Now” sign, there was no need in Oakland for a special outpouring of the ‘Jesus Power’ that had been needed in Chicago. Nonetheless, the Jesus Movement and its symbols were in abundant supply at the meetings. A bright, neon yellow and purple ‘One Way’ symbol--the upraised arm and index finger superimposed upon the cross--served as the podium backdrop. The crowd did ‘spell yells’ for J-E-S-U-S. Berkeley’s CWLF chartered a nightly bus bedecked with a banner proclaiming the “People’s Committee to Investigate Billy Graham”. Duane Pederson, editor of the *Hollywood Free Paper*, was an honoured platform

guest.¹¹³ Graham even informed his stadium and television audiences that sheets of red ‘One Way!’ stickers were available “by the hundreds if you want them” to anyone who would write to him.¹¹⁴

One of the services from the Oakland Crusade was televised nationwide later that year. Featuring his sermon, “The Jesus Revolution”, Graham set forth his vision of what he felt was a genuine revival with potential for bringing America together:

... the ‘straights’ and the ‘far outs’ are finding common ground in a personal relationship with Christ Every American should thank God for this new breath of fresh air that is sweeping the country among the youth. It has not yet affected the majority of American young people but the minority is growing by leaps and bounds. Spiritual renewal is coming among the young. Perhaps the prophecy will come true, ‘A little child shall lead them’.¹¹⁵

The results of the Oakland Crusade gave Graham and his staff reason to believe that God was indeed at work. The ten-day campaign resulted in 21,000 converts (12,000 of whom were high school or college-age youth), the highest number of converts per capita of any of Graham’s American crusades to that point.¹¹⁶ It seemed that the Jesus People movement had served Graham well as a focus for his crusades in 1971. Undoubtedly, his highlighting of the Jesus People did much to fan both their publicity and acceptance among the nation’s adult evangelicals.

The Evangelical Jesus People Book Parade

While the Jesus Movement may have provided the relevant entree that made the Oakland crusade such a success for Graham, his vision of the contemporary youth question and the potential role of the Jesus People in a spiritual revival was carved out that fall with the publication of his book, *The Jesus Generation*, by Zondervan Publishing.¹¹⁷ Selling over half a million copies, it would be just one component of a sudden deluge of books on the Jesus Movement that appeared in the latter half of 1971

from evangelical publishing houses eager to fan the flames of revival and capitalize upon the new phenomenon.

Two books on specific local manifestations of the Jesus Movement had actually appeared during 1970. Arthur Blessitt's *Life's Greatest Trip* (Word) was an illustrated 'inside' look at his own "His Place" coffeehouse on the Sunset Strip.¹¹⁸ *House of Acts* (Creation House), recounted the establishment of the Living Room coffeehouse and House of Acts commune in the San Francisco-area through the eyes of John MacDonald the founder of Evangelical Concerns, Inc. (see Chapter 3).¹¹⁹ Although both books were certainly connected to what was the Jesus Movement, the focus was directly on individual situations rather than on the movement as a whole. The dozen books that appeared during 1971, however, were for the most part different in tone, focus, and theme. The Jesus People themselves were now the story and the prospect of a national, generational revival was the dominant underlying message throughout the new books.

In the new wave of publicity about the Jesus Movement, some of the new volumes came from within the ranks of the movement itself. Arthur Blessitt was back with a second volume, *Turned On To Jesus* (Hawthorn). While it continued to focus on Blessitt's adventures, the slant of *Jesus People* by Duane Pederson, publisher of the *Hollywood Free Paper*, was more panoramic in its attention to not only Pederson's story but also to the broader currents of the West Coast Jesus People scene.¹²⁰

Easily the most unusual book produced in this early crop of literature from within the movement came from the CWLF in Berkeley. Group director Jack Sparks along with staffer Paul Raudenbush came up with *Letters to Street Christians* (Zondervan).¹²¹ Listing the authors as simply "Two Brothers From Berkeley", the book

was a paraphrase of the New Testament epistles in the hip argot of the counter-culture.

Thus the instructions on hypocrisy in James 2: 17-20 were rendered:

Brothers and sisters, why say you trust in Jesus when you don't live like it? You're just jiving Him and yourself, and that isn't the kind of faith that makes you a member of God's forever family. . . You say you believe in God. Right on! So do all the devils in Hell, and it really freaks them out. You'd better dig it: a plastic trust without action is dead. Dig?¹²²

Surprisingly--and perhaps fuelled by the phenomenal sales of Kenneth Taylor's 1970 *Living Bible* paraphrase, or by a bevy of evangelical parents and youth pastors seeking to interest their teens in reading the Bible--the "Two Brothers" paperback paraphrase turned out to be something of a mild best seller in evangelical publishing circles, ringing up more than 100,000 sales that year.¹²³

The depth, range, and insight provided by the new wave of books from evangelical publishers about the Jesus People varied quite a bit. Easily the most detailed and informative of the books that came out during the 1971 Jesus People publicity explosion was Ed Plowman's own *The Underground Church* (later re-titled *The Jesus Movement in America*--David C. Cook Publishing).¹²⁴ With information on the origins of the Jesus People, the coffeehouse and commune scene, the campus dimension, the underground 'Jesus Press', and 'Jesus Rock', Plowman provided an accurate--if unapologetically favourable--overview of the contours of the movement.¹²⁵

By contrast, *The Jesus Freaks* (Word) by Jess Moody, a Southern Baptist pastor from West Palm Beach, Florida, was an example of a book that was patently unclear on the entire concept in an attempt to capitalize on the 'Jesus Freak' phenomenon. While the book did contain a few brief interviews with youth who might genuinely fit the 'Jesus Person' mould, its overwhelming focus was on the hippie view of the world. Confusing the matter all the more--and stretching the paperback's length from a flimsy 85 pages to

a workable 127--was the inclusion of a gratuitous index of “liberated churches” that listed an odd assortment of struggling mainline Protestant congregations in the inner city, Catholic worker communes, and left-wing ‘urban action centers’.¹²⁶

Billy Graham’s book *The Jesus Generation* (Zondervan), although the best-selling of the new books, likewise contained little information on the movement itself. Evangelistic in tone, the book centered on the shortcomings of drugs, sex and political solutions to youth’s problems apart from following Christ. However, while *The Jesus Generation* did not provide much insight into the Jesus Movement, Graham did provide an invaluable service for many teenage evangelical Jesus People ‘wanna-be’s’ whose parents may have had serious doubts about the whole matter by providing his published imprimatur to the phenomenon. Conceding that the critics who suggested that the movement was sometimes superficial and too emotional had a point, he nonetheless argued that “Most of the characteristics of the Jesus revolution [were] good” and that most of the Jesus People seemed to be “genuine in their commitment.” Moreover, Graham was delighted by what he saw as the movement’s positive points: it centred on Jesus and demanded an experience with him; it was Bible-based (“For them . . . it’s the ultimate ‘how-to’ Book, like the very ambitious manual of an automobile mechanic”); it put a renewed emphasis on the Holy Spirit and Christian discipleship; and, it displayed “an incredible zeal” for evangelism and had introduced a renewed emphasis on the Second Coming.¹²⁷

Other volumes from evangelical publishing houses such as William Cannon’s *The Jesus Revolution* (Broadman Press), Dick Eastman’s *Up With Jesus* (Baker Book House), Pat King’s *The Jesus People Are Coming* (Logos International), and, Roger Palms’ *The Jesus Kids* (Judson Press), while focusing more directly on the participants in the movement itself, echoed Graham’s generally enthusiastic view of the Jesus

Movement and its potential as the basis for a great national revival, particularly among America's youth.¹²⁸ Typical of these books was *Jesus People Come Alive* (Tyndale House), by Walker L. Knight, a Southern Baptist journalist who compiled a number of reports from SBC observers across the country. Examining not only 'hard-core' Jesus Movement centres such as Calvary Chapel and the soon-to-be-discredited Children of God, the book also included a close look at the 1970 revival at the Wesleyan Asbury College in Wilmore, Kentucky, as well as Richard Hogue's SPIRENO (Spiritual Revolution Now) Southern Baptist youth revivals in Houston, Texas.¹²⁹ Underlying the whole was the message that while the Jesus Movement was just a tip of the revival iceberg--

The explosion of revival spirit is not just among the young. The revised interest in the Holy Spirit and the out-front, Jesus-centered evangelism currently penetrating every denomination is clearly a parallel expression of the Jesus Movement which is rolling outside the institutional church.¹³⁰

--it was nonetheless central to everything else that was going on:

But what is fueling the blazing revival spirit in the public eye is the 'Jesus Generation' these glowing, hip kids with their testimonies of sudden cures from drugs and fleshtrips and aimlessness, their irresistible smiles and simple 'Praise Gods' and the way they seek to share the joy of their experience.¹³¹

Amid all of the celebratory prose from within the movement and from evangelical publishing houses, only one book published during the 1971 publicity blitz struck any real negative notes about the Jesus People. *The Jesus Trip*, published by the mainline Methodist Abingdon Press, generally criticised the movement even as it sympathetically portrayed several of the leading Jesus People and others with whom the author, Lowell Streiker, had come in contact.¹³² Streiker was a Jewish-born convert of

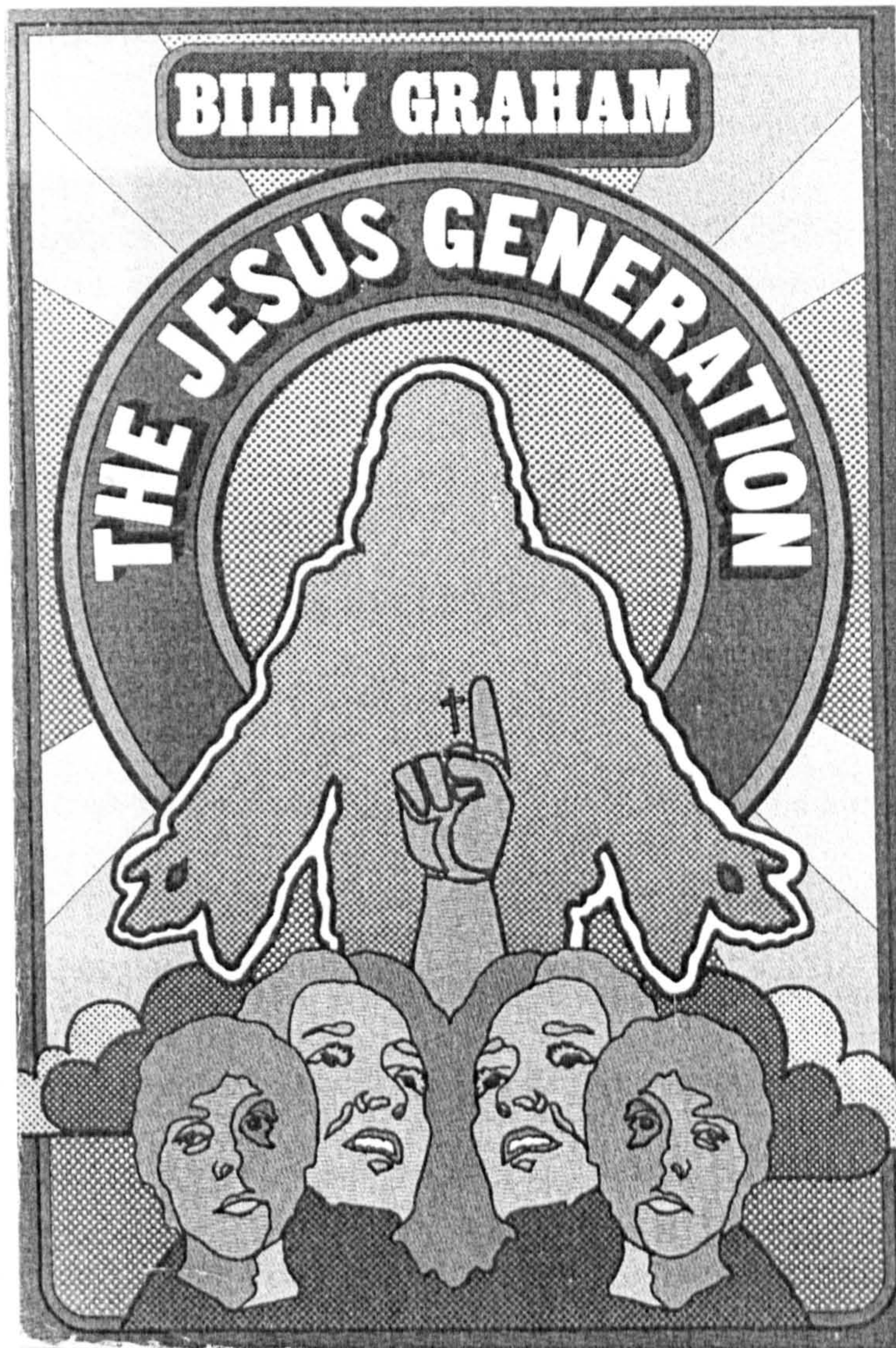


Figure 4: Billy Graham's 1971 book, *The Jesus Generation*, sold over 500,000 copies.

1950s Youth for Christ in Chicago and a former editor at Moody Press who had gone on to obtain a Ph.D. in religion at Princeton.¹³³ Perhaps not surprisingly, the things that troubled him about the Jesus Movement were also perceived characteristics of the 'fundamentalism' he had left behind for the more liberal Lutheran Church in America: the hyper-control of groups like the Alamo Foundation and the Children of God; the overbearing presence of leaders like the CWLF's Jack Sparks; the Jesus People's anti-intellectualism and emotionalism; the movement's apolitical, individualist emphasis;

and, its escapist concentration on the end times. In his summation of the Movement's possible future impact, Streiker mused:

Perhaps the hundreds of small Jesus movement groups will discover that the really hard work of being a Christian comes after conversion for both the convert and the convert-maker. Perhaps the Jesus freaks will learn that if every man, woman, and child were to accept Christ, the task of solving America's social, political, moral and ecological problems would only have begun . . . 'Youth is a wonderful thing,' a wise man once mused. 'What a pity that it's wasted on the young.' In a few years will we ruefully add, 'Christianity is a wonderful thing. What a pity it was wasted on the Jesus freaks'?¹³⁴

Conclusion

Streiker's less-than-sanguine critique was closer in tone to the sorts of academic analysis the Jesus People would receive in several published works during the next couple of years.¹³⁵ In 1971, however, it stood in sharp contrast to the secular media's by-turns amused and charmed coverage of the Jesus People and to the riptide of euphoria and expectation that the movement had unleashed in evangelical sectors. The Jesus People movement in a little more than a year had moved from the fringes of the counterculture and the obscure sectors of America's evangelical church to a largely warm, and accommodating, national spotlight.

The rise of the Jesus People into America's collective consciousness, although surely unforeseen at the time, was not a fluke or the result of a trumped-up publicity campaign. Rather it was the combination of a number of factors which, intersecting at an opportune time, all served to draw the attention of the nation's secular and religious media. The most important factor underlying the upsurge in attention was the fact that the Jesus People movement had indeed become just that--a movement. No longer was it simply a California religious curiosity; the Jesus People could now be found in sizeable groupings in cities and rural areas alike in many parts of the United States. Moreover, this growth had come during a period when the expression of explicitly

Christian sentiments had begun to proliferate in the world of rock music and the advent of the rock opera *Jesus Christ Superstar* had mixed the seemingly exclusive worlds of First Century Palestine, hippies, and rock 'n' roll into a cultural template against which the Jesus People could begin to make some sense to the wider culture.

Surprisingly, the Jesus People story did make sense to a lot of people in 1971. For the secular media who covered them they were a fresh breeze of youthful good news, an encouraging sign that despite all the recent years' inter-generational turmoil and strife there were signs that America's youth were not totally rejecting their elders' values and traditions. For evangelicals they were this and much more--God's Forever Family, a sign of possible national revival, and even a possible sign that the end of the age was at hand. As the evangelical media and prominent evangelicals like Billy Graham touted the movement they sent the message that the Jesus People style and persona were--if not perfect--an acceptable manifestation of evangelical Christianity for the teenage set. As a result, the wave of publicity surrounding the Jesus People in 1971 not only shone the light on the movement's extant groups, but helped set the stage for a massive burst in its growth across the nation in the early 1970s.

ENDNOTES

1. Ronald M. Enroth, Edward E. Ericson, Jr., and C. Breckinridge Peters, *The Jesus People: Old-Time Religion in the Age of Aquarius* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), pp. 94-101; Edward Plowman, *The Jesus Movement in America* (Elgin, IL: David C. Cook, 1971), pp. 120-121.

2. Hiley H. Ward, *The Far-Out Saints of the Jesus Communes* (New York: Association Press, 1972), pp. 149-150.

3. The Christian World Liberation Front was one of the better documented groups of the Jesus People movement, both because of its curiosity as a direct outreach to radicals and because the people within the group were probably the most intellectually-inclined of any of the Jesus People organizations. The best contemporary guide to the CWLF was the book written by its central founder and leader, Jack Sparks (Sparks, *God's Forever Family*. [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974]).

4. James T. Richardson, Mary W. Stewart, and Robert B. Simmonds, *Organized Miracles: A Study of a Contemporary Youth, Communal, Fundamentalist Organization* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1979), p. 8.

5. Ibid., pp. 9-11.

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6. Taped interview with Chuck Smith, Costa Mesa, CA, 9 February 2000.
 7. John Higgins, "Ministry History", *Cold Waters* (February-March 1974), p. 34; Genesis 49:10 reads: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a law giver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be". (KJV)
 8. "Shiloh" from "Shiloh Shuffle" website (<http://www.shiloh-shuffle.com/shiloh.htm>); Richardson, Stewart, and Simmonds, pp. 11-13.
 9. Richardson, Stewart, and Simmonds, *Organized Miracles*, pp. 13-15.
 10. Ibid., pp. 15-16.
 11. "Shiloh", Richardson, Stewart, and Simmonds, *Organized Miracles*, pp. 46-48.
 12. "Shiloh," Richardson, Stewart, and Simmonds, *Organized Miracles*, pp. 22-38, 49-51, 57-62, 85-87; David Di Sabatino's interview with former Shiloh members Kathy and Steve Gilbert, and David and Debbie Grisanti in August 1993 turned up the fact that Shiloh had sent representatives to observe the Hutterites (David Di Sabatino, "A History of the Jesus People Movement", M.A. thesis: McMaster University, 1994, n.26, p. 88).
 13. Di Sabatino, p. 39.
 14. Richardson, Stewart, and Simmonds, *Organized Miracles*, pp. 22-35, 85-87.
 15. In 1971 the Associated Press estimated about 3,000 rural and urban communes in the United States. (Terry H. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties: Protest in America From Greensboro to Wounded Knee*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 270-271, 357). For his part, historian Timothy Miller firmly believes Shiloh was among the largest communes that the counterculture produced, with perhaps as many as 175 communal houses in existence at one time or another (Miller, *The 60s Communes: Hippies and Beyond*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999, pp. 95-96)
 - 16 Taped telephone interview with John Breithaupt, 14 July 2004; Pat King, *The Jesus People Are Coming* (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1971), pp. 11-12.
 17. Glenn D. Kittler, *The Jesus People and Their Leaders* (New York: Warner, 1972), pp. 140-141; Breithaupt interview; for a glimpse into Meissner's role in David Wilkerson's Teen Challenge organisation working with youth gang members in New York City, see David Wilkerson with John and Elizabeth Sherrill, *The Cross and the Switchblade* (Westwood, NJ: Fleming H. Revell, 1963), pp. 133-138, 144-146, 167-170.
 18. Transcript of David Di Sabatino interview with Linda Meissner (January 1994); Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, p. 118; Kittler, *The Jesus People and Their Leaders*, pp. 140-141.
 19. Di Sabatino, Linda Meissner interview transcript.
 - 20 King, *The Jesus People Are Coming*, p. 10.
 21. King, *The Jesus People Are Coming*, p. 13; Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, pp. 119-121.
 22. Taped telephone interview with Sue Palosaari Cowper, 19 October 2004; Robert S. Ellwood, Jr., *One Way: The Jesus People Movement and Its Meaning* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973), p. 62.
 23. Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, p. 121.

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24. Linda Meissner interview transcript.
 25. Kittler, *The Jesus People and Their Leaders*, pp. 177-180.; Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, p. 126.
 26. Kittler, *The Jesus People and Their Leaders*, p. 181; Plowman, *The Jesus People Movement*, pp. 106-107. For an example of Wilson-McKinley's role in Parks' ministry see the ad for an August 1971 concert in *Truth* Vol. 2:7A, (n.d., ca. June 1971), p. 16.
 27. For various glimpses into the size and scope of Parks' branch of the Jesus People Army see Edward Plowman, "Revival in the Underground", *Christianity Today*, (29 January 1971), pp. 34-35; Mark Owen, "Grand Opening Huge Success", [Jesus Free Store] *Truth*, Vol. 4:2, Issue 28 (April 1973), pp. 46-47; Rush Greenslade, "High School Students . . . With Jesus", p. 9; "Street Lights Keep Shining", Vol. 4:3, Issue 29 (May/June 1973), p. 35; "Free Store Destroyed By Arson For Second Time in One Year", pp. 4-6; Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, pp. 123-128.
 28. Scott Ross with John and Elizabeth Sherrill, *Scott Free* (Old Tappan, NJ: Chosen Books, 1976), pp. 82-86.
 29. Interview with Scott Ross, Virginia Beach, VA, 20 August 2002; Scott Ross with Bob Combs, "Scott on the Rocks", *Campus Life* (October 1973), p. 30; Ross, *Scott Free*, pp. 12-36.
 30. Ross, *Scott Free*, pp. 36-69; Ross, "Scott on the Rocks", pp. 30-31.
 31. Ross interview; Ross, *Scott Free*, p. 74.
 32. Bob Combs, "Genuine Natural-Grown, Electronic Music Man", *Campus Life* (December 1972), pp. 61-66; Ross, *Scott Free*, pp. 86-106.
 33. Ross interview; Ross, *Scott Free*, pp. 94-100; Kittler, pp. 207-209.
 34. Ross, *Scott Free*, pp. 103-129; Combs, pp. 61-62.
 35. Edward B. Fiske, "'Jesus People' Are Happy With Their Life in Love Inn", *New York Times* (15 June 1971), pp. 1, 4; Michael McFadden, *The Jesus Revolution* (New York: Harrow Books, 1972), pp. 172-174; Ross, *Scott Free*, pp. 130-146, 155.
 36. Letter from David Hoyt, Walnut Creek, CA to supporters, n.d., ca. late 1969, Kent Philpott collection.
 37. Interview with Kent Philpott, Mill Valley, CA, 5 August 2002; Atlanta Discipleship Training Center newsletter, ca. Spring 1970, p. 1.
 38. Atlanta Discipleship Training Center newsletter, ca. Spring 1970, p.1.
 39. Ibid.
 40. Ibid, pp. 2-3.
 41. Interview with Ken Pitts, Nashville, TN, 9 July 2002.
 42. Atlanta Discipleship Training Center newsletter, p. 5.
 43. Interview with Roger Allen, Nashville, TN, 13 July 2002; Pitts interview; Philpott interview; Atlanta Discipleship Training Center newsletter, pp. 8, 11.
 44. Ward, *The Far-Out Saints*, p. 87.
 45. Kittler, *The Jesus People and Their Leaders*, pp. 188-194.

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- 46 Interview with Jim Palosaari, 11 July 2002, Brentwood, TN; Palosaari Cowper interview; Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, pp. 128-131.
47. Interview with Ron Rendelman, Chadwick, IL, 9 May 2002; "Graham Crusade: Satanists Lose To Jesus Power", *Christianity Today* (2 July 1971), p. 34; Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, pp. 133, 135.
48. Taped telephone interview with Gary Sweeten, 28 May 2003; Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, p. 58.
49. Interview with Gordon Walker, Franklin, TN, 10 July 2002; Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, pp. 140-142.
50. Plowman, *The Jesus People Movement*, pp. 19-20.
51. See for example *Together* Vol. 2:3 (n.d., ca. July 1971); Plowman, *The Jesus People Movement*, p. 63.
52. Jerry Halliday, *Spaced Out and Gathered In: A Sort of An Autobiography of a Jesus Freak* (Old Tappan, NJ: Fleming H. Revell, 1972), pp. 23-32.
- 53 See Paul Moore and Joe Musser, *The Shepherd of Times Square* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1979); taped telephone interview with Charlie Rizzo, 6 March 2003.
- 54 Maurice Allan, "Doing God's Thing in Hippieville", *Christian Life* (January 1968), pp. 20-23, 34-38; for *Christian Life's* rather embattled defence of the piece see "From the Editor" (April 1968), pp. 6-8; for the mixed response of outraged and commendatory letters that followed up the article for the next few months see the "Readers Write" sections in the April, May and June 1968 issues.
55. For examples of the light coverage that there was during 1968 and 1969 on developing aspects of what would become known as the 'Jesus Movement', see Donald M. Williams, "Witnessing to Hippies", *Christianity Today*, 7 June 1968, pp. 41-43; Dallas Lee, "Take a 'Trip' With God, Evangelist Tells Hippies", *Baptist Press Release*, 16 June 1968, p. 7; Dallas Lee, "Gut-Level Witnessing Urged Among the Hippies", *Baptist Press Release*, 14 October 1968, p. 4; "Seminary Community Tunes in Blessitt", *Western Recorder*, 27 March 1969, p. 13.
- 56 *Santa Ana Register*, 17 August 1968, p. A5.
57. For examples of more in-depth coverage during 1970 of what was now beginning to be perceived as an actual 'Jesus Movement' within the evangelical press see Brian Bastien, "Hollywood Boulevard--One Way", *Christianity Today*, 2 January 1970, p. 328; "Statewide 'Jesus Day' Set May 1 in Birmingham", *Alabama Baptist*, 3 April 1970, p. 6; Rick Joslin, "Love in the Park", *Decision*, May 1970, p. 7; Carl F.H. Henry, "Evangelical Pathbreaking", *Christianity Today*, 8 May 1970, p. 746; James Reapsome, "Street People", *Presbyterian Journal*, 24 June 1970, p. 7; L.F. Backmann, "Linda's Revolutionary Army", *World Vision Magazine*, July-August 1970, p. 14; Beth Hayworth, "Blessitt Reaches Capitol, Urges Jesus Revolution", *Indiana Baptist*, 5 August 1970, p. 1.
58. Rita Klein, "Spiritual Revolution--West Coast Youth", *Christianity Today*, 19 June 1970, p. 36.
59. "Hippies Turn to Old-Time Religion," *Rolling Stone*, 16 April 1970, p. 48.
60. "Street Christians: Jesus as the Ultimate Trip", *Time* 3 August 1970, p. 31. For other articles on the Jesus Movement in secular magazines and newspapers in 1970 see Grace Millay, "Jesus People--Established Communes", *Yakima Herald-Republic*, 6 June 1970, n.p.; Richard Dalrymple, "Beach Baptism Helps Save the Young", *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner*, 24 October 1970, p. A-7; Phil Tracy, "The Jesus Freaks--Savagery and Salvation on Sunset Strip", *Commonweal* 30 October 1970, pp. 122-125.

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61. For a discussion of the impact of Southern black and white gospel music on the musical mechanics and performing styles of rock n' roll see Philip H. Ennis, *The Seventh Stream: The Emergence of Rocknroll in American Popular Music* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1992), pp. 72-79, 95-97; See also the entry on "Gospel Music" in Donald Clarke, ed., *The Penguin Encyclopedia of Popular Music* (London: Penguin Books, 1989). For a good sketch of the 'spiritual' content--or lack thereof--of rock music down to the late 1960s see Paul Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music: Where It Came From, What It Is, Where It's Going* (Westchester, IL: Crossway Books, 1985), pp. 18-20.
 62. Joel Whitburn, *The Billboard Book of Top 40 Hits* (New York: Billboard Publications, 1989), p. 197; Baker, p. 20.
 63. Whitburn, *The Billboard Book*, p. 350; Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, p. 20.
 64. Whitburn, *The Billboard Book*, p. 462; Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, p. 21.
 65. Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music* p. 21;
 66. Norman Greenbaum, "Spirit in the Sky", Reprise Records, 1970.
 67. *Hit Parader*, January 1971, p. 27. Despite the fact that Greenbaum lived at the time in Mill Valley, CA—the home of the first Jesus People like Ted and Liz Wise—he claims to have had no direct contact with them and had no idea that there were 'Jesus Freaks' before he wrote the song (e-mail from Norman Greenbaum to Larry Eskridge, 30 April 2002).
 68. Whitburn, *The Billboard Book* p. 188.
 69. Whitburn, *The Billboard Book*, pp. 204, 382. The title of "He Ain't Heavy, He's My Brother" was adapted by songwriters Bobby Russell and Bobby Scott from a signature phrase ("He Ain't Heavy, Father, He's My Brother") associated with Father Flanagan's famous "Boys' Town" orphanage in Omaha, Nebraska. While it had no intrinsic Christian themes or subject matter the phrase "Bridge Over Troubled Water", borrowed from Simon and Garfunkle's hit song, would become the theme of numerous Jesus People tracts, buttons, posters, and bumper stickers during the early and mid 1970s.
 70. Whitburn, *The Billboard Book*, p. 402.
 71. The 45 rpm single version of the Byrds' "Jesus is Just Alright" did not climb into the U.S. 'Top 40' but did receive extensive circulation via the film *Easy Rider* and play on 'underground' and 'progressive' FM stations; PG&E's "Are You Ready?" reached #14 on the charts (Whitburn, *The Billboard Book*, p. 317; Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, p. 22).
 72. Whitburn, *The Billboard Book*, pp. 195, 415; Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, pp. 22-23. Taylor's ballad had brief reference to Christian themes in the lyrics "Won't ya look down upon me Jesus? You got to help me make a stand; I won't make it any other way."
 73. For a good examination of the outrage provoked by Lennon's verbal gaffe made in an interview with the *London Evening Standard* in February 1966 ("Christianity will go. It will vanish and shrink. I needn't argue about that, I'm right and will be proved right. We're more popular than Jesus Christ now. I don't know which will go first, rock n' roll or Christianity. Jesus was all right, but his disciples were thick and ordinary. It's them twisting it that ruins it for me.") see Nicholas Schaffner, *The Beatles Forever* (Harrisburg, PA: Cameron House, 1977), pp. 56-59. Obviously Lennon did not foresee the rise of the Jesus Movement.
 74. Ellis Nassour and Richard Broderick, *Rock Opera: The Creation of "Jesus Christ Superstar" From Record Album to Broadway Show and Motion Picture* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1973), pp. 6, 12-14.
 75. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25, 32-35.
 76. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

77. Hubert Saal, "Pop Testament", *Newsweek*, 16 November 1970, pp. 96-97.

78. Ibid.

79. Cheryl A. Forbes, "'Superstar:' Haunting Questions", *Christianity Today*, 9 December 1970, pp. 38-39. The hope that an evangelical Christian 'answer' to "Jesus Christ Superstar" might emerge from the huge number of new "youth musicals" being written within conservative Christian circles during this period was echoed in news notices that appeared in *Moody Monthly* magazine in February (p. 12) and March (pp. 8-9) 1972.

80. Nassour and Broderick, *Rock Opera*, p. 73. The author recalls the rock opera being played in its entirety on WFMT, Chicago's long-time 'fine arts station' on Good Friday, 1971--pared with Bach's "St. Matthew's Passion".

81. Joel Whitburn, *The Billboard Book of Top 40 Albums* (New York: Billboard Publications, 1987), p. 296; Nassour and Broderick, *Rock Opera*, pp. 82, 192. Beyond the \$15 million in sales in North America, "Superstar" was a blockbuster hit throughout most of Europe and South America as well as Australia and South Africa. Through "bootleg" albums brought in from Finland, "Jesus Christ Superstar" also played a seminal role in the underground rock culture of the Soviet Union during the 1970s. By the end of the decade the theme song from the rock opera had become the signature music for the nightly state-run news programme *Vremya*; see Timothy W. Ryback, *Rock Around the Bloc: A History of Rock Music in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union* (New York: Oxford, 1990), pp. 149, 153, 241, 243.

82. Whitburn, *Billboard Book of Top 40 Hits*, pp. 146, 198, 347.

83. Nassour and Broderick, *Rock Opera*, pp. 95-98, 128-175.

84. See entry for "Godspell", in Peter Gammond, *Oxford Companion to Popular Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) p. 230.

85. Billy Graham, *The Jesus Generation*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1971), p. 13.

86."1,300,000 Greet New Year at 'Biggest' Rose Parade", *Van Nuys Valley News and Green Sheet*, 3 January 1971, in Collection 360: BGEA-Scrapbooks, Reel #33 (June 1970-December 1971); Graham Press Conference, 28 February 1971, Greenville, SC, Collection 24: BGEA-Billy Graham Press Conferences, Tape T9, Archives of the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton College, Wheaton, IL; "U.S. Journal: Pasadena--Waiting for the Roses", *The New Yorker*, 16 January 1971, pp. 85-88; Graham, *The Jesus Generation*, pp. 13-14.

87. For example see Toby Druin, "Graham Challenges N.C. to Be State of Destiny", *Biblical Recorder*, 27 February 1971, p. 4; "Moving Toward Revival", *United Evangelical Action*, Summer 1971, p. 15; "The NAE: New Marching Orders", *Christianity Today*, 7 May 1971, p. 37.

88. Plowman, *The Jesus Movement*, p. 61. The generally positive spin of the original documentary was retracted in a 1972 update on "Chronology" after NBC learned of extensive criticism of COG among converts' family members and mainstream church leaders; see Deborah Berg-Davis, *The Children of God: The Inside Story* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1984), pp. 95, 112-113.

89. Brian Vachon, "The Jesus Movement is Upon Us", *Look*, 9 February 1971, pp. 15-21.

90. Ibid., pp. 16, 19.

91. Earl C. Gottschalk, Jr., "Hip Culture Discovers a New Trip: Fervent, Foot-Stompin' Religion", *Wall Street Journal*, 2 March 1971, p. 1;"The Jesus People", *Newsweek*, 22 March 1971, p. 97; Jane Howard,"The Groovy Christians of Rye, NY", *Life*, 14 May 1971, pp. 78-86.

92. "The New Rebel Cry: Jesus is Coming!", *Time*, 21 June 1971, pp. 56-63.

93. Ibid., p. 59.

94. Compare the minor citation of the 'Jesus Freaks' in *Christianity Today's* review of religious news in 1970, "Religion on the Big Board", (1 January 1971, pp. 26-27) with its prominence in the comparable article for 1971, "Top '71 Religious News--World Revival", (7 January 1972, pp. 40-41). The Evangelical Press Association voted the Jesus Movement its top story for the year 1971 ("Religion in Review, 1971", *Moody Monthly*, February 1972, p. 8).

95. For an example of articles on the Jesus Movement that appeared in *Christianity Today* during 1971 see "Blessitt Trail", 21 January 1971, p. 35; "Followers of the Way", 26 March 1971, pp. 618-619; "The Cross Bearers", 27 August 1971, pp. 32-34; Anne Eggerbrotten, "Jesus Festivals", 6 August 1971, pp. 38-40; Donald M. Williams, "Close-up of the Jesus People", 27 August 1971, pp. 5-7; "From Freaks to Followers", 22 October 1971, pp. 33-34.

96. Taped telephone interview with Edward Plowman, 25 June 2004; For some of Plowman's reporting on the Jesus Movement for *Christianity Today*, see "Pacific Northwest: Revival in the Underground", 29 January 1971, pp. 34-35; "Jesus Freaks Move Right On", 12 March 1971, p. 53; "Jesus Presses Are Rolling", 19 April 1971, pp. 38-39; "Shore to Shore Wave of Witness", 7 May 1971, pp. 34-35; "The Jesus Movement: Now It's In the Hamlets", 18 June 1971, 35-36.

97. Plowman interview.

98. Harold Lindsell, "The New Christians", *Christianity Today*, 16 July 1971, pp. 20-21.

99. June/July 1971 *Campus Life*--see such features in this issue as "Middle America Meets the Jesus Freaks", pp. 12-17; Donna Day and Thomas Diggs, "Travelin' With Jesus", pp. 18-20; Gary Havens, "Slowin' Down Jesus", pp. 21-23; and, "See Us on TV!", p. 62.

100. For 1971 articles in *Eternity* see for example, Rita Klein, "God, Blessitt, and 'His Place'", January 1971, pp. 34, 46-47; "God's Gentle Irony: The Jesus People", August 1971, pp. 6-7; Edward Plowman, "Jesus Saves: Our Alienated Youth", August 1971, pp. 8-11, 31.

101. For examples of April 1971 articles on the Jesus Movement in *Christian Life* magazine see Bob Hill, "Sand-Surf-Soulwinning", Donald Hughes, "Underground Papers Go Christian", pp. 26, 55; pp. 25-26, 56-58; Martin Meyer (Moishe) Rosen, "Jesus' Kids Turn On Others", pp. 22-25, 59-63.

102. For examples of coverage of the Jesus Movement during 1971 in *Moody Monthly* magazine, see "Reporter Converted to Jesus Movement", April 1971, p. 11; Robert Flood, "What is Shaking California?", May 1971, pp. 36-37, 60; "Blessitt Leads 'Jesus' March in Chicago", July/August 1971, p. 8; "American Baptist High on Jesus Wins Beauty Pageant", October 1971, p. 18; December 1971, p. 12.

103. K. Murray, "1,000 Jesus People Baptized in Ocean Off California", *Pentecostal Evangel*, 13 June 1971, p. 23.

104. For examples of the extensive coverage of the Jesus Movement and youth stirrings within Baptist circles in various Baptist periodicals and newspapers during 1971 see "Billy Graham Has a 'Plus' View of the Jesus People Movement", *Alabama Baptist*, 17 June 1971, p. 1; "Crusade Results in 612 Decisions, Scores of Drug Users Reached", *Arkansas Baptist Newsmagazine*, 7 October 1971, p. 15; James A. Lester, "The Jesus Movement", *Baptist and Reflector*, 22 April 1971, p. 4; James Lee Young, "Jesus March Attracts 7,000 to State Capital", *California Southern Baptist*, 26 February 1971, pp. 5, 12; "Jesus People Make Spiritual Attack on Florida's Gold Coast", *Florida Baptist Witness*, 9 September 1971, p. 6; Rosalee M. Appleby, "Real Awakening?", *Home Missions*, August 1971, p. 30; Jack Park, "10,000 Attend Festival for Christ Near Muncie", *Indiana Baptist*, 27 October 1971, p. 3; "Jesus Movement Reported Reaching Alaska", *Indiana Baptist*, 10 November 1971, p. 5.

105. J. Furman Miller, "The Jesus Movement and Joel", *Alliance Witness*, 26 May 1971, pp. 5-6.

106. Rev. Father I.J. Mikulski, "Jesus People Sound Groovy", *Catholic Weekly*, 7 May 1971, p. 4; Herb W. David, "1,300 Cheers For Jesus", *Lutheran Standard*, 5 October 1971, pp. 29-31. For other examples of what were generally upbeat looks at the Jesus Movement from religious periodicals outside the evangelical community in 1971 see R. Croskery, "The Jesus Revolution Is On", *Congregationalist*, November 1971, p. 8; Earl C. Gottschalk, Jr., "The Jesus People Are Coming", *The Lutheran*, 5 May 1971, p. 12; "The Jesus Movement and the Church", *Presbyterian Journal*, 13 October 1971, p. 15; Margaret Rowe, "Young Jesus Trippers", *Catholic Gazette*, October 1971, pp. 7-10.

107. Graham and Nixon's co-popularity is attested to in "Nixon Again Leads the List, Graham Second", *Boston Evening Globe*, 2 January 1972, Collection 360: BGEA-Scrapbooks, Reel #34 (March-October 1972). For the best analysis of this period of Graham's life and his relationship with Richard Nixon see William Martin, *A Prophet With Honor: The Billy Graham Story* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1991), pp. 269-283, 350-371, 391-399, 420-435. For Graham's interpretation of these years and his friendship with Nixon see Graham, *Just As I Am: The Autobiography* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1997), pp. 440-465.

108. For example, local fundamentalists used Graham's support of the Jesus People as prime reasons for boycotting Graham's crusades in Chicago (1971) and Atlanta (1973). See Philip E. Bennett, "Billy Graham's 1971 Chicago Crusade--Beware!", *The Christian Militant*, May/June 1971, pp. 2-3 (Collection 360: BGEA--Scrapbooks, Reel #102 [1971]) and Bob Spencer, "Why I Cannot Approve and Must Oppose the Billy Graham Atlanta Crusade", (tract, Collection 345: BGEA--Media Office, Box 34, Folder 23).

109. "Billy Graham's Crusade Draws Record Throngs to Kentucky U. Coliseum", Religious News Service Press Release, 29 April 1971. Collection 345: BGEA--Media Office, Box 30, Folder 13.

110. "24,000 at Billy's 'Youth Night'", *Chicago Today*, 8 June 1971, p. 16; "Billy's Crusade Here Attended by 325,000", *Chicago Daily News*, 14 June 1971, p. 9; "Wonderful Chicago", *Decision*, September 1971, pp. 8-9, 14; Greater Chicago Crusade (1971), Collection 113: BGEA--Films and Videos, F#252 & F#255. Orders of service and excerpts from Graham's sermons are contained in Collection 345: BGEA--Media Office, Box 30, Folders 24, 26-27, 29-31.

111. John Pollock, *Billy Graham: Evangelist to the World* (Minneapolis: World Wide Publications, 1979), pp. 124-125; Richard Philbrick, "Bigotry in Churches Rapped by Graham", *Chicago Tribune*, 9 June 1971, p. 11; "Hecklers Routed by Billy Backers", *Chicago Daily News*, 9 June 1971, and BGEA press release "Greater Chicago Graham Crusade Becomes Tri-State Affair", 13 June 1971 in Collection 345: BGEA--Media Office, Box 31, Folder 8; Ron Rendelman interview, Chadwick, IL, 9 May 2002; Martin, *A Prophet With Honor*, pp. 376-377.

112. "Graham Urges Governor to Trust 'Jesus Power'", *San Bernardino Sun*, 30 June 1971, Collection 360: BGEA--Scrapbooks, Reel #33 (June 1970-December 1971).

113. "Graham Attracts 44,500", *Oakland Tribune*, 30 July 1971, p. 21; "One Way in Oakland", *Decision*, October 1971, pp. 8-9; Northern California Crusade--Oakland, CA (1971), Collection 113: BGEA--Films & Videos, F#261.

114. Northern California Crusade--Oakland, CA (1971), Collection 113: BGEA--Films and Videos, F#261.

115. Ibid.; Billy Graham, "The Jesus Revolution", 29 July 1971, sermon excerpt in Collection 345: BGEA--Media Office, Box 32, Folder 3.

116. BGEA Team Office, press release, 1 August 1971, Collection 345: BGEA--Media Office, Box 32, Folder 7; "Decisive Hour for 21,000", *Christianity Today*, 27 August 1971, p. 30; Billy Graham, sermon, "The Jesus Revolution".

117. Billy Graham, *The Jesus Generation* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1971).

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118. Arthur Blessitt, *Life's Greatest Trip* (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1970).
 119. John A. MacDonald, *The House of Acts* (Carol Stream, IL: Creation House, 1970).
 120. Duane Pederson with Bob Owen, *Jesus People* (Pasadena, CA: Compass Press, 1971).
 121. Two Brothers From Berkeley, *Letters to Street Christians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1971).
 122. Ibid., p. 176.
 123. So claimed the banner on the cover of the books' November 1971 3rd edition.
 124. Edward Plowman, *The Jesus Movement in America* (Elgin, IL: David C. Cook, 1971).
 125. Ibid. Plowman provides a good--especially for that time--thumbnail summary of the movement's origins and leading figures on pp. 43-55. For information on the communal aspect of the movement see pp. 56-69; for a view of the Jesus people on the college campus, particularly the work of the CWLF, see pp. 70-79; Plowman takes a look at the underground "Jesus Press" on pp. 80-91; for a view of the developing "Jesus Music" scene see pp. 92-113.
 126. Jess Moody, *The Jesus Freaks* (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1971). Whatever the case, this book was the only "Jesus People" volume to have a forward written by the Floridian film actor Burt Reynolds (p. 9).
 127. See Graham, *The Jesus Generation*, pp. 13-22.
 128. William S. Cannon, *The Jesus Revolution* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1971); Dick Eastman, *Up With Jesus* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1971); Pat King, *The Jesus People Are Coming* (Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1971); Roger C. Palms, *The Jesus Kids* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1971).
 129. Walker L. Knight, compiler, *Jesus People Come Alive* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1971). For a look at the book's impressions of Bethel Tabernacle and Calvary Chapel see pp. 21-37; for the volume's treatment of the Children of God, see pp. 43-49; the 1970 revival at Asbury College in Kentucky and its aftermath is examined on pp. 69-80; the SPIRENO revivals among Southern Baptist youth in the Houston, Texas area are treated on pp. 50-67.
 130. Knight, *Jesus People Come Alive*, p. 12.
 131. Ibid.
 132. Lowell D. Streiker, *The Jesus Trip: Advent of the Jesus Freaks* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1971).
 133. Ibid, pp. 14-15.
 134. Ibid., p. 120.
 135. Academic analyses of the Jesus Movement that would appear in the next few years included 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: Eerdmans, 1972); Erling Jorstad, *That New-Time Religion: The Jesus Revival in America* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Press, 1972); Robert S. Ellwood, Jr., *One Way: The Jesus Movement and Its Meaning* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973); James T. Richardson, *Organized Miracles: A Study of Contemporary Youth Communal Fundamentalist Organizations* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1979).

Chapter 6

The Jesus Kids: The Jesus People Movement Shifts from the Counterculture to American Evangelical Youth Culture, 1971-1974

In the wake of nationwide publicity in both the secular and religious press in 1971, the Jesus People movement infiltrated nearly every corner of the United States in the early 1970s. In the process, it was also transformed from being a religious expression of the counterculture to a widespread--and frequently teenage--evangelical youth culture of choice. All across the nation teens, often with the support of evangelical pastors, youth workers, laity and parents, adopted the Jesus People persona. With its slogans, symbols, enthusiastic worship style, and--not insignificantly--its accompanying acceptance of hip hairstyles, fashion and music, evangelical teens created a Jesus People-based youth subculture that vied successfully with the larger youth culture. No longer just a strange religious off-shoot of the counterculture, the Jesus movement evolved into an attractive mass identity suitable for a large segment of the children of Nixon's Silent Majority.

This sense of a group identity was abetted by several factors, including the growing availability of a wide-range of popular merchandise--decals, bumper stickers, t-shirts ('witness wear'), posters and jewellery--which demonstrated one's Christian commitment and willingness to self-identity as a 'Jesus Person'. More important, however, for the viability of this new evangelical subculture at a local level was the proliferation of Jesus People coffeehouses which sprang up all over the country during this period. Whether operated by a local church, an evangelistically-minded group of laypeople, or by a fervent group of evangelical youth, the coffeehouse provided a vast

network of operational bases as well as a face-to-face meeting place through which local teens could identify with the larger Jesus People movement.

On a national scale, the new direction of 'God's Forever Family' was best demonstrated by the greatest single event in the history of the Jesus People movement--EXPLO '72 held in Dallas, Texas, in June 1972 under the auspices of Campus Crusade for Christ (CCC). EXPLO appropriated the Jesus movement's music and symbols during its five days of seminars, rallies and concerts, providing a Woodstock-like gathering for the largely teenage evangelical youth who had become the focus of the movement. At the same time it revealed that the movement had been adopted and adapted by the evangelical 'establishment' as part of its larger evangelistic and cultural agendas. Through the event itself, accompanying publicity, a series of nationwide television specials later that year, and a widely disseminated album of EXPLO's musical highlights, a positive image of the 'Jesus Revolution' as an appropriate spin on contemporary American youth culture was conveyed even deeper into the evangelical subculture. And as the movement took firm hold among evangelical youth, more and more of their parents' and grandparents' generation were optimistic that a longed-for national revival was underway. For them, as well as for many other Americans, the 'Jesus Generation' was a comforting reassurance that the nation's moral and cultural future was in good hands.

Jesus People in the Heartland

Following the publicity wave of 1971, the Jesus People movement particularly caught fire in the 'Rust Belt' region of the Midwest, extending through the Great Lakes region from Minnesota east across southern Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio and into Ontario and Pennsylvania (see Figure 1).¹ Indeed, *Christianity Today*

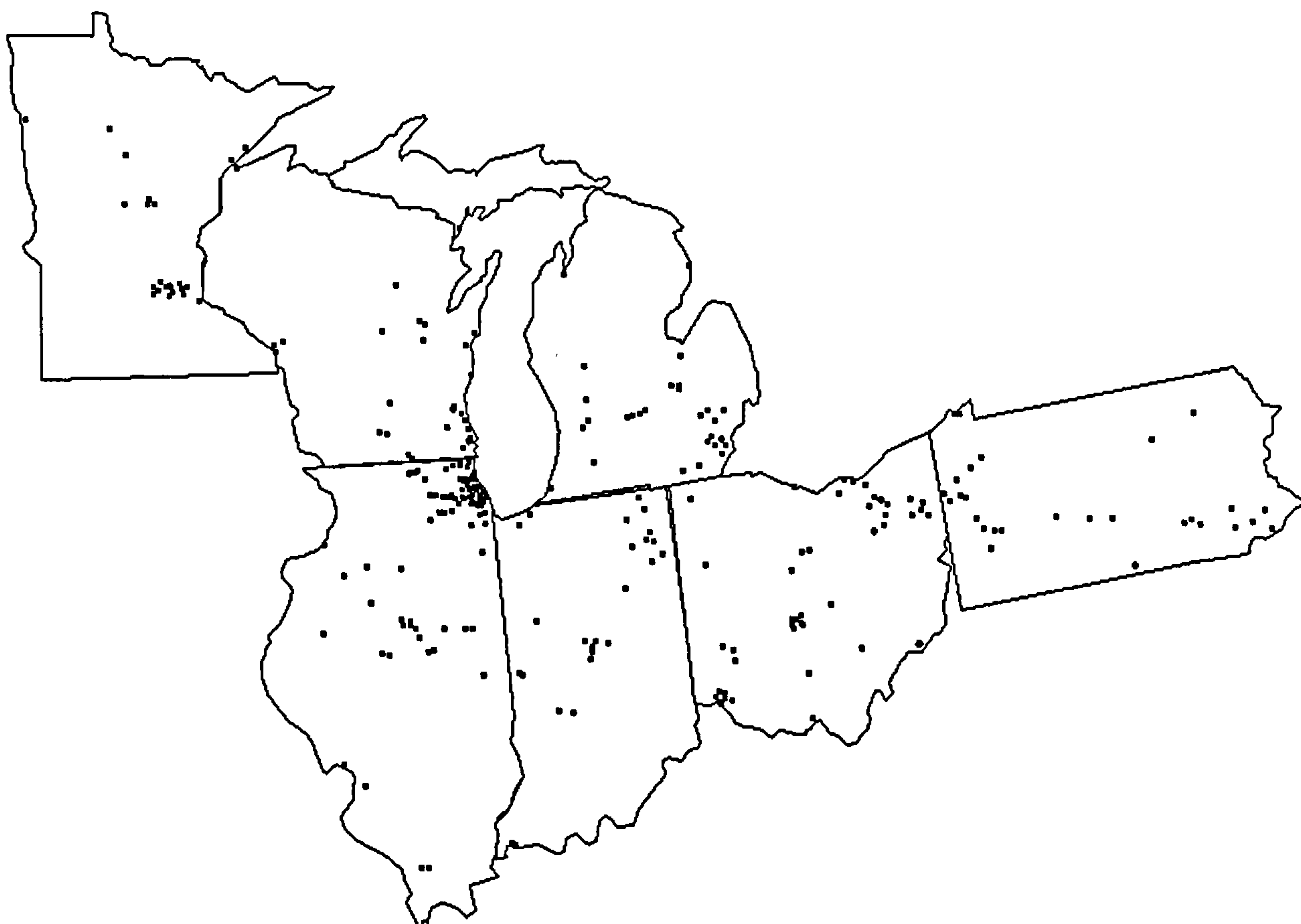


Figure 1: The spread of the Jesus People movement into the Great Lakes region: known Jesus People centres (coffeehouses, churches, communal houses) in existence during the period 1971 through 1976. This map is dependent upon a list compiled by the author of Jesus People groups he has found during his research. A thorough combing of newspaper and other resources would undoubtedly turn up many, many more Jesus People groups in this region during the early and mid 1970s (map by author).

news editor Ed Plowman, intimately involved in the movement's beginnings in the San Francisco Bay area (see Chapter 3), ventured to say in a 1975 article that the Jesus movement was probably stronger in the Midwest than it had ever been in California.²

Much of the movement's growth in this region during this time sounded familiar in terms of what had happened in the earlier period. Hippie types were still being converted and moving out of the drug-dominated counterculture and in turn winning their friends and associates to Jesus. Craig Yoe's story was typical. A talented artist inclined towards left-of-centre politics, Yoe and his young wife Janet operated a drug paraphernalia store ('head shop') in downtown Akron, Ohio. In the Spring of 1971 the Yoes were persuaded to attend a meeting in a barn outside town where they were "slain

in the Spirit” and spoke in tongues. Converted and now “on fire for the Lord”, the couple transformed their head shop into a Diggers-like “Jesus Free Store” for Akron’s poor. Soon, they had managed to convert a core group of 40-50 of their former hippie friends and customers and rented an old theatre (‘The Avalon’ after which the group took its name) and turned it into their headquarters. Besides communal houses for those seeking to escape the drug lifestyle, the group had its own house band (‘The Peculiar People’), hosted concerts by better known Jesus musicians such as Larry Norman and 2nd Chapter of Acts, and started their own Jesus paper (*Jesus Loves You*).³

But although the Jesus People revival was still resonating within the counterculture, it was becoming apparent that the ‘pure’ hippie dimension of the phenomenon was increasingly being eclipsed by a grass-roots, high school-aged, cohort of youth--frequently church kids--who were claiming the ‘Jesus People’ name. As the movement spread into the highways and byways of North America it was this element of the Jesus People that increasingly began to define God’s Forever Family.

The Jesus Kids

Greensburg, Kentucky, lies in the centre of a state where the Midwestern and Southern regions of the United States come together. A small town of about 2,400 according to the 1970 U. S. Census, Greensburg is situated upon the Green River and serves as the county seat of sparsely populated Green County (then roughly 10,000 inhabitants). About 100 miles south of Louisville, and over 100 miles north of Nashville, Tennessee, Greensburg is more than 60 miles to the west of Bowling Green, the nearest town of any size (about 25,000). One could hardly have predicted a less ‘happening’ outpost for the Jesus People movement than Greensburg, given the movement’s countercultural profile and previous concentrations in urban areas and trendy Southern California (see chapter 4). Yet by May 1971, the Jesus movement had

descended upon the isolated rural community. A revival among the town's youth was underway that--while not like the purist countercultural form of the Jesus movement--was like nothing the folks in Green County had ever seen.

Everything began rather conventionally within the context of a scheduled weekend of youth meetings at Greensburg's United Methodist Church. Jerry Matney, a soft-spoken, hip, 24-year-old Greensburg native attending seminary at Vanderbilt Divinity School was the invited speaker. Quickly, however, the meetings turned from routine youth meeting to red-hot revival. Matney's rambling ruminations about life's purpose and Jesus greatly affected his hearers. Tearful converts crowded the altar, word spread and soon the 250-seat sanctuary was packed. The weekend meeting stretched into two weeks, becoming the talk of the town. When it was over more than 350 conversions had been reported.⁴

While the story of 'youth revivals' is as old as the First Great Awakening in America⁵, the shape that this revival took was different from anything that locals had ever seen before--it was filled with the exuberant hallmarks of the Jesus movement. Matney's talks were interspersed with guitar-backed "God-heavy folk songs". Particularly prominent by their presence in the audience were "the area's long-haired sandal set". The meetings' atmosphere was remarkably informal with swaying, hand-holding, singing and boisterous 'Jesus cheers' ("Give me a 'J'..."). Students at the local high school held evangelistic rallies, convened lunch-hour Bible studies, scrawled Jesus People slogans on blackboards and sported "Join the Jesus Revolution Now" buttons.⁶

While some of the local traditionalists criticised the boisterous cheers and informality, for most adults the turn-around of local long-haired delinquents like 17-year-old Billie Judd ("You just don't know how it is to have Jesus until you've experienced it") was both welcome and a challenge to their own assumptions.

Greensburg's mayor, George Huddleston, speculated that the older generations' "formalities, rituals, and programs [were] poor substitutes for the real thing and our young people have seen through this". For that matter, Huddleston mused that Greensburg's adults had begun searching "for a faith that does something, like it has done in the lives of these kids".⁷

The May '71 goings-on in Greensburg, Kentucky, were evidence that much of the style, and ambience surrounding the Jesus movement had worked its way into the fabric of the American cultural scene. Jesus People were everywhere, but increasingly they were being found among younger American teens. The Jesus People style, much as it had in Orange County, California (see chapter 4), had worked its way into the high schools and junior high schools of suburban and small town America.

For many of the new adherents, the Jesus Person/People/Freak badge became a powerful part of their personal identity. Lee Ann Powers, a young teen growing up in the Phoenix, Arizona, area stated "I . . . identified myself as a 'Jesus Freak'. One of my better days was when my atheist father yelled at me, 'You're just a Jesus Freak.' If only he knew how proud that made me!"⁸ Often Jesus People were a sizeable group within a local community's youth culture. One man, Bill Radcliffe, recalled returning to the St Louis area in May 1972 after living for a period in Europe. Then about 14 years of age, he was struck by how his teenage peers were divided into two distinct, sizeable camps-- "Jesus Freaks" and everyone else.⁹

The publicity surrounding the movement was a strong drawing card for many young people. For example, Steve Church, a high school senior from a Catholic background in the St Petersburg, Florida, area "was really getting into reefer [marijuana] and psychedelic music" when, in 1971, he became intrigued by media



Figure 1: A Jesus People baptism in the Ohio River near Cincinnati, ca. 1972 (photo courtesy of Gary Sweeten).

coverage of the Jesus People. This led him to drop in on a free concert by a Jesus Rock band in St Petersburg's Williams Park, where he was converted.¹⁰

But while most teens did not go as far as actively investigating the Jesus People, there was a pervasive curiosity and openness to the movement within the larger youth culture of the '70s. This interest is amply illustrated in the experiences of Jeff Lough, a graduate of fundamentalist Cedarville College in northern Ohio, who adapted a countercultural appearance and thoroughly identified with the Jesus People after his 1971 graduation. Lough remembers going on evangelistic "party cruising" forays with his brother (who also personally identified with the movement) during summers in the early and mid 1970s. Their usual *modus operandi* was to "crash" the party and when invited to drink alcohol tell their hosts "'We're not here to get drunk. We're here to tell you about Jesus.'" Amazingly enough, he claims, the partygoers would "almost always

ask us if we were Jesus Freaks and when we said 'yes' all of them would gather around to hear us tell them about Jesus."¹¹

It was that type of openness that also attracted some young evangelical Christians. Tom Smedley, a prior convert to Pentecostalism from Roanoke, Virginia, in the state's largely rural, mountainous southwest corner, was involved with several Jesus People ministries during the '70s. Smedley first gravitated toward the movement because of his interest in evangelism. He looked back and commented: "The Jesus Movement was in the news. We wanted a piece of the action."¹²

But for most evangelical youth, their participation in the Jesus movement was not so altruistically utilitarian. For many kids from conservative Protestant households, the Jesus movement was most attractive because it was 'with it' in a way that existing evangelical youth clubs, activities, and programmes had not been. In a period when the 'clean-cut' look had become the epitome of 'uncool', churchgoing kids had been thrown an adolescent lifeline in the Jesus movement's countercultural ethos and utilization of contemporary music styles. Chris Brunson, a Rockford, Illinois, teen, undoubtedly summed up the feelings of countless thousands in a letter to the *Rockford Star* in February 1972. Commenting upon a recent rally he had attended at a local Church featuring Chicago-based Southern Baptist youth evangelist Sammy Tippitt and the Milwaukee Jesus People band, The Sheep, Brunson wrote:

We saw Sammy Tippitt . . . He was real good, I thought. He and his friends had long hair, yet they were dedicated to Christ. Sammy had a great singing group with him [that] sang some groovy songs they had composed. He really got to me. Sammy proved once and for all that you can be a hippie and still be a Christian.¹³

In a similar vein, Jim Sterling, a teen from a Methodist background living in rural central Kansas looked back and saw his Jesus People ties as being a comfortable

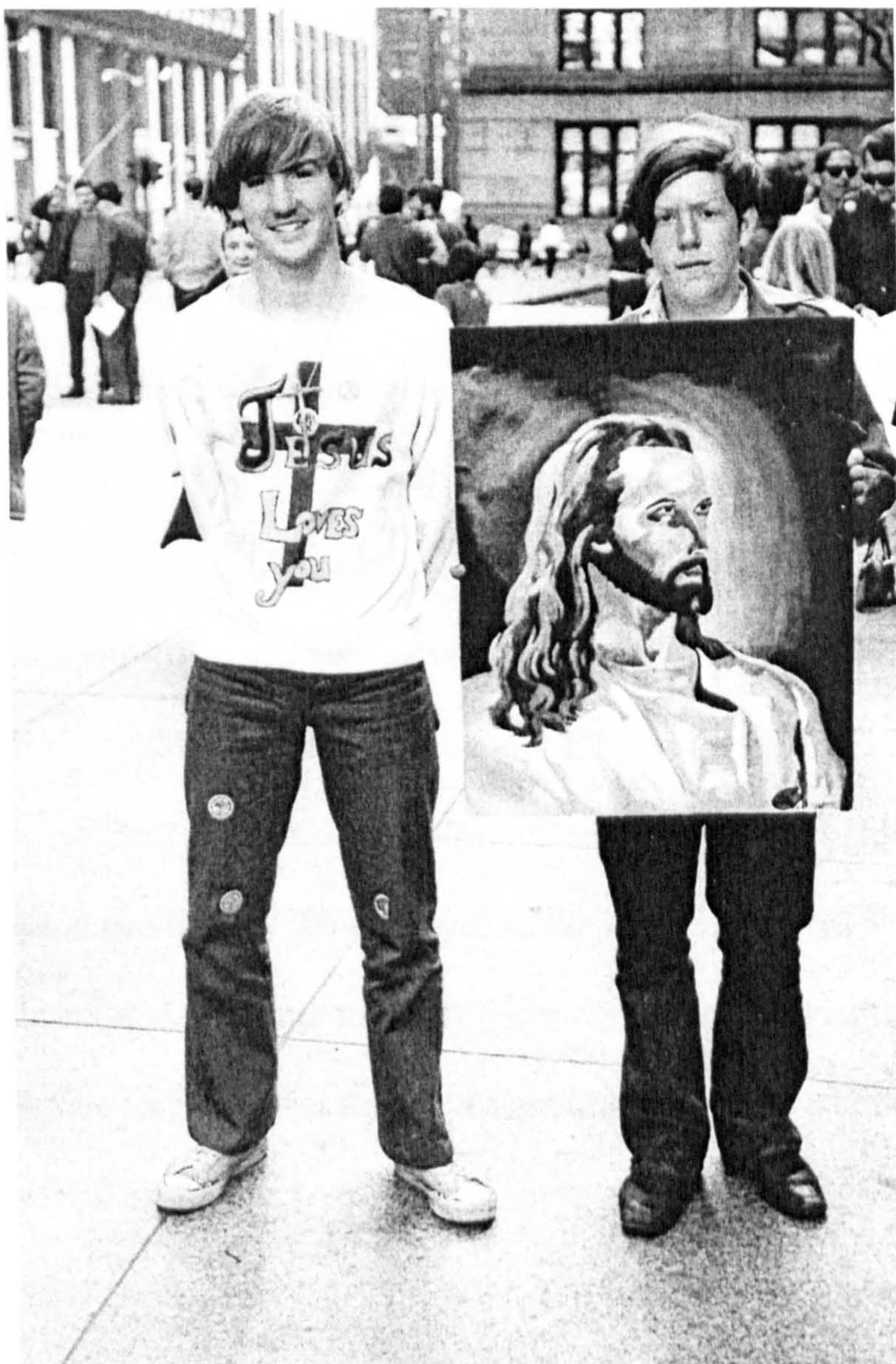


Figure 2: Two high school-aged church youth in full-blown ‘Jesus Freak’ mode at a ‘Jesus Rally’ in downtown Chicago, Illinois, ca. 1971 (photo courtesy of Ron Rendleman).

“blend of my Christian beliefs/values” with “our changing culture”.¹⁴ Although coming from an Australian, the recollections of Phil Spence, the disenchanted son of an evangelical minister from Brisbane, undoubtedly echoed the feelings of many American evangelical kids when they encountered the Jesus movement--recalled Spence, here was “a Christianity I could relate to”.¹⁵

The Jesus Movement’s ‘baptizing’ of rock music seems to have been a particularly salient aspect of this point for many church youth, providing them an outlet for their passion for rock n’ roll which they could reconcile with their Christian

faith. Growing up amid the fertile California 'Jesus scene' as the member of a Baptist youth group, Twila Beaubien looked back to a particular concert in Oakland: "It was awesome! I had never heard any Christian music like that before . . . later I saw Love Song in concert in San Jose. It was the sound I fell in love with".¹⁶ Similarly, Gary Seals, a youth at an Assemblies of God church in Richardson, Texas, remembers a divided existence before his participation in the Jesus movement: "I was into rock n' roll pretty heavy, even though I attended a conservative church". When he came into contact with 'Jesus music' he was able to reconcile his two loves, becoming part of a Jesus Rock band named Mephibosheth.¹⁷ In much the same way, Tim Harris, a young member of a Baptist Church in Oakboro, NC, recalls that he was initially "drawn mostly by the music and later by the message" of the Jesus movement.¹⁸

Yet while cultural relevance and group identity carried a certain degree of appeal, it must not be forgotten that the movement ultimately rose and fell on its promised ability to deliver some type of Christian spiritual meaning and fulfilment to its individual participants. It seems apparent that a lot of young people--from both evangelical and other religious backgrounds--were introduced to the Jesus People's Jesus and came away feeling that they had found a new sort of hope, meaning, and connection with God. In a 1974 issue of the St Louis, Missouri-based *Zoa Free Paper*, a young teenage girl named Kerry Moore wrote of her own spiritual journey. Although no doubt stylized after the fashion of the conversion stories she read in other Jesus People and evangelical sources, it nonetheless conveys a real sense of the personal contrast she felt before and after her own encounter with Jesus:

I had been an atheist since I was ten . . . I would put on a plastic mask and pretend that I was having fun, but deep down inside, when the party was over and the crowd had gone home, I would lie on my bed and bury my face in my pillow and cry . . . sometimes I would have a few drinks and smoke a few joints to forget, but in the morning the



Figure 3: Young Jesus People parcel out ‘Jesus stickers’ at a rally in the Midwest in the early ‘70s (photo courtesy of Ron Rendleman).

emptiness was still there. I tried to fill this vacuum inside me, but nothing seemed to work . . . I stuffed the holes inside me with intellectual highs and self-pity and freaky spiritual trips like the Hare Krishna religion or ESP . . . I’ve been a Christian almost three years . . . Now my life has meaning and purpose and I have a reason to live . . . I still have questions, but I know that Jesus is the answer. . .¹⁹

In a similar vein Rick Peterson, a high school senior in Spokane, Washington, expressed the spiritual appeal that ultimately imparted a larger meaning for the movement. In the pages of the underground Jesus paper *Truth*, Peterson told of how soon after he had been converted he had been unable to find a summer job. “My parents were really bugging me to get a job. I’d been looking for a month with no luck.” One night he decided, “I can’t find a job any other way. Here goes . . . Jesus . . .” Peterson reflected: “Man, it felt mellow and peaceful just to rap with Jesus like that. Before, praying had been just a lot of words. But now I realized I was talking to a real dude.



Figure 4: Youth at a Jesus Rally near West Chicago, Illinois, ca. Fall 1971 (photo courtesy of Ron Rendleman).

Sleeping was real easy that night.” Peterson found a job as a dishwasher soon after his prayer.²⁰

Aided by the massive publicity the movement had garnered in 1971, the Jesus People persona had clearly wended its way down through the various eddies and substrata of American youth culture. Teens on the margins of the drug culture, troubled high schoolers looking for stability and meaning, clean-cut kids in church youth groups and gung-ho evangelical youth intent on winning their generation to Christ: all were finding a place within the Jesus People movement in the early and mid-1970s. Mixed together they made for a powerful--and very visible--national youth movement.

Equipping the New Jesus People Saints

An important dimension of the growth, maintenance and group identification of the Jesus movement’s presence was the thriving material culture which grew up around

it. From the outset, the Jesus movement had been nothing if not a visual movement. Indeed, much of its early impact stemmed from an inherent cultural-visual dissonance: encountering long-haired, jeans-clad, sandal-wearing countercultural-looking youth being baptized or engaging in Pentecostal-style worship was, for Americans in the late 1960s and early 1970s, literally a sight to behold. The Jesus People added to this initial visibility with a penchant for visually proclaiming and reinforcing their Christian commitment through the use of artwork and a wide variety of buttons, decals, stickers, posters, t-shirts, and a new evangelical Protestant penchant for crosses and religious jewellery.²¹ With the help of an enterprising network of evangelical organisations, publicists and entrepreneurs eager to capitalise emotionally and financially from the Jesus movement would create an iconic universe which contributed to the movement's overall growth and vitality.

An appreciation for the need to make their faith visible was in evidence from the days of the earliest Jesus People. In this they reflected both the counterculture's romantic emphasis on artistic expression and its whimsical pop-art sensibilities combining the worlds of high art, social commentary and Madison Avenue.²² Yet, the hippie approach to art was not simply an ethereal 'art for art's sake' mindset; there was a decidedly public component to the artwork and materials they created. Peace sign medallions, posters, bumper stickers, and buttons were all part of conveying the hip message and philosophy--whether it be dope, sex or stopping the war--to the rest of society. The Jesus People simply carried on in the same formats with their proclamations about Jesus.

The first major attempts to create evangelistic paraphernalia for a widespread Jesus People audience seem to have appeared in Los Angeles. Early on Arthur Blessitt (see chapter 4) began to use small, round red stickers imprinted with messages like

“Smile, God Loves You” and “Have a Nice Forever” at His Place on Sunset Strip. He and his workers’ tendency to plaster the Strip with these stickers was enthusiastically adopted by young believers who came into contact with his ministry.²³

The degree to which this sort of activity became part of the commonplace of Jesus People life is reflected in the lyrics of “Oh My”, a song by Cincinnati-based Jesus People singer, Randy Mathews, in which he recounts witnessing for Christ in depressing, sin-soaked territory. Telling God that he had “talked to junkies, Lord” and “ate lunch with whores”, Mathews tells how he shone a light in the darkness as he “stuck [God’s] stickers, on barroom doors”.²⁴ However, to enable tens of thousands of young Jesus People to go out ‘shining their lights’ before the world, someone would have to begin supplying the materials which would allow them to do so.

One of the first Jesus People to answer this entrepreneurial call was Duane Pederson, publisher of the *Hollywood Free Paper* (see chapter 4), who picked up on the popularity of ‘reds’ and other items and began to produce bumper stickers, posters and buttons and offer them for sale as part of an attempt to subsidise the expense of printing his paper. Pederson developed this into a mail-order business dubbed the Emporium. While its financial success was marginal at best (for a while Pederson relied on a ‘manager’ who donated his time while living on unemployment cheques²⁵), the widespread distribution of the *HFP* as the ‘national’ Jesus People paper undoubtedly did much to sow the vision of ‘Jesus Stuff’ amongst consumer and entrepreneur alike.²⁶

From these early beginnings, the proliferation of Jesus-related merchandise is impossible to trace.²⁷ However, it does seem that the ‘breakout’ of this sort of material coincided with, and came upon the heels of, the high tide of media publicity which the Jesus movement received in 1971. *Time* magazine’s June 1971 cover article on the “Jesus Revolution” carried a brief mention of the visibility of Jesus People bumper

stickers and t-shirts together with the appearance of a Jesus People wristwatch.²⁸ Soon thereafter an ad for Jesus-related merchandise first appeared in a 'mainstream' evangelical organ, Youth for Christ's *Campus Life* magazine. The October issue carried an ad from a small Jesus People-run enterprise called the Everlasting Studio in Chicago. Replete with a line drawing of a hippie in a peace symbol-bedecked sweatshirt and conceived as an ad for a peanut butter-like "Jesus Word Spreader", the ad was visually unlike anything else in the magazine. 'Reds', window decals, and an embroidered cotton 'One Way' emblem were offered for sale with the assurance that they were "effective as tracts/effective as posters".²⁹

By the end of 1971 a number of companies ranging from small businesses run by Christian laymen such as Christian Lettering of Beloit, Wisconsin, and Harold's Signs and Displays of Boise, Idaho, to established evangelical corporations like Grason (a for-profit corporation formed by Billy Graham aide Grady Wilson in the early 1950s to feed profits from books and other merchandise back into the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association) were attempting to capitalize on the new market.³⁰ Perhaps the single most successful company dealing in 'witness ware' was Cross Productions of Hollywood. They offered a complete line of items for sale including buttons, decals, posters, patches, t-shirts, bumper stickers, jewellery and even licence plate holders.³¹

By 1972 the new Jesus merchandise was seemingly available everywhere. The new cohort of evangelical kids-turned-Jesus People could now get their favourite buttons and bumper stickers through the mail or at their local Christian bookstore. Evangelical magazines, especially the youth-oriented *Campus Life*, now regularly carried ads for a variety of items including 'fold n' mail' stationery, 'folk hymnals' and denim-covered Bibles.

All this new Jesus merchandise caused a major shift within not only the type of non-print related merchandise sold in Christian bookstores, but in its market. Whereas heretofore ‘Christian goods’ had been marketed primarily with an eye on the Sunday School and rural housewives, in the 1970s the market shifted to evangelicals under 30 years of age.³² Indeed, the sudden influx of youthful Baby Boom buyers was a major factor in the overall explosive growth of the Christian bookstore industry for they were also buying books (not only books on the Jesus People but phenomenal bestsellers such as Hal Lindsey’s *Late, Great Planet Earth*), Bibles (young people snapped up the new paraphrased *Living Bible* and the popular youth version, *The Way*), and an increasing number of records and tapes (see chapter 7).³³

For the new bevy of Jesus People the cache of ‘witness ware’ became a vital means of building group identity. Armed with their crosses, buttons, stickers and shirts, they not only advertised their faith, but emphasised the bonds and identification they had with their peers. The comments of one woman remembering her California adolescence and the way in which she and her “friends . . . bought ‘One Way’ necklaces, *The Living Bible*, etc. for one another” is no doubt emblematic of the role Jesus merchandise played in reinforcing the Christian identity of many teens.³⁴

But to many older evangelicals the popularity of ‘witness ware’ was another positive sign of a turn-around in the culture. The expansion of the market for ‘Christian youth items’ was a visible reminder that the ‘Jesus Revolution’ had triumphed over the radicalism of the New Left. Writing in the summer of 1973 in the staid evangelical monthly *Christian Life*, one author approvingly noted: The connection today between Abbie Hoffman and the ‘Things go

better with Jesus’ bumper sticker is long since buried underneath failure and success: the New Left has gone away mad while their gear—youth

VITALIZE YOUR FAITH WITH: WITNESS ITEMS

MOBILIZE YOUR FAITH WITH: BUMPER STICKERS

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items, remember--has made good in Middle America. In fact, the once radical message button, T-shirt, or sticker now has been domesticated into a bona fide sales item.³⁵

However, for the kids who wore the Jesus buttons and laid down money for bumper stickers, the impact in warming their elders' hearts at the sight of a 'One Way' symbol was but an afterthought at best. Their Jesus People bric-a-brac was primarily a message to their teenage peers, expressing solidarity with their fellow 'Jesus Freaks' while at the same time proclaiming their Christian allegiances to those outside the fold. As such the new Jesus merchandise played an important role in fostering group identity as well as promoting the expansion of the movement in the wake of the 1971 publicity wave.

The Coffeehouse: The New 'Human Face' of the Jesus Movement

Probably the biggest vehicle for the Jesus movement's proliferation into the mainstream of American youth culture was the widespread adaptation of the coffeehouse as a focal point for meetings, Bible studies, concerts and evangelistic activity. Whereas in the movement's earlier countercultural-centred phase the primary organising mechanism was generally the communal house (see Chapters 3 and 4), the post-1971 development of the Jesus People would shift towards the utilisation of the coffeehouse as its main organisational base. No longer centred on a cohort heavy on runaways and free spirits that were deeply immersed in the countercultural lifestyle, the movement was tapping into more rooted kids, most of whom lived at home with their parents.

As a result, all across the United States the 'Christian coffeehouse' became a cultural fixture of the 1970s and was the way in which churches, youth workers, local kids and countercultural converts could proclaim the presence of the Jesus movement in the community. So ubiquitous did they become that it is probably safe to say that every



Figure 6: A shot of part of the crowd at a 'Jesus Rally' in downtown Cincinnati, Ohio, ca. 1972 (photo courtesy of Gary Sweeten).

town of any size, or of any local or regional importance, had a coffeehouse(s)--for at least a while--during the '70s. Coffeehouses--and Jesus People-related ministries in general--were often unstable, transitory, and subject to turnover. The problem of ongoing, steady financial support was a constant struggle.³⁶ As a result, the size, appearance, organisation and stability of coffeehouses varied widely--from a room in the basement of a local church to elaborate, self-sustaining Jesus People concert halls. But their function was similar, serving as a place to meet informally with fellow believers; a place to take inquiring friends and acquaintances; a place where one might find acceptable 'Christian entertainment'; and as a reference point for activity and assistance to Jesus People in nearby communities or to those who might be just passing through or moving into the area. For most kids who identified with the Jesus People, there was a coffeehouse--and in many cases, coffeehouses--which played an important role in their involvement with the Jesus movement.

Rebecca Kelly remembered that “A Christian adult” had begun the coffeehouse in her hometown of Albany, Oregon, at which she was converted after being invited by a friend. Replete with “black lights, those discarded cable wheels as tables” it was a place where teens could “[sit] on the floors, people [played] guitars...drinking tea and talking”. From that point Kelly became fully “involved with the kids who hung out at the coffee house . . . I took my Bible to school everyday and was a full-blown out-of-the-closet Jesus Freak. Everyone at school knew it.”³⁷ Bill Kaffen, a “founding member” of the Open Doorway Coffee House in Richmond, Virginia, looks back to those coffeehouse days as the highlight of his time in the Jesus People movement: “The most outstanding experience was with the fellowship and community experienced by those of us guys who were staffmembers at the coffeehouse . . . wonderful times of prayer and sharing on a daily basis”.³⁸ As Elizabeth Knuth recalled of her involvement at The Way coffeehouse in Waukesha, Wisconsin, in the mid-'70s, she knew of prominent groups and saw publicity about what was going on in “far-away California”, however, “. . . the folks I knew from the coffeehouse and my classmates who were ‘Jesus freaks’ pretty much were the movement to me. They were the human face of it.”³⁹

That the coffeehouse became such a fixture of the American evangelical youth scene was yet another irony of the Jesus movement, given the fact that its form, format, and atmosphere originated in the postwar hang-outs of the bohemian denizens of the Beat movement.⁴⁰ However, the coffeehouse idea had been quickly adapted as a means for counselling and social work by various mainline Protestant and Catholic ministers in urban drug and ‘tenderloin’ districts during the ‘50s and ‘60s period of transition from the Beat to the Hippie counterculture.⁴¹ As an extension of their long-standing



Figure 7: The Fire Escape Coffeehouse in Stanton, California, ca. 1970 (photo courtesy of David Di Sabatino).

commitment to gospel missions, such an approach naturally appealed to conservative Protestants as well.⁴² It was this approach that appears to have been the genesis of one of the earliest of the proto-Jesus People ministries, Arthur Blessitt's "His Way Inn" on Los Angeles' notorious Sunset Strip (see chapters 3 & 4).

Blessitt's seedy setting, catering for junkies, prostitutes and drifters, however, was not the model that most of the '70s Jesus People coffeehouses would pattern themselves after. A more seemly example was the success enjoyed by Blessitt's Los Angeles contemporary, Don Williams, the youth pastor at Hollywood Presbyterian Church and his Salt Company coffeehouse (see Chapter 4). Williams' more relaxed, suburban, middle-class, youth-friendly ambience of refreshments, Bible studies, sing-alongs, and concerts was much more compatible with the majority of American teens.⁴³ Although several coffeehouse-type ministry centres were established as part of the

original countercultural segment of the Jesus movement (for example, the Living Room in San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury section, the Fire Escape in Escondido, California, and The Catacombs of Seattle), it was the success of the Salt Company which triggered hundreds of imitators across the country during the late '60s (see chapter 4).⁴⁴

As the coffeehouse moved centre stage within the movement the evangelical 'establishment' jumped on to the bandwagon. Reflecting the mania, Bethany House Publishers released a how-to book by the brother and mother of well-known Teen Challenge evangelist David Wilkerson.⁴⁵ All kinds of churches and concerned laypeople of every conservative theological and denominational stripe in every region of the continent tried their hand at creating a slice of Jesus movement bohemia. The First Baptist of Woodville in the piney flats of east Texas sponsored a coffeehouse, as did the Assemblies of God congregation in Hays, Kansas. The Salvation Army operated God's Garage in suburban Phoenix, Arizona, and the First Nazarene Church of Detroit backed the downtown Salt Company.⁴⁶ Ironically, even the Belmont Church of Christ in Nashville, Tennessee--part of the literalist Churches of Christ which banned the use of musical instruments in their services--started a coffeehouse (Koinonia) that became a thriving centre for Nashville's fully-amplified Jesus rockers.⁴⁷

The names given to coffeehouses were colourful, usually a play on some sort of biblical or theological allusion--The Belly of the Whale, The Mustard Seed, Koinonia House, The Upper Room, The Ark, The Glory Barn, House of the Risen Son (a play on the old blues song and 1964 rock hit by the Animals "The House of the Rising Sun") and the Agape Inn--were typical. Writing in 1985, pioneering Jesus Music disc jockey Paul Baker caught the ethos of the 'typical' coffeehouse:

Sometimes the coffeehouses were small and quaint. But usually they were no more than rented-out storefronts. The interior decorations



Figure 8: A typical night at the Natural High coffeehouse in Lafayette, IN, ca. 1973 (photo from “Remembering the Jesus Movement” website).

were colorful Jesus posters or even wall murals; the floors were a patchwork of old carpet sample squares in a rainbow of colors. There was usually a coffeemaker and a Coke machine off to one side, and there was a good chance the sponsors of the coffeehouse would set up a small ‘Jesus People’ bookstore, with contemporary Christian books and records, gospel tracts, bumper stickers, T-shirts, and miscellaneous items for sale or for handing out.⁴⁸

This description rang true for the vast majority of the coffeehouses which popped up during the ‘70s. There were, however, several major coffeehouses which, usually due to a combination of solid financial backing from a large local church and an in-house stable of musical talent, became important regional and, in some cases, even national centres of influence in the Jesus People scene.⁴⁹ The Adam’s Apple in Ft Wayne, Indiana, was an example of this type of coffeehouse. Backed by Calvary Temple Assemblies of God and given a building which seated 400-500 people, the Adam’s Apple became home to a cluster of talented groups and singers (including the ‘heavy’ band Petra and folk stylist Nancy ‘Honeytree’ Hennigbaum) which became important

'Jesus Music' acts of their own. With an adequate financial base, the Adam's Apple was able to provide a regular programme of 'top-drawer' Jesus Musicians and served as a major regional node on the developing Jesus Music circuit (see Chapter 7).⁵⁰ Other coffeehouses in a similar position to the Adam's Apple and playing the same sort of regional roles included The Avalon in Akron, Ohio; Koinonia in Nashville, Tennessee; the Joyful Noise in Chicago Ridge, Illinois; the Greater Life Coffeehouse in Dallas, Texas; the Salt Company in Detroit, Michigan; and, the Holy Ghost Repair Service in Denver, Colorado.

Sometimes, the coffeehouses could be even more specialized. For example, the Fatted Calf was a branch of the House of Faith commune in the Dallas, Texas area. This coffeehouse and restaurant was open only in the evenings and featured Grade-A steaks cooked over a mesquite wood fire. Side dishes included a fully-arrayed salad bar, homemade bread and a choice of three desserts. As the patrons ate, one of the ministry's couples would sing and play guitar. As an act of faith, no prices were on the menu and a jar was placed on each table with those who could pay asked to pay and support the ministry, while those who needed money were encouraged to take what they needed. The Fatted Calf became well-known in the Dallas area and was twice featured on Pat Robertson's *700 Club* television show. A popular destination for church groups, people would frequently stand in line for two hours to gain admission and the restaurant often served as many as 200 people a night.⁵¹

These relatively well-heeled regional operations were, however, but a small part of the larger importance of the coffeehouse phenomenon for the movement. The coffeehouse in a very real way announced to thousands of towns and cities across the United States that the Jesus People movement had moved beyond the headlines and into

FEBRUARY

4

FREE CLASSICS
plus LARRY TEDFORD

We're glad to welcome the Free Classics back to the Joyful Noise! They bring a real variety show, mixing original folk-music and mummery (come and check that out!) with sound Bible teaching. Steve Troyer and the Free Classics have travelled extensively in the U.S. and overseas. Also, Larry Tedford will be with us. Larry was a member of Kerygma as well as a few bands in England, performing on the guitar. (Suggested Free-Will Donation: \$3.50 — not mandatory.)



LARRY TEDFORD

11

DAVE POPE



DAVE POPE

Back again from England — Dave Pope has a pop style similar to Cliff Richards who sang and played the lead role in the film "His Land." He's released several albums on Myrrh records, and will be recording a new one shortly. It's a rare treat to have a British singer at the Joyful Noise, and we're glad to have the chance to share in what the Lord is doing over there. Dave Pope is an anointed speaker as well, so plan to bring a friend who needs to hear the Word! (Suggested Free-Will Donation: \$3.50 — not mandatory.)

18

MIKE JOHNSON
plus ARCHANGEL

Mike Johnson began early, playing guitar with the Mike Bloomfield Blues Band. He later got involved with drug-induced religious trips, and soon ended up in a mental hospital. But after discovering a personal relationship with Jesus Christ, he got his head back together and formed one of the earliest Jesus-Rock bands called the Exkursions. Since then, he's been travelling solo, playing guitar and keyboards. Mike Johnson has recorded numerous albums, and is most known for *Lord Doctor*, *Second Coming Sunset*, *Cool Living Water*, and *The Lord is My Shepherd*. Also that evening, a heavy rock band from Lansing, Michigan, called Archangel will be with us. (Suggested Free-Will Donation: \$3.50 — not mandatory.)



MIKE JOHNSON



ARCHANGEL

25

Jubal
plus DENNIS MEIXSELL

The best way to describe Jubal is to say "they're the Emerson, Lake & Palmer of Christian music." Surrounded by keyboards mixed with bass and drums, the group communicates their past struggles through drugs, the occult and disillusionment to the day when they found the ultimate truth of Jesus Christ. Classical-rock is still a new format for telling the story of Jesus, and we're looking forward to Jubal's ministry. Secondly, Dennis Meixsell will be sharing his songs with his guitar. Dennis comes from Peoria, and performed with "Under New Management." (Suggested Free-Will Donation: \$3.50 — not mandatory.)



JUBAL



DENNIS MEIXSELL

All concerts will be held at the JOYFUL NOISE unless otherwise indicated.

CONCERT TIME 8PM

For More Info Call (312)422-9545

© JPUSA Graphics, 1977, 4431 N. Paulina St., Chicago, IL 60640. (312) 728-4045

Figure 9: A flyer for concerts at the Joyful Noise coffeehouse in Chicago Ridge, Illinois, ca. 1977 (courtesy of Bob Sperlazzo).

the local community. Combining the roles of meeting centre, fellowship hall and evangelistic outpost, the Christian coffeehouse was the ubiquitous institutional thread that served to unite the nationwide Jesus People movement in the early and mid-1970s.

EXPLO ‘72: The Jesus Movement’s ‘Godstock’

The national strength of the Jesus movement, its new teenage demographic, the involvement of local evangelical church youth, and the backing of important evangelical leaders were all put on dramatic display during the summer of 1972 at Campus Crusade for Christ’s EXPLO ‘72. Held in Dallas, Texas, from 12 to 17 June 1972, 80,000 youth attended this five-day series of training seminars and rallies, and a

crowd of 180,000 gathered for the all-day Saturday closing concert. Throughout the event the symbols, language, and--perhaps most influentially--the music, of the Jesus People were front and centre. For the first time in several months, the movement recaptured national headlines (see chapter 5) and images of smiling youth giving the 'One Way' sign would once again be plastered all over the pages of *Life*, *Newsweek* and the *New York Times*.⁵²

The vision for EXPLO (short for 'explosion') had first originated in the mind of Campus Crusade's founder and leader Bill Bright well over a year before there was a national inkling of the Jesus movement. Its shape and scope--a rally for college students and laymen somewhat like InterVarsity Christian Fellowship's triennial Urbana missions meetings but stressing evangelism--crystallised as Bright attended the August 1969 U. S. Congress on Evangelism held in Minneapolis.⁵³ Bright envisioned a gathering of 100,000--the majority being college students--who would be equipped with basic evangelistic training and who would then return to their homes and train five other people in what was termed "Operation Penetration". Through these new cell groups Bright hoped to have an army of half a million local lay evangelists who would evangelise America by 1976 and promote the evangelisation of the world by 1980.⁵⁴

Much of the motivation for this "International Student Congress on Evangelism" (as it was officially conceived) lay in Bright and fellow Campus Crusade leaders' concern about the nation's volatile political and cultural scene. Reports from their workers on various campuses had apparently convinced Bright and others that radicals were targeting September 1972 as the date when the revolution would begin. EXPLO would be their attempt to help derail this calamity.⁵⁵

Official planning for the event began in the spring of 1970. Paul Eshelman, a 28-year-old staffer who had been with Campus Crusade for three years, was assigned

the task of heading up the massive endeavour.⁵⁶ After initial debate over whether to hold the meeting in Chicago or Dallas, it was decided that the Texas city would provide a safer venue and that its smaller size and Bible-belt location would allow EXPLO to dominate the area during the event.⁵⁷ Eshelman set up headquarters in Dallas in August of 1970 armed with an initial staff of fourteen and a budget of \$2,400,000, over a million dollars of which was reserved for the purchase of airtime for a syndicated national television broadcast.⁵⁸

The official 'kick-off' for the event occurred on 3 December 1970 in a press conference featuring Bright and Eshelman. Preparations for the meeting emphasized basic facts about the size and nature of the event and Campus Crusade's plans to evangelise the nation. Careful attention was paid to denying claims that CCC was in any way tied to right-wing political elements or attempting to serve as a counterbalance to campus radical organisations.⁵⁹ Bright pooh-poohed the notion that President Nixon might be "just dropping in" as he had to great criticism at Billy Graham's May 1970 crusade in Knoxville, Tennessee.⁶⁰ The planning document "1972 Congress--With Training", however, makes it clear that as Campus Crusade was doing its initial planning for EXPLO in 1970 they did very much want Nixon to participate. It is reasonable to assume that this document was put together before Graham's problems with Nixon's appearance in Knoxville. According to Graham biographer William Martin, Graham, as honorary chairman of EXPLO, still hoped to have Nixon speak in Dallas but quoted Nixon aide Bob Haldemann as saying that Bright and Graham had "a stormy session re: whether to invite the President". Bright won out and Nixon's only gesture would be a telegram greeting to the EXPLO participants.⁶¹

During 1971, Campus Crusade's publicity machine swung into full gear. Six million informational brochures were distributed across the country. Ads were taken

out in every major evangelical periodical. Field representatives were recruited and a promotional film was made for their use which featured Graham. Eventually, more than 200 agents were in place who distributed copies of the film and made EXPLO presentations to church groups and civic organisations. With more than 1,000 16mm prints in circulation the film was estimated to be, to that time, the most widely-distributed and shown evangelical film in history.⁶²

As EXPLO drew near it was apparent that the publicity surrounding the Jesus People movement had seriously begun to influence the contour of the event. The suggested presentation for field reps referred to the coming assembly in Jesus People terms as a gathering of “God’s Forever Family”.⁶³ The concluding mass rally had evolved into a “Jesus Music Festival” featuring a number of Jesus movement bands and singers.⁶⁴ And, perhaps most tellingly, EXPLO officials found themselves surprised by the way in which the targeted audience for the event--college students--had been overshadowed by a surprising number of expected high school students--an estimated 40,000--more than three times the originally projected number.⁶⁵ The kids seemed to be eager to attend a Jesus happening.

“Something Historic is Going to Happen Here” said the billboards on Dallas’ city buses and an electronic billboard on downtown’s Blue Shield Building greeting the 80,000 “delegates” who rolled into the city as EXPLO got underway on Monday 12 June. Awaiting them were 2,000 CCC staff and EXPLO volunteers manning 300 registration and information tables at Market Hall near the Cotton Bowl stadium, site for the meeting’s nightly rallies. A dozen billboard-sized bulletin boards contained computer printouts with housing assignments in the thousands of reserved rooms in downtown hotels, church basements, local homes and 14,000 vacant apartments.

Nearly 1,000 city and chartered buses were on hand to transport attenders to and from meetings--when the hopelessly snarled traffic would allow.⁶⁶

With the long lines, inevitable glitches and the omnipresent Texas heat, the event got off to a bumpy start. Even before the meetings started, a 14 year-old boy from East St Louis, Illinois, drowned in a motel swimming pool. A small but vocal group of about two dozen evangelical peace activists called the People's Christian Coalition was on hand to protest against the war. Meanwhile, the Children of God, who had fallen out of favour with most evangelicals for their insular behaviour and 'raiding' of other Jesus People groups in the Pacific Northwest and Southeast (see chapter 4), also showed up to recruit new members and were promptly shown the gate by EXPLO officials. Five hundred youth from a 'Jesus Only' Pentecostal sect had also arrived to distribute literature mimicking EXPLO's brochures but which pushed the need for the baptism in the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues.⁶⁷ And even some of the old-line Jesus People were less than happy with what they were seeing. Sharon Gallagher, a CWLF member, was dissatisfied with EXPLO's lack of emphasis on the social dimension of the gospel: "The whole thing reminds you of the Roman Coliseum" she remarked to a *New York Times* reporter, "except in those days the Christians weren't in the stands. Something's changed".⁶⁸

But when things actually got under way these problems were quickly eclipsed. The youthful crowd proved resilient and unswervingly cheerful, dutifully attending their daily seminar assignments and providing an atmosphere in the nightly Cotton Bowl rallies that was nothing short of electric. The singing, slogan-shouting, Jesus-cheering, One-Way signifying crowds dominated the proceedings. On the first night the crowd on the west side of the stadium began to shout "Praise the Lord!" In response,

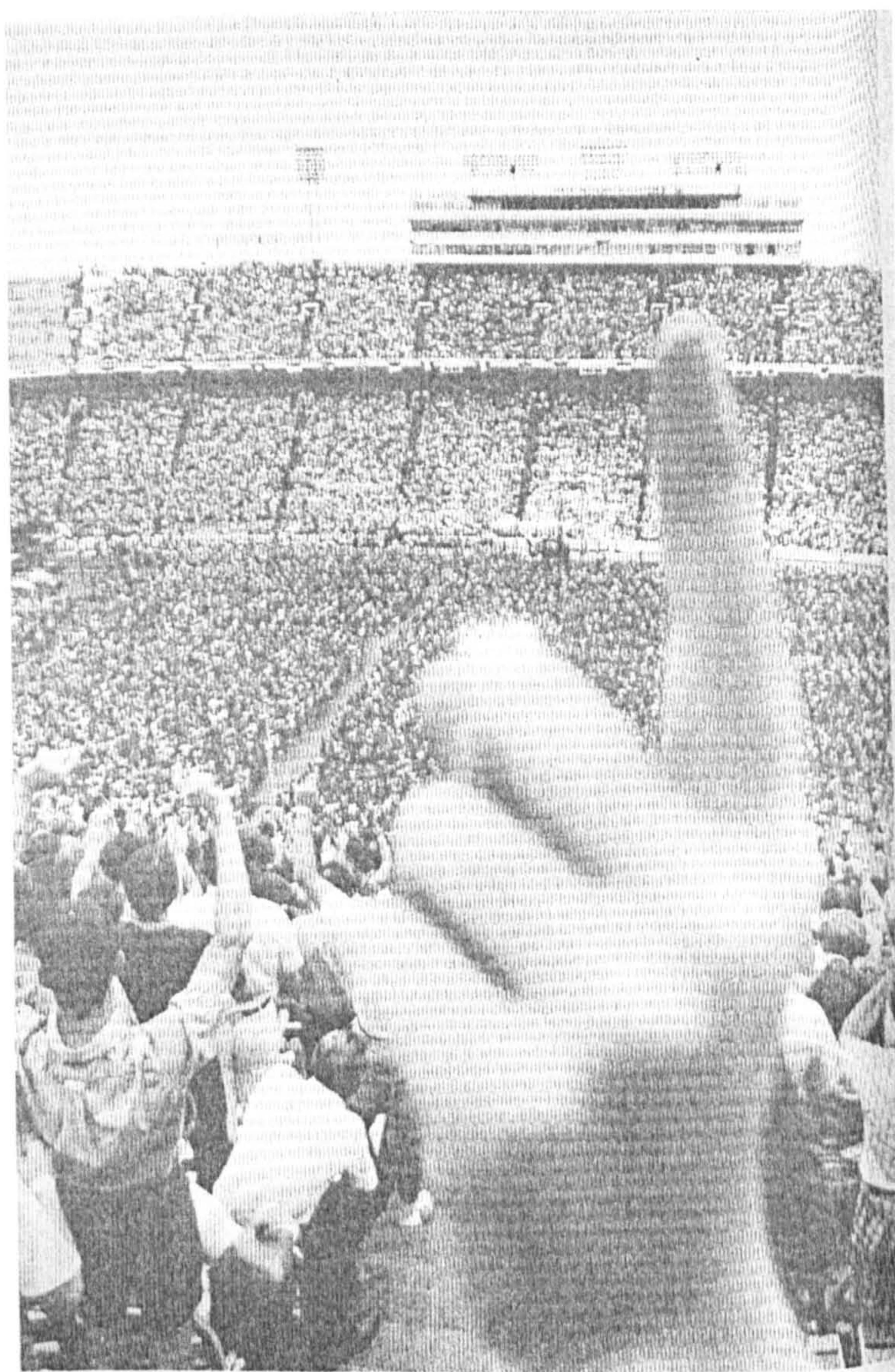


Figure 10: A picture of one of the EXPLO '72 rallies with 80,000 people in attendance in the Cotton Bowl, Dallas, TX, in June 1972 (photo found in Paul Eshelman, *The EXPLO Story*).

the east side would volley back “Amen!” At another time the crowd on the north side of the field began to chant “One Way! One Way!” Soon, the entire stadium rocked to the staccato cheer, their index fingers pointed to the sky in the Jesus movement’s One Way symbol. Chairman and nightly speaker Billy Graham had the honour of reining in the crowd and did so successfully as he told them that he saw EXPLO as an opportunity to “dramatize the Jesus revolution [and] . . . say to the whole world that Christian youth are on the march, moving forward with Christ!”⁶⁹

Over the next three days the 80,000 participants spent their days attending seminars on various evangelistic themes and were twice dispersed during the afternoon into the greater Dallas area to try out the evangelistic techniques they had learned. Many also wandered the aisles at EXPLO's 'Job Fair', checking out the exhibits set up by evangelical schools and organisations. Many groups made significant contacts with prospective workers and volunteers. One of the most popular booths was that operated by Intercristo, a recently-hatched computerized evangelical employment and career agency based in Seattle. For a \$3 fee the prospective missionary, school teacher, nurse or warehouse worker could fill out a form detailing one's skills, education and interests which was then matched to corresponding jobs and 'service opportunities'. As many of the prospective employers were on hand in the hall, initial contact could often be made. An estimated 10,000 of those attending EXPLO took advantage of Intercristo's service.⁷⁰

On Saturday the scene shifted to a giant open field that lay between two expressways near downtown Dallas for EXPLO's closing "Jesus Music Festival". There, a platform fifty yards wide had been erected with a brightly-painted, 35-foot high, three-tiered psychedelic backdrop designed by New York set designer Bill Bohnert emblazoned with Jesus People symbols and 'buttons'. A rock festival-quality sound system cranked 3,000 watts of power to the two dozen speaker units on either side of the stage.⁷¹ The crowd, estimated at 180,000, assembled for the marathon round of music and testimonies which began at about 7:30 in the morning to the strains of Chico Holiday singing "Put Your Hand in the Hand". Prominent among a musical mix which included country, Southern white and black gospel artists were several representatives of the new Jesus Music--Larry Norman, Love Song, Randy Matthews, Danny Lee & the Children of Truth, Barry McGuire, and the Children of the Day.

Testimonies were given by a number of professional athletes as well as Vonda Kay Van Dyke, a former Miss America.⁷² The crescendo of the meeting built in the early afternoon as Johnny Cash and his supporting ensemble--the best-known of any of the performers that day--gave a rousing half-hour performance of gospel songs.⁷³ Following Cash was Billy Graham. Graham exhorted the sweltering multitude with a call to carry out the Great Commission and reach the world with the gospel: "There is more potential power to change the world gathered here on this mall than I have ever seen . . . You are young. You are fearless. The future is yours".⁷⁴ Leading them in reciting John 3:16, he told the audience that Christ alone offered the solution for the problems that were besetting the world:

Put your hand in the hand of the man from Galilee. When you do you'll have a supernatural power to put your hand in the hand of a person of another race. You have a new love in your heart that will drive you to do something about poverty, the ecology question, the racial tension, the family problems and, most of all to do something about your own life.⁷⁵

Graham concluded by asking his hearers if they could "cheer and hold up the one-way finger when I speak of Jesus" and invited them to commit to Christ if they could not. Hundreds of individuals stood in the sun as Graham led them in the 'sinner's prayer'. Then Graham, Bright, and the musicians gathered on stage holding hands and led the throng in singing, acapella, the chorus "We Are One in the Spirit". With that, the audience gathered their things, picked up the trash and left.⁷⁶

Although it was over, it was apparent that EXPLO exuded an afterglow in its memory of the well-mannered, cheerful enthusiasm of its Jesus-cheering kids. One Dallas policeman on duty at the Cotton Bowl opined "They're great kids, I haven't been called a pig once".⁷⁷ Robert Mead, Director of Sales at the Dallas Hilton, wrote Paul Eshleman about how it was "rare for a hotel to host such a well-behaved and mannerly

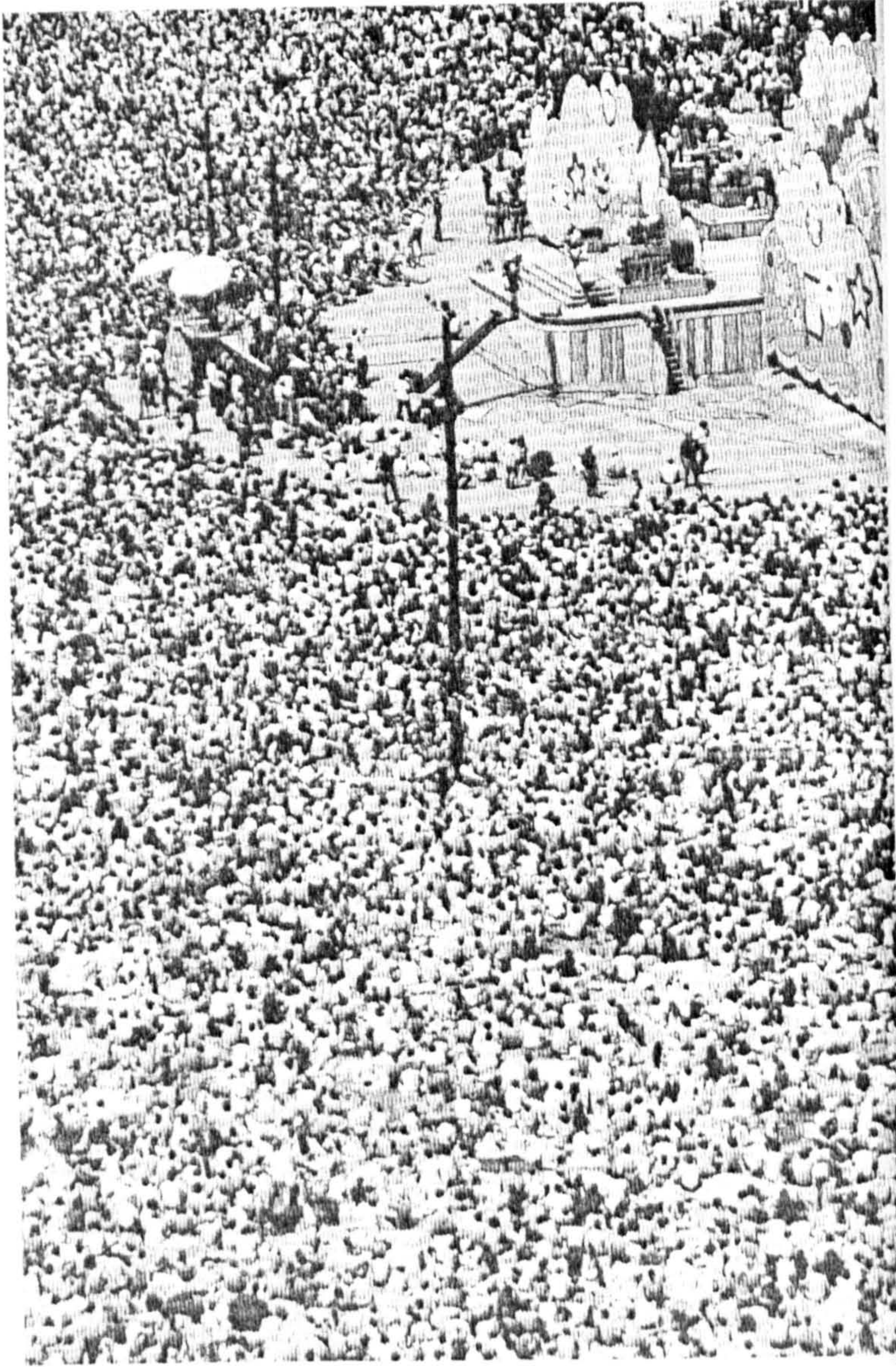


Figure 11: A shot of the stage area for the concluding Jesus People Music festival for EXPLO '72, 17 June 1972 with 180,000 in attendance (photo contained in Eshelman, *The EXPLO Story*).

group of young people . . . Every staff member . . . is still talking about the smiles, hello's and thank you's they received and our lobby still echoes with the sound of their happy singing."⁷⁸ One local woman who had two girls staying at her home during EXPLO wrote CCC to tell them ". . . our hometown was blessed to be chosen as the site for EXPLO; these young people left behind them renewed faith in the younger generation".⁷⁹ Another woman from suburban Mesquite related that the door-to-door visit she had received from two of the EXPLO youth during one of their evangelistic practicums was "one of the most heartwarming experiences" of her life. "Ruth

Kaneshiro and Phil Young from Hawaii spent an hour with me . . . so refreshing that it completely refuted the prevailing feeling of wayward youth”.⁸⁰

Even more enthusiastic, however, were the sentiments of evangelical leaders present at EXPLO. “Though their music was not my kind of music”, wrote John F. Taylor, executive director of Wheaton College’s Alumni Association, “I fell in love with these beautiful kids. I can see a brighter tomorrow because of them”.⁸¹ Clyde W. Taylor, General Director of the National Association of Evangelicals, was sure EXPLO would “go down in history”. He too was taken aback by “the marvellous spirit of all these kids”.⁸² Robert A. Cook, president of the King’s College in upstate New York and a past president of Youth for Christ, wrote Bill Bright that “EXPLO ‘72 has to stand out as the great event of our generation, so far as mobilizing youth for evangelism is concerned. . . . one can never forget the sheer impact of nearly a hundred thousand hearts praising the Lord in the Cotton Bowl”.⁸³ Harm A. Weber, President of Judson College in Elgin, Illinois, expressed a similar wonder to Bright:

I sat with J. Edwin Orr [taciturn, Ulster-born Bible teacher-theologian] In the Cotton Bowl. As you know, he is quite conservative in his manner and as we sat together on Monday evening I again and again asked him as to whether he had ever seen, experienced, or known of any event comparable to what was taking place that evening. He assured me that he has not known of any situation comparable. To spontaneously have 30,000 high school students, without direction, rise up and cry ‘Praise the Lord’ and then to have 50,000 respond ‘Amen’ reminds me of Joshua when he was in the valley of Shechem and divided the people half on Mount Gerizim and the other half on Mount Ebal. . . he read the revelations from God [and] the people shouted ‘Hallelujah, praise the Lord . . .’⁸⁴

Beyond the enthusiastic response to the kids and to the event itself, several evangelical leaders were thrilled with the publicity surrounding EXPLO and its positive implications for evangelicalism itself. Wendell Collins an official with Muskegon, Michigan’s Gospel Films believed “Evangelical Christianity was not only made the

most visible it has ever been, but was greatly advanced because of EXPLO '72'.⁸⁵ Paul Little, a prominent seminary professor and author, was heartened by "the coverage in the national press" which he felt would "increase further the openness we now have to talk about Christ in almost every place and situation".⁸⁶ Meanwhile, LeRoy Eims of the Navigators contended that the widespread participation of evangelical groups augured great things for the future:

I am sure that there will be a greater trust and collaboration among those 210 groups that were represented at EXPLO. Many of us got well acquainted with each other and learned what others were doing and I know that will have a significant affect [sic] on the world wide vision of Christianity in the years to come.⁸⁷

But the most significant impact of EXPLO was undoubtedly on those youth who attended its rallies, seminars, and concerts and experienced the five days that was the 'Godstock Nation'. They had experienced a Jesus People high which they could carry back home with them to their parents, friends, and home congregations. For Lucy Kalijian of Pasadena, California, it was a "foretaste of heaven on Earth".⁸⁸ Dean Olsen of Medford, Wisconsin, told Paul Eshelman, "Boy that was a week worth living for!" Gushed Olsen, "My plans are now to attend Dallas Theological Seminary . . . June 12-17, 1972 a week that will not be forgotten by thousands of people, by me, or by the history books".⁸⁹ A delegation of forty inter-denominational youth from Crossett, Arkansas, recounted their "Great Adventure in Christ" in the First Methodist Church's newsletter, the *Methodist Messenger*. Jody Hart recounted that the main thing she took away from EXPLO was "the display of love. Every time I passed someone" she stated "I could just feel God's love flowing into me . . . Everyone was accepted for what he was". She resolved that "we must let God's love transform us from lukewarm Christians into red hot ones!" Tron Clark was also struck by the feelings of unity and love at EXPLO: "People [were] loving each other because we are one in the Spirit and

are all brothers and sisters in Christ Jesus”. The usual cliques, hierarchies, and superficialities of teen culture seemed to have been pushed aside; said Clark, “No one cared how you looked, how you dressed or wore your hair. . . To see 100,000 (sic) Christians gathered to praise the Lord was an experience of a lifetime”.⁹⁰

In the weeks and months that followed, EXPLO continued to spread images and sounds of the Jesus Movement across the country. In early August Campus Crusade bought airtime on nearly two hundred television stations and broadcast three hour-long specials, two showing excerpts from the night-time Cotton Bowl rallies and one from the Saturday Jesus Music Festival. Now in crisp video tape the nation could see the Jesus movement in action, hear the new, upbeat gospel music, and see the nation’s most prominent evangelicals extol the cause of Christ. To anyone who would write in, Campus Crusade offered a special album packed with musical highlights from EXPLO including the new ‘Jesus Music’ performers, as well as a copy of Bright’s book *Come Help Change the World*.⁹¹

As America prepared for the autumn of 1972, the media hype and experiences surrounding EXPLO had done a great deal to re-launch the new, redefined version of the Jesus movement back into the nation’s churches, high schools and colleges. It would prove to be the single most important event ever associated with the Jesus People movement, serving as a unifying, emboldening occasion for those youth who had participated, a vindication of evangelical leaders’ backing of the Jesus People movement and an encouragement to many in the older generation about the direction and potential of American youth. EXPLO proved beyond a doubt that the Jesus People movement had become an integral part of the American landscape, and, particularly, the evangelical subculture.

Conclusion

In the days following EXPLO, one uncredited journalist from the New York daily paper *Newsday* presented an analysis of the event and the current status of the Jesus People. In the process, he accurately grasped the overall transformation that had occurred in the Jesus movement during 1971 and 1972:

Most recently the movement has built along solid middle-class lines. Waiting in the wings was a sizeable corps of Sunday School regulars, raised by devout Protestants to obey authority and honor America, whose fundamentalist faith previously earned them more embarrassment than respect from their peers. When some of the hippest elements started embracing that faith, these more conventional Jesus people emerged proudly from their relative obscurity to join the cause, becoming as a class the most numerous segment of the new spiritual enthusiasts.⁹²

Indeed, the shape of the Jesus People movement had changed considerably after being the subject of great media fanfare in both the secular and religious press in 1971. What had begun as a genuinely counterculture-based spin on traditional evangelical Christianity among the nation's hippies had evolved into a widespread movement featuring younger, teenage kids, particularly the children of America's conservative evangelical churches. The countercultural element would continue to be an important--and very visible--part of the movement. However, now they were the colourful, eccentric older brothers and sisters and role models for a broad-based mass of largely middle-class, mostly church-raised siblings. But this change had definitely expanded the size, scope, and infrastructure of the movement. The large numbers of evangelical youth meant that the movement was now thick on the ground in the nation's small towns and suburbs.

Key to this 'second-wave' of the Jesus People movement was the growing availability of Jesus movement-related paraphernalia such as bumper stickers, buttons,



Figure 12: Three teenaged Jesus People flash the “One Way” sign outside the Natural High coffeehouse in Lafayette, Indiana, ca. 1973 (photo from the “Remembering the Jesus Movement” website).

posters, t-shirts, jewellery, and other specially-targeted merchandise. These items not only visually expanded the impact of the movement in the culture more generally, but were an important means of solidifying a sense of group identity among the young Jesus People themselves and of marking themselves off as a particular subset of the larger American youth culture. Another major element of the post-1971-publicity phase of the movement was a shift in the centre of gravity within the movement towards the coffeehouse as the main ‘institutional’ presence of the movement. Better suited to dealing with a more stable population of teenagers than was the more countercultural setting of the communal Jesus People house, the plethora of

coffeehouses that sprang up across North America gave the young Jesus People a place to talk and listen to music on their own 'turf' as well as a base from which to evangelize their peers.

It was this new re-contoured Jesus People movement which EXPLO '72 presented to the nation in its most successful and publicized single event. This was a Jesus People movement that was widespread and now had the support of mainstream evangelical celebrities and organisations. However, the newfound ubiquity of the Jesus People was also an important vindication of the relevance of evangelicalism amid the cultural, political, and social crises of the early '70s. It was evangelical Christianity that had struck a chord among the nation's supposedly rebellious youth--no other branch of the 'establishment' could point to a similar coup. But more importantly, as rank-and-file, Middle America--evangelicals and others--watched the proceedings at EXPLO '72 and the larger development of the Jesus People movement they were reassured that the younger generation was not utterly lost to radicalism, drugs, and immorality.

ENDNOTES

1 As part of my research I have attempted—attempted—to compile a comprehensive list of all the Jesus People communal homes, rural communes, coffeehouses, ministries, churches and 'fellowships' that I have come across either in the printed sources or in interviews. At this point that list has nearly 1,000 entries and I am convinced that it probably accounts for much less than half of the Jesus People groups and gathering spots that actually existed in the years between 1969 and 1977. There are great swatches of various states for which I have, unfortunately, not readily been able to find written sources or interview subjects where I am convinced Jesus People groups existed. Even in my native Chicago area there are large suburbs and cities where I am sure there must have been Jesus People groups—I just have not been able to document them. Someone with the time and money to expend the effort in digging through local and regional newspapers would undoubtedly find many of these 'missing' Jesus People centres. Perhaps this study will in turn cause individuals and materials with information on many of these groups to surface.

2 Edward E. Plowman, "Whatever Happened to the Jesus Movement?", *Christianity Today* (24 October 1975), p. 46.

3 Taped telephone interview with Craig Yoe, 13 July 2004; John White, Kent, OH, "Jesus Movement Survey", 28 January 2002.

4. Edward E. Plowman, "The Jesus Movement: Now It's In the Hamlets", *Christianity Today* (18 June 1971): 35-36.

5. Much of the initial success of Jonathan Edwards' revival in Northampton, Massachusetts, in the 1730s was among the youth of the area (see Edwards, *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in the Conversion of Many Hundred Souls in Northampton, and Neighboring Towns and Villages* [1737]).
6. Plowman, "The Jesus Movement: Now It's In the Hamlets".
7. Ibid.
8. Survey response by Lee Ann Powers, Globe, AZ, submitted 11 January 1998.
9. Survey response by William (Bill) G. Radcliffe, El Paso, TX, submitted 22 November 1998; see also for example Gary Spelts, "Ferris High School Revival," *Truth* Vol. 5:1, Issue #32 (April 1974), pp. 24-28.
10. Survey response by Steve Church, Blountville, TN, submitted 6 December 1998.
11. Survey response by Jeff Lough, Englewood, OH, submitted 25 June 1999.
12. Survey response by Thomas C. Medley, Vinton, VA, submitted 22 September 1998.
13. Letter to the editor from Chris Brunson, *Rockford* (Illinois) *Star*, 28 February 1972, Collection 360: Billy Graham Evangelistic Association (BGEA)-Scrapbooks, reel #34 [March-October 1972], Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, USA.
14. Survey response by Jim Sterling, College Station, TX, submitted 9 June 1998.
15. Survey response by Phil Spence, Aspley, Queensland, Australia, submitted 15 March 1998.
16. Survey response by Twila Beaubien, Rio Linda, CA, submitted 14 December 1997.
17. Survey response by Gary Seals, Garland, TX, submitted 12 January 1998.
18. Survey response by Tim Harris, Albemarle, NC, submitted 19 July 1999.
19. Kerry Moore, "On the Merry-Go-Round", *Zoa Free Paper* Vol. II, #4 (October/November 1974), pp. 1, 5; in Jesus People USA (JPUSA) Jesus Papers Collection, Chicago, IL.
20. Rick Peterson, "Rebirth", *Truth*, 4:3, Issue #29 (May/June 1973): 32; JPUSA Jesus Papers Collection.
21. For a contemporary observation on the new popularity of crosses and religious jewellery see Anne Eggebrotten, "The Cross-Bearers", *Christianity Today* (27 August 1971), pp. 32-34. See also Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 248-256.
22. See for example the illustration section in Timothy Miller, *The Hippies and American Values* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), n.p.
23. Ronald Enroth, Edward E. Ericson, Jr. and Breckinridge C. Peters, *The Jesus People: The Old-Time Religion in the Age of Aquarius* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), p. 73.
24. Randy Mathews, "Oh My", Copyright © 1975, Paragon Music (ASCAP).
25. Enroth, Ericson and Peters, *The Jesus People*, p. 78.
26. See for example *Hollywood Free Paper*, 3:5(2 March 1971) p. 15, JPUSA Jesus Papers Collection; Enroth, Ericson and Peters, *The Jesus People*, p. 78.

27. There is no real documentation of this subject--ads and photographs are, at the moment, the best source of information. McDannell's *Material Christianity*, although it treats the rise of Jesus merchandise, uses mostly sources from 1972 and after and does not attempt to track its origins (see notes, pp. 303-304).

28. "The New Rebel Cry: Jesus is Coming!", *Time* (21 June 1971), p. 59; Enroth, Ericson and Peters, pp. 154-155; "Melodyland Drug Prevention Center Sells Jesus Watches", *Santa Ana Register* (7 August 1971), p. A11.

29. Ad, *Campus Life* (October 1971), n.p.

30. Grason: Ad, *Christian Life* (June 1972), pp. 107-110; Ad, *Campus Life* (March 1973), pp. 27-28; Christian Lettering: Ad, *Campus Life* (October 1972), p. 13; Harold's Signs: *Campus Life* (November 1972), p. 19.

31. See, for example, the ad in *Campus Life* (September 1972), p. 63. It's hard to say just how much all this meant in terms of total sales for a company like Cross. But it was not insignificant by any stretch. In 1973 for instance, it was estimated that sales of "Jesus bumper stickers" were expected to be about 2,000,000 (Peter Lundstrom, "New Products For Kids", *Christian Life* [June 1973], p. 56). At an average cost of fifty cents each (Cross' charge) that meant \$1,000,000 in sales for the 'industry'. But it must be remembered that the impact of this was more than monetary. Allowing for an average of two stickers per car, that meant a million rolling billboards for Jesus on America's highways.

32. McDannell, *Material Christianity*, p. 251.

33. See John P. Ferre, "Searching for the Great Commission: Evangelical Book Publishing Since the 1970s", in Quentin J. Schultze, ed., *American Evangelicals and the Mass Media* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990, pp. 99-117; McDannell, *Material Christianity*, pp. 247-256.

34. Twila Beaubien survey.

35. Peter Lundstrom, "New Products for Kids", *Christian Life* (June 1973), p. 56.

36. See for example, Hiley Ward's comments about the instability of Jesus People communes: Hiley H. Ward, *The Far-Out Saints of the Jesus Communes: A Firsthand Report and Interpretation of the Jesus Movement* (New York: Association Press, 1972), p. 36.

37 Survey response by Rebecca Kelly, of ?, submitted 24 February 2002.

38 Survey response by Bill Kaffen, ?, Virginia, response submitted 24 March 1999.

39. Survey response by Elizabeth T. Knuth, Rockville, MN, submitted 1 December 1997.

40. Edward P. Morgan, *The 60s Experience: Hard Lessons About Modern America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), p. 172; Terry H. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties: Protest in America From Greensboro to Wounded Knee* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 35-36, 170.

41. Many of these sorts of ministries are catalogued in an appendix to Jess Moody's *The Jesus Freaks* (Waco, TX: Word, 1971) pp. 86-127 in a mistaken assumption that they comprised the Jesus movement.

42. Classic models of these sorts of ministries can be found in the stories presented in David Wilkerson, *The Cross and the Switchblade* (New York: B. Geis & Assoc., 1963), and Bob Harrington, *The Chaplain of Bourbon Street* (New York: Doubleday, 1969). Of course, these also have their roots, ultimately, in the long work of gospel missions.

43. Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, pp. 144-145.

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44. See, for example, Mary Anne Berry, "Coffeehouse", *Campus Life* (November 1969), pp. 56-60. However, as was the case until late 1970, there was no understanding of these coffeehouses being part of any sort of a 'Jesus movement'.
45. Don and Ann Wilkerson, *A Coffee House Manual* (Minneapolis, MN: Bethany Fellowship, 1972).
46. Survey response by Jo Ellen Brown, Alvord, TX, submitted 31 December 1997; Survey response by Dallas Hewett, Kennewick, WA, submitted 1 October 1998; Survey response by Karl Kerr, Nacogdoches, TX, submitted 7 February 2000.
47. Paul Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music: Where It Came From, What It Is, Where It's Going* (Westchester, IL: Crossway Books, 1985), p. 69. For an account of Belmont Church of Christ's troubles with its denomination see Richard T. Hughes, *Reviving the Ancient Faith: The Story of Churches of Christ in America* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), pp. 340-341.
48. Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, p. 65.
49. Ibid., pp. 67-70.
50. See for example *Hard Core*, No. 5 (October 1971), and *Adam's Apple Juicy News*, Issue 2 (February 1975), JPUSA Jesus Papers Collection; Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, p. 68.
51. Due to an internal rift within the community, the Fatted Calf shut down in 1978 (Survey response by Ronda Caton, Allen, TX, submitted 1 November 1999).
52. "Few of the long-haired 'Jesus Freaks' who started the Jesus Movement are attending. Most delegates are white and still sympathetic to middle-class values". Edward B. Fiske, "A 'Religious Woodstock' Draws 75,000," *New York Times* (16 June 1972), pp. 1, 19.
53. Paul Eshelman, *The EXPLO Story: A Plan to Change the World* (Glendale, CA: Regal Books, 1972), pp. 95-96.
54. "EXPLO '72 Fact Sheet", ca. 1972, EXPLO '72 Director's Notebook, Jesus Film Project Offices, San Clemente, CA.
55. "1972 Congress--With Training: What It Would Look Like", ca. 1970, Series: EXPLO '72, box 2, folder 4, Campus Crusade for Christ Archives, Orlando, FL.
56. "Profile: Paul A. Eshelman", ca. May 1971, EXPLO '72 Director's Notebook; details on the planning for EXPLO can be found in Eshelman, *The EXPLO Story*, pp. 95-107.
57. "1972 Congress--With Training"; Eshelman, *The EXPLO Story*, pp. 97-98.
58. "Proposed Budget For International Student Congress on Evangelism", ca. 1970, Series: EXPLO '72, box 1, folder 34; "June 30, 1972 Budget Report", Box 1, folder 30; Campus Crusade for Christ Archives.
59. "EXPLO '72 News Statement", Series: EXPLO '72, box 2, folder 4, Campus Crusade for Christ Archives.
60. "EXPLO '72 News Statement". See William Martin, *A Prophet With Honor: The Billy Graham Story* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1991), pp. 368-369.
61. "1972 Congress--With Training"; Martin, p. 395.
62. "EXPLO '72" promotional film, 1971, Arrowhead Productions, San Bernardino, CA; Eshelman, p. 102.

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63. "EXPLO '72 Fact Sheet--Short Presentation", ca. 1971, EXPLO Director's notebook, Jesus Film Project Office.
 64. "Jesus Music Festival--Final Format", ca. June 1972, EXPLO Director's notebook, Jesus Film Project Office.
 65. In Campus Crusade's "1972 Congress--With Training: What It Would Look Like" initial planning document, it was estimated that the meeting would attract 60,000 college students and about 16,000 high school students. Instead, the actual number of registrants showed that Campus Crusade had misgauged the audience it was appealing to with about 35,000-40,000 high school students who actually came with only about 25,000 college students on hand (Eshelman, *The EXPLO Story*, pp. 16-19).
 66. Eshelman, *The EXPLO Story*, pp. 1-8.
 67. Edward E. Plowman, "'Godstock' in Big D", *Christianity Today* (7 July 1972), pp. 31-32; Eshelman, *The EXPLO Story*, p. 8. For insight into the Children of God's fall from favour among evangelicals see Ed Plowman, "Where Have all the Children Gone?", *Christianity Today* (5 November 1971), pp. 146-148, and Edward E. Ericson, Jr., "COG: Whose Children Are They?", *Eternity* (October 1973), pp. 16, 30.
 68. Fiske, "A Religious Woodstock," *New York Times*, (16 June 1972).
 69. "EXPLO '72, Show #1", 1972, Arrowhead Productions International, San Bernardino, CA; Eshelman, *The EXPLO Story*, pp. 59-65.
 70. Plowman, "'Godstock' in Big D", p. 32; Eshelman, *The EXPLO Story*, pp. 80-82
 71. "EXPLO '72, Show #3", 1972; Eshelman, *The EXPLO Story*, pp. 85-89.
 72. "Jesus Music Festival--Final Format", Eshelman, *The EXPLO Story*, pp. 86-88.
 73. *Jesus Sound Explosion*, Campus Crusade for Christ, 1972, RE-2069, Frank Edmondson Contemporary Christian Music Collection, Judson College, Elgin, IL; "EXPLO '72, Show #3".
 74. "EXPLO '72, Show #3".
 75. Ibid.
 76. Ibid.
 77. Fiske, "A Religious Woodstock", p. 19.
 78. Letter from Robert E. Mead, Jr., Director of Sales, Dallas Hilton, Dallas, TX, to Paul Eshelman, 21 June 1972, Paul Eshelman EXPLO '72 Files.
 79. Letter from Mrs. James W. Gee, n.p., to EXPLO '72 Directors, 16 June 1972, Paul Eshelman EXPLO '72 files.
 80. Letter from A. Kerekes, Mesquite, TX, to EXPLO '72 staff, ca. June 1972, Paul Eshelman EXPLO '72 files.
 81. John F. Taylor, "A Word With Alumni", clipping from first page of *Wheaton Alumni* ca. late 1972, attached to letter from John F. Taylor, Executive Director of the Wheaton College Alumni Association, Paul Eshelman EXPLO '72 files.
 82. Letter from Clyde W. Taylor, General Director of the National Association for Evangelicals, Washington D.C., to Bill Bright, 20 June 1972, Paul Eshelman EXPLO '72 files.

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83. Letter from Dr. Robert A. Cook, President of The King's College, Briarcliff Manor, NY, to Bill Bright, 24 July 1972, Paul Eshelman EXPLO '72 files.
84. Letter from Harm A. Weber, President of Judson College, Elgin, IL, to Bill Bright, 4 August 1972, Paul Eshelman, EXPLO '72 files.
85. Letter from Wendell G. Collins, Vice President for Development, Gospel Films, Inc., Muskegon, MI, to Paul Eshelman, 26 June 1972, Paul Eshelman EXPLO '72 files.
86. Letter from Paul E. Little, Campus Crusade for Christ Assistant to the President, to Bill Bright, 20 July 1972, Paul Eshelman EXPLO '72 files. Little was a professor at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School in Deerfield, IL, well-known in the evangelical community for popular (to this day) books such as *How to Give Away Your Faith* (Lombard, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1966) and *Know Why You Believe* (Lombard, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1968).
87. Letter from LeRoy Eims, Vice President of Navigators, Int'l, Colorado Springs, CO, to Bill Bright, 4 June 1972, Paul Eshelman EXPLO '72 files.
88. Letter from Lucy Kalijian, Pasadena, CA, to Paul Eshelman, 26 June 1972, Paul Eshelman EXPLO '72 files.
89. Letter from Dean C. Olson, Medford, WI, to Paul Eshelman, 21 June 1972, Paul Eshelman EXPLO '72 files.
90. *The Methodist Messenger*, First Methodist Church, Crossett, AR, Vol. IV, #9 (29 June 1972) pp. 1-6; Paul Eshelman EXPLO '72 files.
91. "EXPLO '72, Shows 1, 2 & 3"; Eshelman, *The EXPLO Story*, p. 89.
92. "EXPLO '72: A Gospel of Affirmation from America's Youth", *Newsday*, (20 June 1972), n.p., Collection 360, BGEA--Scrapbooks, Reel 34: March-October 1972, Billy Graham Center Archives.

Chapter 7

Sweet, Sweet Song of Salvation: Music and the Jesus People Movement

From the beginnings of the Jesus People movement, music was an integral part of its very soul; indeed, it is hard to imagine there having been a 'Jesus movement' had there not been 'Jesus Music'. Whether a home Bible study, a worship gathering of a commune or local 'fellowship', the Friday night programme at a coffeehouse, or an outdoor festival attracting thousands, 'Jesus Music' was a prominent--and frequently the central--activity. Hiley Ward, the religion editor of the *Detroit Free Press*, was struck by this as he spent several months in 1970 and 1971 visiting hundreds of Jesus People communes and coffeehouses scattered throughout North America. Ward particularly noted the "preoccupation of the Jesus People with new music. . . . Rarely do you hear any of the old-time hymns." Ward observed, "[The Jesus People] write their own".¹ His observations were echoed in *Time* magazine's July 1971 cover story on the movement, which stated that "Music, the lingua franca of the young", was the "special medium of the Jesus movement".²

Given the centrality of music to the Jesus movement, its rise came at an opportune time in terms of the musical trajectory of American evangelicalism as more upbeat, youth-friendly musical forms began to make some inroads into the subculture during the '60s. However, it would be the Jesus People themselves who drew naturally upon the rock and folk-oriented musical forms of popular culture to create their own body of 'Jesus Music' to enhance worship, to use as an evangelistic tool, and to serve as a form of sanctified musical entertainment. Overall, this sanctified version of rock music provided a common ground within the movement, while serving as a vehicle for its expansion both to 'churched' youth outside the movement and as a potential bridge between the Jesus People and their peers in 'the world'. As the movement grew across

the country and found itself on a more solid footing, it promoted the growth of not only more musicians playing for a growing audience, but also an expanding infrastructure of local venues, home-grown promoters, and a rough-hewn recording and distribution 'industry' that in its early days placed more emphasis on evangelism and discipleship than on marketing and sales.

Soon, however, the marketing potential of the new 'Jesus Generation' began to swing the dynamics of the Jesus Music away from its informal, countercultural roots toward the trappings and business practices of the mainstream music and entertainment industries. While still but a shadow of big-time rock 'n' roll, by the mid-'70s recording contracts, improved production values, better distribution and packaging, large Jesus Music festivals, and a tiny--but increasing--amount of radio airplay all pointed to a growing professionalisation and corporate control over what had once been a casual, homegrown element of 'Jesus Freak' life. 'Jesus Music' provided the foundations for a significant new musical presence within evangelicalism and the lynchpin for the emerging and future evangelical youth cultures: the 'Contemporary Christian Music' industry.

The Emergence of a New, Contemporary Evangelical Music

Despite the ongoing critique of rock 'n' roll within evangelical circles (see chapter 2), music that was more appealing to young people began making inroads into the churches during the 1960s as some evangelical musicians, composers, and youth leaders actively sought sounds that would appeal to the younger generation, and as the youth themselves attempted to bring more 'with it' sounds into the church. One of the major innovators in this regard was Ralph Carmichael, Hollywood-based composer and arranger, who had worked with many mainstream band leaders and singers such as Frank Sinatra and Nat King Cole.³ A devout evangelical layman, Carmichael brought

his ideas about music to his religious musical endeavours as well, stirring up controversy during the 1950s with lush orchestral arrangements of traditional hymns.⁴ However, his compositions and arrangements fitted in well with the developing tastes of older evangelicals who, through radio and television, were increasingly exposed to the musical styles of the entertainment industry. Carmichael became a well-regarded source of ‘contemporary’ new sacred music; particularly groundbreaking was the pop and jazz-influenced music he composed for the successful 1965 Billy Graham film about juvenile delinquents, *The Restless Ones*.⁵

While Carmichael brought the influence of mainstream pop music sensibilities to evangelical circles, musical troupe leaders such as Cam Florio and Thurlow Spurr were influenced not only by pop music but by the late ‘50s/early ‘60s popularity of folk music. Mirroring folk groups like the “New Christy Minstrels” and “Up With People”, groups of well-scrubbed, fresh-faced evangelical youth like Florio’s “Continental Singers” and Spurr’s “Spurlows” toured evangelical churches during the 1960s using a style of music which was in equal parts sacred, folk, and Hollywood/Broadway.⁶ For many congregations, exposure to such groups was a first step to going beyond the bounds of traditional hymnody within a church setting.

In the late 1960s these various trends were combined in a spate of new youth-oriented ‘folk musicals’ which took evangelical churches by storm.⁷ The ‘folk musical’ among evangelicals had its first prominent exposure in the collaboration of Southern Baptist youth choir director Billy Ray Hearn with composers Carmichael and Kurt Kaiser--authors of the popular new song, “Pass It On”. Their musical, *Good News*, debuted at national Southern Baptist youth gatherings in North Carolina and New Mexico in 1967, was later performed by a 1,300-member youth ensemble for the national convention in Houston in 1968 and shortly thereafter shown on national

network television. Released as a \$2.98 musical portfolio, *Good News* went on to sell over 250,000 booklets to church youth groups and choirs across the country.⁸

Energized by the success of *Good News*, Ralph Carmichael and Kurt Kaiser set to work on another folk musical. The result, *Tell It Like It Is*, was released in early 1970 as a record album and music portfolio and became even more successful than its predecessor, eventually selling over 500,000 copies of the musical portfolio.⁹ *Tell It Like It Is* was but the most prominent of many musicals produced during the next few years, including Carmichael and Kaiser's *Natural High*, Otis Skilling's *Life And Love* and Jimmy and Carol Owens' *If My People* and *The Witness*.¹⁰

At the same time that there was a warming up to more mainstream pop sounds within evangelical circles, there were a few halting attempts to harness the raucous sounds of secular rock 'n' roll into the service of the evangelical church. One of the earliest of these efforts was the evangelistic approach of Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship worker John Ankerburg in Chicago who in 1968 began using a three-piece psychedelic blues band named the Exkursions to attract attention for meetings at the University of Illinois Circle Campus. The band featured a young Pentecostal convert, guitarist Mike Johnson, who had previously worked in local bars with Chicago blues legend, Mike Bloomfield. After playing at a number of other Chicago-area campuses, the Exkursions linked up with young English evangelist John Guest for a summertime coffee house effort in Virginia Beach. The 'campaign' was successful as evangelist and band toured several dozen campuses in the eastern half of the United States during 1969 and 1970.¹¹ Playing a mix of mostly secular songs and self-penned tunes with a spiritual thrust, Johnson recalls "we would come into town for a week doing 'teaser' concerts [followed by] one last big bash at the end of the project" which would precede Guest's speaking engagement. Johnson remembers that "no one had seen anything like

this and we broke down the stereotype views of Christianity, and played, and presented Jesus to thousands".¹² Guest and the Exkursions stayed together for over two years, including stints in Fort Lauderdale during its chaotic 'Spring Break' season, and at a youth coffeehouse associated with the 1969 Billy Graham New York City Crusade.¹³ While Guest and the Exkursions would go their separate way at the end of 1970, it was clear that their extended ministry under the auspices of InterVarsity was ample evidence--coupled with the popularity of 'youth musicals' within many ordinary congregations--that allowances for music that catered specifically for more youthful audiences were beginning to be made within the evangelical community.

The New 'Jesus Music' and the Southern California Jesus People Scene

While these developments reflected the changes that were slowly beginning to occur in the musical outlook within some elements of grass-roots evangelicalism, the Jesus People movement itself was unabashedly embracing musical styles popular within the wider youth culture. The emergence of this reality, like many of the features of the movement, was first readily apparent in the burgeoning Jesus People 'scene' of Southern California (see Chapter 4).

The first major venue for a more upbeat style of Christian music aimed at youth in the Los Angeles area was Hollywood Presbyterian Church's Salt Company 'nightclub'. Youth Pastor Don Williams' ideas about outreach to youth that had resulted in the creation of the Salt Company in 1968 had largely been shaped by his personal realisations about the role of music in the younger generation (see Chapter 4). As a result, music was the centre point of the Salt Company's weekend programmes. While its initial musical thrust was in a more folk-oriented 'hootenanny' style, through its in-house "Salt Company" group and singer/guitarist Mike Barlow, the Salt Company quickly began to take a more counterculture-friendly turn as solo artists such as Dennis

Agajanian and converted hippie runaway Verne Bullock (known simply as “Verne”) became more involved with the weekly performances.¹⁴

The Salt Company expanded its programme in mid-1969 by sponsoring occasional concerts in Hollywood Presbyterian’s main sanctuary. “The sanctuary seated 2,000”, Don Williams later recalled, “[they] jammed the place out Kids would be lined up waiting to get in two hours before we opened up the doors”.¹⁵ Later that year, the Salt Company was joined as a major sponsor of Jesus Music concerts by the first of what would become a regular series of ‘Jesus Concerts’ at the Hollywood Paladium sponsored by Duane Pederson, publisher of the newly-created *Hollywood Free Paper*. With Pederson as emcee and evangelist, the Paladium concerts highlighted not only musical talent from the Salt Company, but what was a growing body of Jesus Music artists from throughout Southern California--singers like Larry Norman and Randy Stonehill, and groups like the Dove Sounds, Agape, Harvest Flight, Morning Star, and Ron Salsbury and the J.C. Power Outlet. These concerts proved popular among both the countercultural Jesus People and church youth and were later successfully held elsewhere in the state.¹⁶ While the Paladium concerts and the Salt Company continued as a fixture on the Southern California Jesus people scene for the next few years, they were surpassed in terms of their impact by musical developments several miles to the south in suburban Orange County.

The Role of Calvary Chapel in the Emerging Jesus People Music Scene

The growing outreach to hippies at Chuck Smith’s Calvary Chapel in Costa Mesa would prove to have a profound effect upon the shaping of what came to be identified as Jesus Music. Strangely, there seemed to be no initial attempt upon Smith’s part to utilize the musical predilections of his newly-targeted hippie audience. John Higgins, one of the original overseers of Calvary Chapel’s House of Miracles

communal living discipleship programme (see Chapter 4), recalled that at first the music at Calvary Chapel was straight “out of the hymn books and it wasn’t something that made you just leave and go into another world”. In fact, Higgins found the music “rather boring” and admitted that he “came late sometimes just to avoid the music”.¹⁷ But within the communal “Jesus houses” something very different was taking place. “We sang every day,” Higgins recalled, “people were making up new songs all the time. Some would even write lyrics to things like Coca-Cola commercials”.¹⁸ According to Higgins, by about June 1968 the first guitars had begun to show up at Calvary Chapel and eventually some of these communal house-grown efforts were incorporated into the services, adding an ever-growing contemporary flavour to the musical tone.¹⁹ As Smith’s outreach among the hippies grew, so did the upbeat music within Calvary Chapel’s worship--along with a growing stable of countercultural converts eager to use their musical talents “for the Lord”.

Among those attracted by word-of-mouth to Calvary Chapel were the five drug-using members of a metaphysically-tinged, down-on-its-luck, rock band named “Love Song”. Its leader, Chuck Girard, had been a member of two Southern California rock groups in the early 1960s ‘surf and hot rods’ genre--the Hondells and the Castelles--which had scored a few minor hits in the early 1960s with songs like “Little Honda”.²⁰ Intrigued by the psychedelic revolution and the counterculture, Girard became an LSD-using admirer of Buddhism and moved musically into the realm of acid rock. Linking up with Jay Truax, bass player for the group “Spirit of Creation” in 1967, Girard put together Love Song, a band that dabbled in weighty philosophical material fed by an interest in eastern religions supplemented with intense Bible-reading.²¹ But the group



Figure 1: *Hollywood Free Paper* publisher Duane Pederson (right) emcees a ‘Jesus Music’ concert at the Hollywood Paladium, ca. 1970. In the background, left, is entertainer Pat Boone (photo courtesy of David Di Sabatino)

found no answers--and little success. Truax recalled: “We went into bars and everything. We had some songs about Jesus and about other things”. However, the good-time patrons of these establishments often were less than impressed by the band: “We’d get kicked out . . . no one could even relate to us at that point”.²²

The band was living together in a Pasadena commune in 1969 when bandmember Fred Fields met a Campus Crusade for Christ worker on the beach and was converted. Hearing about the “great things” that were happening over at Calvary Chapel and the hippie preacher Lonnie Frisbee, Field pestered his bandmates into attending one of the evening services. While the speaker that night was the ‘straight’ Chuck Smith, the band was greatly impressed with his relaxed, informal talk and, in Chuck Girard’s words “the cozy and warm atmosphere”. Within several weeks, all of the bandmembers had undergone conversion experiences and by early 1970 all were in regular attendance at Calvary Chapel.²³

Encouraged by Lonnie Frisbee, the band came to see Chuck Smith one Wednesday afternoon about a month after they had been baptized and told him they had written some new songs they would like to play for him. Agreeing to hear them, Smith accompanied the band to the parking lot where they brought out their guitars and played several songs including the gentle ballad, “Think About What Jesus Said”:

*Think about what Jesus said,
Before you let your mind reject him,
Listen to your heart instead,
And you will accept Him.*²⁴

Smith broke down in tears, telling the band, in the memory of lead guitarist Tommy Coomes, he had “‘been praying for something like this for a year’”.²⁵ That night the soft rock, country-tinged sound of Love Song became part of the regular Wednesday evening Bible study and from that point forward bands played an increasingly central role in Calvary Chapel’s ministry--and its growth. An outpouring of musical expression flowed from among the ranks of youth within Calvary Chapel’s orbit. Converted rock ‘n’ roll musicians joined with musically-inclined church youth, creating a host of acts and bands that filled up worship services and Bible studies. Love Song shared the bill with groups like Children of the Day, Good News, Gentle Faith, Selah, Blessed Hope, Mustard Seed Faith, The Way, Country Faith, and singers like Debby Kerner, Ernie Rettino and Kenn Gulliksen.²⁶

By early 1970, Smith and Frisbee had decided that special concerts were the next logical step in their outreach to young people. Frisbee recalled that at the time “music was the center of our culture, everybody was going to concerts. Sponsoring Christian concerts seemed to be the right way to share the faith”.²⁷ On a Friday evening in the spring of 1970, Calvary Chapel rented the auditorium at Milliken High School in Long Beach for the first of what would become a multi-year run of near-weekly

concerts.²⁸ The initial shows were a stunning success. One concert at Long Beach's Woodrow Wilson High School filled its 1,700-seat auditorium and packed another 1,000 into the school gymnasium as five bands on the programme shuttled back and forth between the gym and the auditorium all evening. While the concerts went on inside, a local newspaper reported that an estimated 2,000 more teenagers unable to fit inside had milled outside the school.²⁹ But sheer attendance was a distant second goal to the concerts' main evangelistic purpose--at the end of one Love Song performance, it was estimated that 600 young people came forward at the invitation to 'accept Christ'.³⁰ Soon, the concerts were switched to Saturday nights and were moved to the giant circus tent Calvary Chapel had purchased to contain the numbers that had caused them to outgrow their 'new' two year-old, 300-seat sanctuary (See Chapter 4).³¹

Musically, the 'Calvary Chapel sound' that had emerged was all over the map: folk, light pop, soft rock, country.³² Altogether much of it was seen as a new type of music which came to be simply dubbed 'Praise Music'. This latter style was an amalgamation of simple scripture songs and choruses that derived much of their inspiration from the 'Singing in the Spirit' phenomenon associated with the Pentecostal and charismatic movement and were aimed primarily at creating a corporate worship experience rather than being a stand-alone performance piece. A description of the 'Singing in the Spirit' phenomenon among a group of Pentecostals was captured by author John Sherrill in his 1964 Book, *They Speak With Other Tongues*:

As the music continued, several people at the tables began to sing 'in the Spirit.' Soon, the whole room was singing a complicated harmony-without-score, created spontaneously. It was eerie but extraordinarily beautiful. The song leader was no longer trying to direct the music, but let the melodies create themselves: without prompting, one quarter of the room would suddenly start to sing very loudly while the other subsided. Harmonies and counter-harmonies wove in and out of each other.³³

Love Song member Tom Coomes remembered that the simple intuitiveness of the music he heard at Calvary Chapel had been an essential part of what had impressed him on his first visit. "I knew each line even before it was sung", he recalled. "I wasn't used to simple music like this, but it blew me away! It was a music which drew people into the Lord's presence!"³⁴ While not unique to Calvary Chapel, the Costa Mesa church was certainly the centre and driving engine for the emerging 'Praise' genre. Songs like Coomes' "Holy, Holy, Holy", Karen Lafferty's "Seek Ye First", and Marsha Stevens' "For Those Tears I Died" became a staple at Calvary Chapel and moved out with the church's armada of touring musical talent and with the many non-Calvary Chapel youth who attended the Saturday night concerts and mid-week Bible studies.

Stunned at the impact which music had made in Calvary Chapel's ministry, Chuck Smith wondered if somehow the effect could be 'bottled' in the recording process. Very early in 1971 he took \$2,500 from his own pocket and arranged to record an album featuring the best of the Calvary Chapel talent--Love Song, "Debby" (Kerner), Children of the Day, Country Faith and three other groups. The resultant album, *The Everlastin' Living Jesus Music Concert*, was an adequately-engineered studio album that was sold at the Saturday night concerts, by the artists themselves at their respective 'gigs', and by mail-order. Like almost everything else Calvary Chapel had set its hands to, this idea turned to gold. Thousands of copies of the album were sold, leading Smith to found Maranatha! Music later that year. Over the next decade Maranatha! recorded nearly forty albums by their artists. As a result, Calvary Chapel became the major purveyor of 'Praise Music', and created a distinct, Calvary Chapel-brand of Jesus Music that influenced Jesus People around the nation.³⁵

Regional Developments in the Early Jesus Music Scene

The early 1970s marked a general flowering of 'Jesus Music' wherever the Jesus People movement had sprung up in response to the complex dynamics between the counterculture, popular culture and evangelicalism. Every local node of the movement upon the national Jesus People 'landscape' seemed to have its own band(s) and musical artist(s) that served as something of an unofficial representative and drawing card to both the believing and non-believing community-at-large. In the Pacific Northwest, a region where the movement had made a strong presence known through the work of Carl Parks and Linda Meissner's Jesus Peoples' Army in Seattle and Spokane (See Chapter 5), the rock band Wilson McKinley became the regional champions of Jesus Music. A secular rock band that was formed in 1967, Wilson McKinley included three members with evangelical family backgrounds. Gradually convicted of the excesses of the rock lifestyle, the band moved in a more spiritual direction in 1969 but it was not until mid-1970, when the band came into contact with Parks, that they were "baptized in the Spirit" and committed themselves full-time to "playing for the Lord". For the next three years, the band was a staple of Jesus People events in Washington state and Oregon.³⁶

The role of Wilson McKinley in the Pacific Northwest was not unique by any means; other areas had their own prominent Jesus Music 'stars'. In the Northeast, Danny Taylor forged a regional following out of upstate New York's Love Inn community and Mike Johnson, formerly of the Exkursions, was a frequent headliner in and around Boston.³⁷ In Cincinnati, the major figure was Randy Matthews, a student at Cincinnati Bible College and son of Monty Matthews, one of the founding members of Elvis Presley's back-up group, the Jordanaires.³⁸ In the Atlanta area, the prominent Jesus Music balladeer was a young singer/guitarist named Pat Terry from Smyrna,

Georgia.³⁹ The bands Hope of Glory and Liberation Suite were the major purveyors of Jesus Music in Texas.⁴⁰ In the Midwest region several bands played important roles. Hope was a talented, hard-core hippie band from western Wisconsin who were converted en masse and played throughout the Midwest in the early '70s.⁴¹ From Indianapolis came a band that simply called itself "e".⁴² Further to the north, Milwaukee's Sheep, part of Jim Palosaari's Jesus People group, was the dominant musical voice in that area until their departure for an evangelistic tour in Europe in 1972.⁴³ When part of Palosaari's group became Chicago's Jesus People U.S.A. (JPUSA), its new Resurrection Band (later, simply "Rez Band") led by blues guitarist Glenn Kaiser became the dominant musical expression of the Jesus movement in the Windy City.⁴⁴

A hotbed of the new Jesus Music (perhaps an unlikely one) proved to be the city of Fort Wayne in the middle of rural northeastern Indiana. Centred in the Adam's Apple coffeehouse begun by Assemblies of God pastor's son John Lloyd, a number of Jesus Music acts emerged from 'the Apple' in the early 1970s. One of these groups was Petra (a play on the Greek word for 'rock') which, under the lead of guitarist Bob Hartman, fashioned a particularly 'heavy' rock sound reminiscent of secular groups like the James Gang and the Allman Brothers.⁴⁵ In contrast to Petra's hard rock sound were the soft ballads of one of the few major female figures in the genre's early years, Nancy "Honeytree" (a literal translation of her German surname, Hennigbaum). Equipped only with her acoustic guitar and voice, Honeytree moved from handling the secretarial work at the Adam's Apple to singing on its weekend programmes.⁴⁶ By that time in late 1971, the Adam's Apple was a major Midwestern anchor for an extensive network of local fellowships, churches, coffeehouses and Jesus People 'nightclubs' that made



Figure 2: “Honeytree”, Jesus People songstress from Ft Wayne, Indiana, ca. 1974 (photo taken from *CCM* magazine).

for a vaudeville-like circuit for Jesus People musical artists. The regional flowering of ‘Jesus Music’ was increasingly providing the foundation for a national ‘Jesus Music’ scene.

The Giants of Early Jesus Music: Love Song and Larry Norman

As the ‘Jesus Music’ scene began to take hold, its two most influential artists proved to be Calvary Chapel’s band Love Song and the Los Angeles-based singer Larry Norman. In terms of musical style and attitude, the two had almost nothing in common except an unapologetic desire to place Jesus up-front in their songs’ contents and in their stage presentations. Nonetheless, both Love Song and Norman would be enormously popular within the movement and would wield a great deal of influence on their musical peers and disciples.

As a group of veteran rock ‘n’ roll musicians before their conversion to Christianity, Love Song, and its leader Chuck Girard, had a clear leg up on most of the other musical talent at Calvary Chapel as a polished unit. For that reason, they stood out from the beginning and quickly became the centre attraction of the Calvary Chapel musical stable. As such they were in great demand for concerts at coffeehouses, in high



Figure 3: The Indianapolis-based band ‘e’ ca. 1971 (photo courtesy of Ron Rendleman).

schools and in churches throughout the West Coast. “We didn’t know we could say no”, Girard recalled in a 1998 interview. “If the phone rang with an invitation to play somewhere we felt it must be God. We would sometimes play 2-3 times a DAY in those days. We would just get in our vans and take off, we never knew what we were getting paid, or how big the crowd would be, it was just an opportunity to preach the gospel”.⁴⁷

Soon, the group’s popularity, combined with publicity about the Jesus People movement, began to attract attention from major secular record labels such as Columbia and Warner Brothers.⁴⁸ The group opted, however, to record their own album in late 1971 under the “Good News” label and signed a distributing deal with United Artists. The first album, released in early 1972 was titled simply, *Love Song*.⁴⁹ The album was a compilation of tunes that the band had been working on since they first came to Calvary Chapel, and were well-known fare in their concert appearances. “Little Country Church” for example, was a song about Calvary Chapel itself; however, it had

a wider resonance with anyone who had come into contact with the Jesus People movement:

*Little Country Church on the edge of town
Doo-do-do-dn-do-do-do...
Preacher isn't talkin' 'bout religion no more,
He just wants to praise the Lord...
And it's very plain to see,
It's not the way it used to be...
Long hair, short hair, some coats and ties,
People finally comin' around,
Lookin' past the hair and straight into the eyes,
People finally comin' around.⁵⁰*

Another popular song from the album, "Front Seat, Back Seat" addressed the problem of the young believer's refusal to put God in control of one's life:

*I was sittin' in the front seat
Tryin' really hard to be the driver
Thinkin' I was makin' real good time
But always windin' up the late arriver
But now I been tryin' out the back seat
And I find it is a very great relief
Now I'm ridin' in the back seat
And I'm leavin' all the drivin' to the Chief.⁵¹*

Probably the most popular ballad on the album, was the simple tune "A Love Song", which asked the hearer to listen simply to their hearts as they reflected upon the group's overall message of forgiveness and salvation:

*Lend an ear to a love song,
Ooohhh, a love song,
Let it take you, let it sta---rrrrt,
What can you hear in a love song?
If you can feel it,
Then you're feelin' from the hea--arr-tt.⁵²*

The album did very well, and not just in California: one independent national sub-distributor reported that at one point he shipped 20,000 copies of the album in just two weeks.⁵³ To the group's astonishment, "A Love Song" received extensive airplay in the Philippines and became the number one song in Manila in the fall of 1972, prompting a



Figure 4: Calvary Chapel's leading band, Love Song, ca. 1971. L to r : Chuck Girard, Jay Truax, Fred Field, John Mehler, Tommy Coomes (photo courtesy of David Di Sabatino).

quick trip to the Orient to play five sold-out concerts/revival meetings in the capital city's baseball stadium.⁵⁴

While Love Song never had close to that kind of secular 'chart action' in the United States, one estimate puts the sales of its debut album at 250,000 copies.⁵⁵ Whatever the exact numbers, the impact of their first album was profound, particularly for many of the young church teens who were identifying with the Jesus People in 1972 and 1973. Competently-produced, professional-sounding, and unapologetic in its devotional and evangelistic message, *Love Song*'s mellow ballads and country-tinged pop songs served as both good listening-fare for young Jesus People while also providing a model for would-be Jesus musicians and bands across the United States. Moreover, its sound was not so aggressively rock 'n' roll as to alienate many pastors, youth group leaders, and parents who were open to the idea of the 'Jesus Revolution'.

Indeed, it may not be an exaggeration to argue that *Love Song* might have played a role within the Jesus People movement similar to that which the Beatles' *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* played within the larger ranks of the counterculture.⁵⁶ In survey results compiled in 2004 from former Jesus People, *Love Song* was overwhelmingly cited as the single "most influential" Jesus Music album by nearly a four to one margin over its next closest competitors (see Appendix A).⁵⁷

While *Love Song* epitomized the quiet, melodic side of the developing genre of Jesus Music, the oeuvre of Larry Norman was the embodiment of its raucous, rock 'n' roll, edge. A quixotic, elfin figure with shoulder-length blonde hair, Norman was too religious for the secular rock world, and too moody and unpredictable for many would-be evangelical fans. Nonetheless, he stood out as a unique talent amid his Jesus Music peers. The ups and downs of his early career serve as a good vantage point from which to understand the evolution of Jesus Music and its relationship to the larger music industry of the late '60s and early '70s.

Born in Corpus Christi, Texas, of Oklahoman parents in 1947 and raised in a conservative Southern Baptist home in the San Francisco area, Larry Norman dropped out of college to join the San Jose-based band, People, in 1966. While he considered himself a believer, Norman's Christian faith did not seize hold of him until a visit to a Pentecostal church sometime in 1967 brought forth what he described as the "fullness in the Holy Spirit".⁵⁸ Meanwhile, People experienced moderate success in the Bay Area at the same time as bands like the Grateful Dead and the Jefferson Airplane were the centre of the Haight-Ashbury psychedelic scene. The group signed a record contract with L.A.-based Capitol Records late in 1967 and their second single release, "I Love You (But the Words Won't Come)" with Norman sharing the lead vocals, rose to number 14 on the national charts in April 1968.⁵⁹ Their first album, featuring the

Norman-penned tune “We Need a Whole Lot More of Jesus, And a Lot Less Rock n’ Roll”, was released later that spring.⁶⁰ However, the moody Norman, squabbling with record company executives and bandmates (some of whom he later claimed were dabbling in Scientology), quit People the day the album was released.⁶¹

During the next eighteen months Norman lived in Los Angeles, working on new music and becoming an increasingly-visible component of the emergent Jesus movement through his popular performances at Hollywood Presbyterian’s Salt Company and the *Hollywood Free Paper*’s Paladium concerts.⁶² In 1969 he signed another contract with Capitol, the result being *Upon This Rock*, an imaginative album with an unmistakably rock n’ roll sound, Beatlesque harmonies, clever lyrics, and good production values.⁶³ Within the context of the period, it certainly had a great commercial appeal. The problem was it was also unapologetically Christian in a market where ‘religious’ music was still something of a commercial taboo (see chapter 5). And it was not that the religious content could be hidden--Jesus and God were all over the album. Typical was the song “Sweet, Sweet Song of Salvation”:

*Sing that sweet, sweet song of salvation,
And let the laughter fill the air;
Sing that sweet, sweet song of salvation,
And tell the people, everywhere;
Sing that sweet, sweet song of salvation,
In every land, and every nation;
Sing that sweet, sweet song of salvation,
And let the world know that Jesus cares.
Lissstennnn, Satan....⁶⁴*

Other songs were obvious in their religious imagery and message. “Moses in the Wilderness” was a light-hearted novelty song about the Exodus story; “Forget Your Hexagram” condemned the growing fascination with astrology and the occult. One song on the album, “I Wish We’d All Been Ready”, would become Norman’s ‘signature’ song and quickly spread through Jesus People circles and into church youth

group networks. A heartfelt ballad about the Second Coming, “I Wish We’d All Been Ready”, was a glimpse into the dispensationalist vision of the horrors and heartbreak for those left behind after the ‘Rapture’:

*A man and wife asleep in bed,
She hears a noise and turns her head,
He’s gone; I wish we’d all been ready.
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.⁶⁵*

Capitol released *Upon This Rock* in December 1969 and, not quite knowing what to do with it, quickly sold the album rights in 1970 to Heartwarming/Impact Records, a Nashville-based company which specialised in Southern gospel music.⁶⁶ Impact had visions of reaching a younger audience and had just released an album by folksinger Gene Cotton,⁶⁷ but the persona of Larry Norman was something for which they were unprepared. The company had no coherent plan for marketing an album of unabashed gospel rock ‘n’ roll and simply listing the album in their catalogue or sending out sample copies to their normal clientele (as they might do with a Southern gospel group like the Florida Boys) might even have been counterproductive. For many conservative bookstore owners one look at the album cover with its picture of a shirtless Norman in a Superman-like flying pose, his long blonde hair streaming behind him, and the case was closed. When all was said and done, *Upon This Rock* sold few copies and Norman was left without a record label.⁶⁸

Back in Los Angeles, Norman continued to be in major demand in the local Jesus People scene, appearing at coffeehouses and rallies and taking up the pen for his own opinion column (“As I See It”) in the *Hollywood Free Paper*.⁶⁹ Buoyed by a loan of \$3,000 from born-again entertainer Pat Boone, Norman and his friend Randy

Stonehill had after-midnight access to a recording studio through Boone's influence and worked on putting together Norman's albums *Street Level* (released in two versions, 1970 and 1971) and *Bootleg* (a two-record set of music and interviews, 1972), along with Stonehill's first album, *Born Twice* (1971).⁷⁰ The albums were sold mostly at concerts and mail-order, and none of the albums probably sold more than 30,000 copies.⁷¹ While Norman's record sales were less-than-spectacular, favourable reviews, his mention in the July 1971 *Time* cover story on the Jesus movement, and his subsequent interview on a national CBS TV news programme segment on the Jesus People, prompted the record industry to give him another look.⁷²

In early 1972 Norman was signed by MGM's Verve label to a contract and went to England to record an album. There, with input from the Beatles' legendary producer George Martin, he recorded an album that has been considered by many Christian Contemporary Music critics and insiders, the best Christian rock album ever recorded: *Only Visiting This Planet*. The opening song, "Why Don't You Look Into Jesus?" set the tone with a pronounced rock setting and a graphic, 'in-your-face' announcement of Norman's advocacy of Jesus as an answer to the sordid underbelly of life in the counterculture:

*Gonorrhea on Valentine's Day (V.D.),
And you're still lookin' for the perfect lay
You think rock n' roll will set you free,
But honey, you'll be dead before you're 33;
Shootin' junk 'til you're half-insane,
A broken needle in your purple vein,
Why don't you look into Jesus, He got the answer*⁷³

The album went on to use a wide variety of musical settings to address a number of themes and issues from a distinctly counterculturally-tinged, evangelical perspective.

"Six O' Clock News" was a swipe at the Vietnam War and the surrealistic media coverage of the "living room war". "The Great American Novel" criticized everything



Figure 5: Singer Larry Norman, ca. 1970 (photo courtesy of David Di Sabatino).

from American racism, to hypocrisy in the churches, to the enormous amounts of money expended upon the space programme.

Perhaps *Only Visiting This Planet*'s defining moment, however, was Norman's high-energy, 1950s-style rock 'n' roll anthem, "Why Should the Devil Have All the Good Music?" In this number, Norman addressed questions over the suitability of 'Jesus Rock' with a ringing affirmation that, given the historical moment, it was an appropriate form of Christian expression, and that for the church, questions over its legitimacy belonged firmly in the category of 'adiaphora--things indifferent':⁷⁴

*I want the people to know, that He saved my soul,
But I still like to listen to the radio.
They say rock n' roll is bad,
We'll give ya one more chance,
I say I feel so good, I gotta get up and dance
....
I ain't knockin' the hymns,
Just give me a song that has a beat;
I ain't knockin' the hymns,*

*Just give me a song that moves my feet...
 I don't want none of them funeral marches--
 I ain't dead, yet!*

*I feel good every day, I don't wanna lose it;
 All that I'm really tryin' to say is:
 Why should the Devil have all the good music?
 I've been saved, I feel O.K.!
 Jesus is the Rock, and He rolled my blues away!*⁷⁵

While enthusiastically received by those fans who did encounter the album, Verve, like Capitol and Impact before them, did a poor job of promoting and marketing the album. As a result, *Only Visiting This Planet* did very little in the way of sales, probably selling no more than 30,000 copies in its first year of release.⁷⁶ Nonetheless, it set a high mark for album quality and, along with the appearance of Love Song's debut album, proved to be an encouraging sign to musicians and fans alike of the potential of 'Jesus Music'.

Growth of a 'Jesus Music' Industry

By the early 1973 release of *Only Visiting This Planet*, it was clear that Jesus Music had begun to establish itself as a separate genre of music apart from both secular rock 'n' roll and the sanctified world of 'sacred' music. In addition to the simple reality of growing numbers of grassroots Jesus People singers and bands, this development was aided by an influx of converted performers with established connections to the music industry. At the same time a modest, but expanding, recording and distribution network was coming into existence that delivered the music to its growing 'fan base' despite the scepticism of secular music executives and the approbation of some evangelical leaders.

One dimension of the expanding genre of Jesus Music was the growing visibility of established rock musicians who were identifying themselves, and their music, with the Jesus movement. Some of these musicians had prior ties to evangelical religion and sought to bring their pop music aspirations into line with their religious

sympathies. More often, however, it was a matter of a conversion experience which compelled them to use their musical talent for Jesus. Whatever the source of their connections, the infusion of these talented professionals expanded the musical resources and industry connections open to the realm of Jesus Music, added to its musical credibility among both secular and Christian young people, and raised the level of expectations in terms of the genre's future and overall quality. Among these figures were Jeremy Spencer⁷⁷ of the rock group Fleetwood Mac (although his involvement with the reclusive Children of God soon removed him from the public eye), Southern gospel rocker Mylon LeFevre,⁷⁸ and guitarist Glenn Schwartz of the Pacific Gas & Electric Company whose Schwartz-penned song "Are You Ready (To Sit By His Throne)?" became a hit in the summer of 1971.⁷⁹

Three imports from the world of secular music who proved of particular importance to the development of the genre were Noel Paul Stookey, Barry McGuire and Phil Keaggy. Stookey, the "Paul" of the famous folk trio Peter, Paul, and Mary, underwent a conversion experience after talking backstage with an evangelical believer after a 1968 concert.⁸⁰ His new religious inclinations immediately began to show up in his music. One song which gave voice to Stookey's Christian beliefs became a solo hit in 1971, "The Wedding Song (There is Love)":

*He is now to be among you, at the calling of your hearts,
Rest assured, this Troubador, is acting out His part;
Well, the union of your spirits here, has caused Him to remain,
For wherever two, or more of you, are gathered in His name,
There is love, there is love....⁸¹*

As the 1970s progressed, Stookey associated with Billy Ray Hearn's Sparrow Records, turning out a series of albums that combined his winsome insights into childhood and family life with his religious sentiments and convictions.⁸²

Stookey's friend, folk-singer Barry McGuire, also joined the ranks of the Jesus movement. An original member of the New Christy Minstrels, McGuire helped write and sang lead on, their early '60s hit "Green, Green".⁸³ After leaving the group he posted a number one hit in the fall of 1965 with the anthem of Cold War angst, "Eve of Destruction",⁸⁴ and then for a while was the male lead in the Broadway production of *Hair*. After bottoming out on drugs back in Los Angeles, he picked up a copy of the American Bible Society's modern translation of the New Testament, *Good News For Modern Man*, at a friend's house which eventually led to his early 1971 conversion. Linking up with the Sanger, California-based Agape Force fellowship, McGuire for a while turned his back on music. However, living in the midst of the Los Angeles Jesus Music scene, he was soon playing his new Christian songs at worship services and coffeehouses. His 1973 album *Seeds* and the 1974 *Lighten Up* became classics of the early Jesus Music genre.⁸⁵

Ohio native Phil Keaggy was not quite as well known as either Stookey or McGuire, but was destined to play an ultimately much larger role in the on-going annals of Jesus Rock and its offspring, Contemporary Christian Music. Keaggy was the lead guitarist for Glass Harp, a 'power trio' which attained a large regional following in the Midwest and served as a frequent opening act for major touring groups. Keaggy became a born-again Christian in 1970 and although his two bandmates, Dan Pecchio and John Sferra, did not share his religious enthusiasm, they let him freely indulge his predilections in the group's music. The band cut three albums for the Decca label between 1970 and 1972 featuring such Keaggy-penned tunes as "David and Goliath", "It Makes Me Glad", "The Answer", and a rocked-up version of the old spiritual, "Do Lord".⁸⁶ After Glass Harp disbanded in late 1972, Keaggy moved to Freeport, NY, and became something of an artist-in-residence at Scott Ross' Love Inn. While at Love Inn

he recorded his first Jesus Music album, *What a Day* (1973).⁸⁷ Keaggy soon forged links with other Jesus rockers, including Love Song--staying with and touring with them in 1974--and the 2nd Chapter of Acts and A Band Called David with whom he toured extensively in the mid-'70s and recorded--what is now considered by enthusiasts--a classic 3-disc live album, *How the West Was One* (1977).⁸⁸

With the addition of these established rock musicians to the likes of popular movement acts like Love Song and Larry Norman, it became increasingly clear that Jesus Music was something more than just an internal worship resource or Saturday night coffeehouse fodder. It was tapping into a major industry which depended upon mass media and capital-driven manufacturing and distribution.⁸⁹ Moreover, it reflected a dimension of popular culture where both the music's creators and its consumers carried expectations that this new Jesus Music should be readily available and accessible just like the rock n' roll of the larger, secular youth culture--i.e. in the form of records and tapes, and with radio station airplay. In light of the evangelistic imperatives of the Jesus People, the development of these support structures seemed all the more justifiable and necessary. But mere desire or desirability did not translate into the economic wherewithal to bring this about. It was clear the 'worldly' entertainment and recording industries and secular radio stations offered little in the way of encouragement--particularly for the altruistic purposes of evangelism. But there was another possibility. For the sake of the higher calling of evangelising the nation's youth, there were 'straight' evangelicals who would be willing to overcome their hesitancy about the beat of the young people's music to provide the economic backing necessary to ensure the creation and flow of Jesus Music to its growing--and potential--constituency.

As of the late 1960s, the ‘evangelical recording industry’ was but a pale reflection of the larger secular recording industry. Within a market that produced over \$1.3 billion in sales in 1967, the largest evangelical record company--Word Records--mounted sales well under \$10 million, a lightweight in comparison to the huge numbers of even one of the major secular companies such as Columbia Records.⁹⁰ One of the central reasons for this situation was the fact that the evangelical record companies severely limited themselves in their mode of operation--‘sacred’ and ‘gospel’ records were sold through religious bookstores, by mail-order through advertisements in religious magazines, and by the artists themselves as they toured and performed. Rarely could one find an album from an evangelical record company in a record store or in the record bins at the five-and-dime, drug or department stores.⁹¹

But this situation began to improve by the late 1960s. Triggered by the availability of extra dollars among a prospering evangelical population, there was a related growth of the evangelical publishing and bookselling industries during this period. More importantly, for evangelical record companies, this also meant the addition of crucial new outlets for the sale of their product just as a maturing music-listening, record-buying Baby Boom population arrived within evangelical circles.⁹²

One of the first entities to attempt to cater for this youth audience in evangelical circles was Creative Sound, Inc., a Los Angeles-based company formed in 1966 by Bob Cotterell, a member of Bel-Air Presbyterian Church in his late twenties who had been a salesman for Sacred Records, Inc. Cotterell’s new enterprise provided manufacturing and packaging assistance as well as distribution resources. As a result, Creative Sound’s early catalogues featured both albums from evangelical labels like Word and Benson, as well as self-produced albums from traditional evangelical singers and younger acts in the folk singing, “Up With People” vein.⁹³

As the Jesus People Movement came into being, Cotterell was enthusiastic about both its impact upon young people and the new music he heard from its ranks. He actively sought to include as much of the Jesus Music as he could lay his hands upon for Creative Sound. With no other viable option, the company quickly became a relatively inexpensive choice of first resort for Jesus Music artists. Thus it was that Larry Norman used Creative Sound's manufacturing and distributing network to market his homegrown "One Way Records". Cotterell also pressed and circulated albums by such California Jesus People grandees as Arthur Blessitt and Duane Pederson, signed a deal to sub-distribute Love Song, and also offered Chuck Smith's Calvary Chapel Maranatha! Music acts in his catalogue. It was Creative Sounds that manufactured and distributed 175,000 copies of the EXPLO '72 concert soundtrack for Campus Crusade for Christ. Jesus Music artists from outside Southern California, such as Paul Clark from Kansas and Mike Johnson, formerly of the Exkursions, also found their way to Creative Sound and its connections to over 700 Christian bookstores across the country that were bold enough to carry the new sounds.⁹⁴ In 1972 Cotterell began a mail-order record club that offered its diverse offerings for sale through advertisements in magazines like *Campus Life*, accounting for about 20% of the firm's sales.⁹⁵

While Creative Sound was a first step toward getting Jesus Music into the hands of its existing audience, its marketing strategy offered little hope of either establishing a major market presence or, much more importantly, providing the initial investment necessary to produce and record albums that were up to industry standards in terms of production values, arrangements and the provision of quality back-up musicians and vocalists. It was here that the cash-poor Jesus Music artists were at a major disadvantage relative to their secular rock counterparts. Even as early as 1964--at the dawn of 'Beatlemania' in America-- the average production cost for a new record

album from a mainstream record label was in the neighbourhood of \$15,000.⁹⁶ With the subsequent advancements in multi-track recording technology and the growing move toward 'art' within rock music in the mid-sixties, the price of production exploded. By the early '70s it was not unusual for leading rock artists to spend hundreds of thousands of dollars in turning out a record, with the average album coming in at around \$40,000.⁹⁷ The early 'budgets' behind Jesus Music on the other hand--such as Chuck Smith's \$2,500 investment in *The Everlastin' Lovin' Jesus People Concert*, the \$1,800 spent on Phil Keaggy's first solo album *What a Day*, or the bargain-basement rate (and sound) of \$800 for which Randy Stonehill made his *Born Twice* album--were miniscule in comparison.⁹⁸

But in the early '70s developments unfolded which moved Jesus Music closer to the mainstream business of popular music. The true transformation of the Jesus Music 'scene' would come through the establishment of a relationship to Waco, Texas-based Word Records. Founded in 1953 by a recent graduate of Baylor University named Jarrell McCracken, Word Records became the nation's largest religious record company during the 1960s on the basis of a measured, cautious openness to more contemporary music forms. Although convinced the music was but a passing fad, McCracken had a nose for a quick payoff and bought the recording and distribution rights for the upbeat youth musicals *Good News* (1968), *Tell It Like It Is* (1970) and *Natural High* (1971). To oversee this new dimension of his business McCracken hired the former Southern Baptist youth choir director, Billy Ray Hearn.⁹⁹

In 1970 Hearn received a telephone call from young Randy Matthews of Cincinnati's Jesus House. "He told me", Hearn recalled, "that the music we were doing really wasn't connecting with the kids on the street".¹⁰⁰ Sensing that Matthews was right, Hearn auditioned and subsequently signed him to a contract. Released in late

1970, *I Wish We'd All Been Ready* featured Matthews' title version of Larry Norman's song, but the album, though contemporary within its context, was a tame affair that mixed in folk hymns and cuts from the new folk musicals such as *Natural High's* "Just to Think of the Cross". While the album did not sell particularly well, the company survived the experiment and Hearn was emboldened to sign other acts from within the Jesus movement for Myrrh, a new label aimed at young people.¹⁰¹

With production budgets in the \$10,000-\$15,000 range, Hearn tagged Matthews as the label's first release with his *All I Am Is What You See*, followed by albums by Crimson Bridge (a group of Chicago-area evangelical youth whose brass-dominated sound was akin to the then-popular secular group, Blood, Sweat & Tears), and First Gear, a band made up of former members of the Thurlow Spurr troupe.¹⁰² By the beginning of 1973, Hearn had tapped deeply into Jesus Music circles, adding Barry McGuire, Honeytree and Malcolm (Wild) & Alwyn (Wall), an English duo that sounded like an evangelical cross between the Beatles and Simon & Garfunkel. Their three albums, *Seeds*, *Honeytree*, and *Fool's Wisdom*, respectively, along with Randy Matthews' third--and first forthright rock--album, *Son of Dust*, chalked up respectable sales in the vicinity of 40,000-50,000 albums each.¹⁰³

While the results from these records confirmed Myrrh's course, what proved to be its first major Jesus Music coup was not released until early 1974--the 2nd Chapter of Acts' debut album, * *With Footnotes*.¹⁰⁴ 2nd Chapter had its roots in the thick of the Southern California Jesus Movement. The trio, Annie Herring and her younger sister and brother Nellie and Matthew Ward were members of Jack Hayford's Church Along the Way (International Church of the FourSquare Gospel), the church of Pat Boone and youth musical impresarios Jimmy and Carol Owens. Ensemble singers for some of Owens' musicals, they had also sung backup on records for Larry Norman and Barry

McGuire.¹⁰⁵ Hearn first heard the group sing at the Salt Company in early 1973 and “almost fell out of [his] chair”, immediately offering them a contract. Herring’s husband and the group’s manager, Buck Herring, however, had visions of an MGM contract and turned the offer down. But within several months the group, unsuccessful in their bid for a contract with the secular label, came back to Hearn and signed with Myrrh in the fall of 1973.¹⁰⁶

One tune in particular, “Easter Song”--which the group’s songwriter, Annie Herring had been tempted to discard--caught Hearn’s ear and he built a promotional campaign and single just around that song. Released in early 1974, “Easter Song” received some radio airplay on secular stations and with its soaring vocals and traditional message seemed to melt the resolve of many evangelicals who were otherwise anti-Jesus Music:¹⁰⁷

*Hear the bells ringing, they’re singing
That we can be born again.
Hear the bells ringing, they’re singing
Christ is risen from the dead.
The angel up on the tombstone
Says “He is risen, just as He said;
Quickly, now--go tell His disciples
That Jesus Christ is no longer dead!”
Joy to the World! He’s Risen!
Alleluia....¹⁰⁸*

Recalled Hearn in 1989: “[everybody] loved that song, loved that sound, it was so fresh.

And even with the drums and guitars it still ministered to everybody, and they couldn’t deny it”.¹⁰⁹ Within the world of ‘sacred music,’ where the sales of a gospel quartet or traditional singer that topped the 75,000 mark was considered a major hit, * *With Footnotes* was a ‘smash’. By the end of 1974 it had sold 65,000 copies, and would eventually go on to sell 250,000-300,000 albums and tapes.¹¹⁰ The sale of this album, and the continued respectable sales in the 40,000-50,000 range in 1974 for follow-up



Figure 6: The sibling act, the 2nd Chapter of Acts; l to r: Matthew Ward, Annie Herring, Nelly Ward, ca. 1974 (photo taken from *CCM* magazine).

releases by Myrrh artists like Matthews, McGuire, and newly-signed artists such as Honeytree, Petra and Michael Omartian, signalled that a solid market existed for selling Jesus Music to evangelical young people.¹¹¹

Overall, the Myrrh experiment seemed to be paying off. In 1974 sales of Jesus Music accounted for 12% of Word's total revenue of \$14.5 million.¹¹² It also seemed to make corporate America a believer--of sorts. In late 1974 the media conglomerate ABC purchased Word from McCracken for ABC stock valued at \$12.6 million. Recognising its lack of expertise in dealing with an evangelical audience, ABC left Word management intact and maintained a 'hands-off' relationship to the company.¹¹³ However, ABC's deep pockets and media strength seemed to promise a more secure base and held out a glimmering possibility which had for the most part previously eluded Jesus Music: major media exposure.

The Growth of Jesus Music on the Airwaves

The mechanism which created pop superstars and filled record companies' coffers in the mainstream music industry was the constant exposure of artists' music on the nation's radio stations. The bulk of record company marketing was devoted to courting the favour of programme directors and disc jockeys in the (slim) hope that a

particular song might be selected and added to a station's 'rotation'. Here was one of the major differences between the world of secular popular music and Jesus Music--the latter genre's almost total lack of access to radio airplay.

Many secular rock stations were either prejudiced against Jesus Music or, in light of the passing of the spate of 'religious' songs from the national charts by 1973, prone to view it as a fad whose time had come and gone. Evangelical-owned and-operated stations on the other hand, were seldom more open to the music. The majority of such stations either depended upon their listeners for direct financial support in lieu of commercial announcements, or sold large blocks of time to evangelistic and teaching ministries. In fact, most evangelical radio stations reached only a small percentage of evangelical listeners, usually a large number of conservative, elderly people who in turn supplied the bulk of the stations' financial support. Not surprisingly, neither many of the listeners nor station management had much use for Jesus Music.¹¹⁴ However, as the 1970s progressed, the growth of the Jesus Movement and the expanded sales of Jesus Music were reflected in a slowly-growing window of radio airplay.

One of the first programmes to provide exposure to the music of the Jesus movement was *PowerLine*, a half-hour weekly syndicated programme sponsored by the Radio Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention. Begun in the late 1960s, *PowerLine* mixed friendly, low-pressure counsel and offers for free literature with rock songs that explored philosophical or moral questions. Frequently carried on Sunday mornings or late nights on hundreds of secular rock stations, the bulk of its selected music was chosen from singles and albums on the secular charts; however, it did provide airings for artists like Larry Norman, Randy Matthews and Barry McGuire.¹¹⁵

While *PowerLine* provided some airplay, other local and syndicated efforts had more direct connections to the Jesus Movement itself and devoted their time almost

totally to the new music. As early as 1968 a disc jockey named Scott Campbell had begun a programme on KARI in Blaine, Washington, which featured the most contemporary-sounding Christian music he could find. A similar programme was *A Joyful Noise* which began on WLCY in St Petersburg, Florida, in 1970. The personal project of disc jockey Paul Baker, the programme was soon taped and syndicated on several stations in cities such as Nashville, Indianapolis, Richmond and Denver. Following Explo '72, Baker was invited to Dallas where he began broadcasting a nightly show of Jesus Music on KDTX, in addition to his weekly syndicated programme.¹¹⁶

Similar syndicated programmes cropped up elsewhere around the country-- *Jesus--Solid Rock*, based in Carbondale, Illinois; and *The Rock That Never Rolls* in Vermont.¹¹⁷ The single most influential of these programmes, however, was *The Scott Ross Show*, which originated out of the Love Inn Community in Freeville, New York. Ross had originally come to that area of upstate New York in late 1968 to manage a string of five FM radio stations for Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network, but quickly became the focal point for an evangelistic outreach to youth that developed into a commune (see Chapter 4). Drawn to a vision for a show that would combine rock music with Christian-oriented talk and interviews, Ross convinced Robertson to let him begin a three-hour nightly show in early 1970 on a syndicated 'network' of sixteen stations. Combining mainstream rock by secular artists such as Eric Clapton, Paul Simon, Roberta Flack and Stevie Wonder with Jesus Music from artists like Larry Norman, The Way, Andrae Crouch and 'e', Ross' show interspersed songs and promotional jingles ("Thisssss is the Scott Ross Showwww") in between sermonettes on various topics and prayer requests mailed and phoned in from around the United



Figure 7: Scott Ross cues up a record at his upstate New York studio, ca. early '70s (photo from Scott Ross Cultural Archives website).

States.¹¹⁸ Eventually, volunteer counsellors manned “Love Lines” in dozens of cities to pray with, evangelise and advise listeners in response to Ross’ urgings:

You may have some personal hassles in your home, you may need a job, you might be pregnant, all sorts of those things--and those people are there to answer telephones to help you They’re not going to try to beat you in the head with a Bible or jam Jesus down your throat, they’re just gonna help you in any way they can.¹¹⁹

For anyone willing to call in and request one, Ross would send them a free copy of *Good News for Modern Man*, the American Bible Society’s modern paraphrase of the New Testament.¹²⁰ The impact of Ross’ broadcasts and the exposure to Jesus Music often produced profound results. Looking back in 2002, Roger McGlaughlin recalled that he “...was not interested in formalized religion” and was turned off by his Methodist Church, finding it “dull and uninteresting”. But then he began to listen to Scott Ross:

The show absolutely revolutionized my life. It opened my eyes to who Jesus was instead of him just being a religious figure . . . I sat on my sofa and wept as I heard Jesus Music for the first time . . . Second Chapter and the rest blew me away with their freshness and being real. 30 minutes a day with Scott has had an ongoing impact upon my life.¹²¹

Overall, Ross' formula must have proved highly successful with a number of people. By the fall of 1972 Ross' programme aired on eighty radio stations, and by 1974 was carried on over 150 stations.¹²²

The success of syndicated programmes like the *Scott Ross Show* eventually led the owners and management of a few radio stations to consider the plunge into an all-Jesus Music approach. In early March 1975 KBHL-FM in Lincoln, Nebraska, became the first station to implement an all-Jesus Music format. "The Sound of the New Life", managed by evangelicals but owned by a commercial entity, operated like almost any other pop station selling commercial time to businesses in the community, distributing bumper stickers, giving away T-shirts and record albums, and sponsoring concerts--in this case by Jesus Music artists such as the 2nd Chapter of Acts.¹²³ A few weeks later, a second all-Jesus Music station debuted, KYMS-FM, fittingly located in the Orange County heartland of the Jesus Movement in Santa Ana, California. The "Spirit of 106" was closely identified with nearby Calvary Chapel and occasionally broadcast the now-traditional Saturday night concerts. Its success prompted the station's parent company to institute an all-Jesus Music format at its station KBRN-AM in Brighton, Colorado (near Denver).¹²⁴ Later that year, KFMK-FM in Houston, Texas, part of the Crawford Broadcasting Company, implemented a format combining 'middle-of-the-road' secular pop tunes with Jesus Music.¹²⁵ While the new Jesus Music format stations hardly constituted a major sea-change in the American radio industry, in tandem with syndicated programmes like *The Joyful Noise* and *The Scott Ross Show*, their appearance meant that 'Jesus Music' was steadily gaining entrée to larger audiences across the country.

1975: Jesus Music in Transition

The small but growing presence of Jesus Music on the nation's airwaves during 1975 was but one of the signs that the genre had secured a solid footing. For those involved in Jesus Music, the year was pivotal, marking a new self-consciousness pointing to both an increased sense of professional unity and a growing identification with mainstream evangelical musicians in 'music ministry'. In April 1975 a meeting in Ft Wayne, Indiana, led to the formation of the Fellowship of Contemporary Christian Ministries (FCCM). The charter group of twenty members included not only several Jesus musicians, but youth ministers, concert promoters, record company marketing representatives, broadcasters, the purveyor of an evangelistic light show and even a "Christian magician". Publishing its own newsletter, FCCM sponsored a three-day retreat in 1976 and by 1978 had grown to include over 300 members.¹²⁶

On a much more elaborate scale, 1975 also saw the beginning of a series of annual summertime retreats for Christian 'artists' at a camp in the Rocky Mountain resort community of Estes Park, Colorado. Organised by Cam Floria, the meeting included a range of musicians with Larry Norman and Chuck Girard representing Jesus Music along with participants from the realms of traditional 'sacred' music, the newer contemporary evangelical music, and black and Southern gospel music. Eight hundred attended this first "Christian Artists' Seminar" which in years to come would include workshops on everything from church worship to getting started in the music business, as well as talent competitions with prize money and recording contracts.¹²⁷

Another major development whose time had come by 1975 was the proliferation of 'Jesus Festivals' dotting the landscape. Providing big venues for Christian acts, these multi-day events resembled, on a smaller scale, the major outdoor concerts which dominated the secular rock scene. The first 'Jesus Festival' had been held in

Evansville, Indiana, in March 1970 and attracted 6,000 people to hear Pat Boone, Larry Norman, Danny Taylor, Gene Cotton and “e”.¹²⁸ A repeat the following year brought a reported crowd of 15,000.¹²⁹ In the next few years EXPLO ‘72 (see Chapter 6) and festivals in California and central Pennsylvania kept up the tradition and by 1975 the nation was covered with Jesus festivals.¹³⁰ In addition to “Jesus ‘75” in Pennsylvania and Knotts Berry Farms’ “Maranatha!/Calvary Chapel Nights” at its southern California amusement park, there was “Salt ‘75” in Howell, Michigan; “Fishnet ‘75” in Front Royal, Virginia; “Jesus ‘75 Midwest” in St Louis; the “Sonshine Festival” in Ohio; “Lodestone” in Vancouver, British Columbia; the “Hill Country Faith Festival” in east Texas; and, the “Jesus Festival of Joy” at the Joyland Amusement Park in Wichita, Kansas. Each event attracted several thousand participants who endured the ravages of sun, rain, mud and mosquitoes amid hours and days of music and preaching.¹³¹ The festivals turned out to be an important source for group solidarity and a way for Jesus People to support their favourite artists. Survey results of 800+ former movement participants indicated that 57% of respondents had attended one or more of these events during their involvement with the Jesus People.¹³²

While festivals provided fans with an opportunity to hear new acts and old favourites, the publication of a new magazine, *Harmony*, encouraged both fans and aspiring musicians to keep abreast by print of the latest doings in the world of Jesus Music. Published in Buffalo, New York, the first bi-monthly issue appeared in May 1975, offering record reviews, articles and interviews with Jesus rockers, and information on concert schedules and ‘industry news’.¹³³ Although *Harmony* would cease publication in 1977 (it would be replaced by the more solidly-underwritten monthly *Contemporary Christian Music* in 1979), its short existence reflected the new



Figure 8: The Adam's Apple coffeehouse in Ft Wayne, Indiana, played host to a special series of concerts in conjunction with an FCCM meeting, ca. 1976 (flyer courtesy of Mark Hollingsworth).

realities of the music and its audience.¹³⁴ Coupled with attempts to foster professional interaction and association among Jesus Music artists and to encourage and cultivate up-and-coming 'music ministry', the publication of a magazine devoted to Jesus Music was just part of what had become by 1975 an increasingly self-conscious and professionalized segment of the larger music industry.

Conclusion

By 1976, Jesus Music had come far from its humble beginnings. What had originally thrived as a natural outgrowth of countercultural music within communes and coffeehouses had become a firmly-established subgenre of popular American music.

First arising amid the Southern California Jesus People scene and mightily-influenced by the music emerging from Calvary Chapel, Jesus Music groups and artists sprang up across the United States and created a national Jesus Music scene.

Even as a grass-roots coffeehouse circuit emerged and thrived, the Jesus People 'market' increasingly began to mirror the world of the secular entertainment industry. Prospects for the singers and groups making the rounds had grown to include more than the next rally or prayer meeting--concerts, rock festivals, record contracts, radio airplay, and yes, even a kind of stardom, had become part of the mix. In the process, a tangible innocence disappeared and with it, a quality of rapport and intimacy between the musicians and their audiences.

The evolving nature of the 'Christian music business' meant change for all of the musicians who had emerged from within the Jesus movement. Love Song broke up in 1974, with its leader Chuck Girard embarking on a solo career and two other members joining recently-converted rock star Richie Furay's (ex-Buffalo Springfield, ex-Poco) new band.¹³⁵ Following another poor-selling--but critically acclaimed album--on MGM in 1973 (*So Long Ago the Garden*),¹³⁶ Larry Norman attracted enough start-up capital from various backers and signed a deal with Myrrh to distribute albums on his own Solid Rock label. With the decent production budgets and improved distribution to Christian bookstores which Word could guarantee, his 1976 album, *In Another Land*, would sell over 150,000 copies and his friend Randy Stonehill's album *Welcome to Paradise* would sell over 120,000 copies.¹³⁷ Other artists--including Randy Matthews, Honeytree and Barry McGuire--whose folky musical styles had fitted in well with the countercultural ethos of the coffeehouse and small concert venues, would see their influence beginning to wane during 1976 and 1977 as new, more pop-sounding 'stars' like the 2nd Chapter of Acts, Keith Green and "Evie" Tornquist emerged.¹³⁸ By

that time, Jesus Music had blazed the path for a changing evangelical youth culture for which its descendant, 'Contemporary Christian Music', would be the cement.

Endnotes

1. Hiley H. Ward, *The Far-Out Saints of the Jesus Communes: A Firsthand Report and Interpretation of the Jesus People Movement* (New York: Association Press, 1972), p. 26.
2. "The New Rebel Cry: Jesus Is Coming!", *Time*, 57(21 June 1971), p. 61.
3. The best available summary of Carmichael's career is his thorough and detail-filled autobiography, *He's Everything to Me* (Waco, TX: Word, 1986). Carmichael was the composer of the 1966 hit song "Born Free", and was the arranger for Nat King Cole's classic 1960 re-recording of "The Christmas Song (Chestnuts Roasting on an Open Fire)".
4. For example, see Wendell P. Loveless, "Records for a Musical Christmas", *Christian Life* (December 1951), p.65.
5. "The Restless Ones", Worldwide Pictures, 1965. Ironically, Carmichael's score was originally too 'with it' for the tastes of those in charge of Worldwide Pictures, but due to budget constraints the score was retained for the film (Thomas E. Bergler, "I Found My Thrill: Youth for Christ and American Congregational Singing, 1940-1970," in Richard J. Mouw and Mark A. Noll, eds., *Wonderful Words of Life: Hymns in American Protestant History and Theology* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004], p. 126).
6. Paul Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music: Where It Came From, What It Is, Where It's Going* (Westchester, IL: Crossway Books, 1985), pp. 11-12.
7. The first major appearance of specifically youth-oriented music within the organized American church was probably the 'folk masses' of young Roman Catholic composer Ray Repp, whose 1964 *Mass For Young Americans* became the first of many 'guitar masses' which would proliferate in the nation's Catholic parishes in the wake of Vatican II in the 1960s and 1970s. See Ray Repp, *Mass For Young Americans*, F.E.L. Records, FEL-22, 1966. See also Ray Repp, *Allelu*, F.E.L. Records, FEL-32, 1966; and, Ray Repp, *Come Alive*, F.E.L. Records, FEL-72, 1967.
8. Taped telephone interview with Billy Ray Hearn, 9 February 2005; Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, pp. 14-15. *Good News*, Word Records, 1968. Many of the recordings cited in this chapter from the early days of "Jesus Music" are exceedingly rare and can be found only through contacts with individual fans and collectors. For researchers there is, thankfully, an excellent collection of Jesus Music and Contemporary Christian Music (ca. 1969-1988) in the Frank Edmondson Contemporary Christian Music Collection at the Benjamin P. Browne Library of Judson College in Elgin, Illinois. Whenever copies of recordings mentioned in the text or in notes are contained in the Edmonson Collection, I will include the call number in brackets in the citation--*Good News* is [RE-0713]. For those interested in a comprehensive guide to the body of either Jesus Music or 'CCM' there are two self-published volumes which are indispensable guides. Claude Crain, *Gospel Rox* (Springfield, MO: Claude Crain, 1995) is an exhaustive list of singles, albums, tapes and cds of almost any musician or group of the last 35-40 years that has any connection to CCM. Ken Scott and Bob Felberg, *Archivist: Vintage Vinyl Jesus Music, 1965-1980* (Columbus, OH: Ken Scott, 1995), is a less detailed guide for collectors of Jesus Music on 33-1/3 rpm records, but provides annotated comments on each album, often with important information about the musicians as well as pictures of many album covers.
9. William David Romanowski, "Rock 'n' Religion: A Socio-Cultural Analysis of the Contemporary Christian Music Industry" (Ph.D.: Bowling Green State University, 1990), pp. 129-130. Hearn interview; Carmichael, *He's Everything to Me*, pp. 144-149. For an example of contemporary comment see Nina M. Ball, "Musicals Come to Church", *Christian Life* (November 1971), p. 46.
10. Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, pp. 15-16.

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- 11 Mike Johnson, unpublished autobiographical ms., ca. 200?, in possession of author, pp. 56-62; Interview with Mike Johnson, Nashville, TN, 9 July 2002.
 - 12 Johnson, unpublished ms., p. 61.
 - 13 Johnson, unpublished ms., pp. 62-67, 75-76; Johnson interview. The Exkursions' role in the 1969 New York City Billy Graham Crusade 'coffeehouse' is noted as the "young Christian musicians" who testified to their "recent rescue from drugs and 'digging the sex scene'" in William Martin, *A Prophet With Honor: The Billy Graham Story* (NY: Wm. Morrow and Company, 1991), p. 376. The Exkursions' eponymous album was released in 1972 (no label, 811-G-2984, [RE-0576]).
 - 14 Interview with Don Williams, La Jolla, CA, 1 August 2002, Tape 1; Don Williams, *Call to the Streets* (St Paul: Augsburg, 1972), pp. 32-34, 62-63.
 - 15 Don Williams interview, Tape 1.
 16. Interview with Duane Pederson, Lake Los Angeles, CA, 31 July 2002; Betty Price and Everett L. Hullum, Jr., in Walker L. Knight, *Jesus People Come Alive* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House, 1971), p. 40; Ronald M. Enroth, Edward E. Ericson, Jr, and C. Breckinridge Peters, *The Jesus People: Old-Time Religion in the Age of Aquarius*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), p. 83. A live album of one of the Hollywood Paladium events was issued ca. 1971: *Jesus People--Recorded Live at the Hollywood Paladium*, Hollywood Free Paper, CSS-1560; [RE-2068].
 - 17 John Higgins interview with Chuck Fromm, 14 March 2000, Tape 1, transcript, pp. 4-5.
 18. Interview with John Higgins quoted in Chuck Fromm, "New Song to Contemporary Christian Music Entertainment", (M.A.: Fuller Theological Seminary, 1996), p. 67.
 - 19 Higgins interview transcript, p. 4.
 20. Perucci Ferraiuolo, "Love Song: Jesus Music for the '90s", *CCM* (May 1995), p. 83. "Little Honda", penned by Girard's friend, Brian Wilson of the Beach Boys, reached number 9 on the Billboard music charts in late 1964 (Joel Whitburn, *The Billboard Book of Top 40 Hits* [NY: Billboard Books, 4th ed., 1989], p. 206).
 21. Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, pp. 36-37.
 22. Jay Truax quoted in Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, p. 37.
 23. Edward E. Plowman, *The Jesus Movement in America* (Elgin, IL: David C. Cook, 1971), pp. 104-105; Chuck Girard quoted in Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, p. 37.
 - 24 Chuck Girard, "Think About What Jesus Said", 1970, Dunamis Music.
 - 25 Tommy Coomes quoted in Steve Rabey, "Maranatha! Music Comes of Age", *Christianity Today* (29 April 1991), pp. 44-45.
 26. Fromm, "New Song", p. 69.
 27. Lonnie Frisbee quoted in Fromm, "New Song", p. 68.
 28. Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, p. 39.
 29. Betty Price and Everett Hullum, Jr. in Walker L. Knight, compiler, *Jesus People Come Alive*, (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1971), p. 31.
 30. Rabey, "Maranatha! Music", p. 45.

31. Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, p. 39.

32. But one thing it was not was hard rock. Despite his progressive leanings, Chuck Smith saw to it that the 'Calvary Chapel sound' had definite stylistic limits. As he told journalist Ed Plowman in an interview for his 1971 book *The Jesus Movement*, he personally favoured the term "contemporary gospel" to "rock" and was leery of music that "moves the body more than the soul (p. 105)".

33. John Sherrill, *They Speak With Other Tongues* (New York: Pyramid Books, 1964), p. 118. Grant Wacker in his book *Heaven Below* offers some information on this phenomenon among the first generation of American Pentecostals (*Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001], pp. 39-40, 110). From the early days of the Pentecostal movement, it was not unusual for leaders to claim that the Holy Spirit had directly given them melodies and lyrics--sometimes in English and sometimes in glossolalia--which were then sung by a congregation and eventually even published (see Edith L. Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, and American Culture* [Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993], p. 92). Many Jesus People shared this belief that the Holy Spirit would sometimes directly inspire their singing and give them new melodies and words (see Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, p. 202). Likewise, some Jesus musicians believed that their songs were given straight from the Source. For example, Paul Clark on his album *Songs From the Savior* (Creative Sound, CSS-1568, 1972 [RE-0338]) includes the note "I personally want to thank the Lord for these songs that He has given to me so freely". I can recall an album (ca. 1974) by a band named Crossroads which came out of the Koinonia Christian Fellowship in Grayslake, Illinois, which credited all the songs on the album to the Holy Spirit.

34. Tommy Coomes quoted in Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, p. 40.

35. *The Everlastin' Living Jesus Music Concert*, Maranatha! Records, 1971; Rabey, "Maranatha! Music," p. 45.

36. Scott and Felberg, *Archivist: Vintage Vinyl Jesus Music*, n.p.; Plowman, *The Jesus Movement*, pp. 106-107.

37. See for example, Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, pp. 56, 83, 92; Johnson, unpublished mss., pp. 81-89.

38. Moses Chase, "Dill Pickle Blues", *Campus Life* (June/July 1974), pp. 43-45; Steve Rabey, "Rewind: Randy Matthews: Unplugged, But Still Rockin'", *CCM* (May 1997), p. 100; Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, pp. 57-59.

39. Devlin Donaldson, "Rewind: Pat Terry: Evolution of a Songwriter", *CCM* (July 1997), p. 54; Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, p. 39.

40 See Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, pp. 87, 104 and the entries "Hope of Glory" (pp. 422-423) and "Liberation Suite" (pp. 528-529) in Mark Allan Powell, *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002).

41 Hope was good enough to be signed by the secular label A&M Records in 1972. According to David Di Sabatino, the band served as the opening act for Alice Cooper during that same year (David Di Sabatino, *The Jesus People Movement; An Annotated Bibliography and General Resource* [Lake Forest, CA: Jester Media, 2nd edition, 2004], p. 153). Mark Allan Powell in the entry for Hope in his *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music*, claims that Hope was sabotaged by "a typical double whammy affecting Christian groups signed to secular labels" in that the records were never distributed to Christian bookstores where Jesus People would be more likely to encounter them, while being poorly promoted in other outlets because of its spiritual content. Powell states that some sources claimed the album was released directly to 'bargain basement' cut-out status (p. 422).

42. Philip Yancey, "A Year in the Life of 'E' (sic)", *Eternity* (May 1972), pp. 22-25; Devlin Donaldson, "Rewind: Greg X. Volz", *CCM* (August 1996), p. 60. Apparently only one recorded "e" song has been

preserved (Crain, *Gospel Rox*, p. 87) on an album featuring cuts from various artists entitled *Because I Am* (Clear Light, CL 2-101, 1973 [RE-2008]).

43. Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, p. 128. Because of Palosaari's Finnish heritage, the group was received as conquering hippie heroes on their visit to that land (DiSabatino, "History of the Jesus Movement", p. 44). According to DiSabatino, the Sheep's first album, *Jeesus Roch* was recorded in Finland with some Finnish lyrics in 1973 ("History of the Jesus Movement", p. 89, n. 34). More accessible is their 1973 British album *Sheep* (Myrrh Gold, M1000 [RE-1617]).

44. "Rez Band" in Steve Rabey, *The Heart of Rock And Roll* (Old Tappan, NJ: Fleming H. Revell, 1986), pp. 22-31. For a more recent look at the band, see Steve Rabey, "A Long Strange Trip: Resurrection Band, A Cornerstone in Christian Rock, Celebrates Its Silver Anniversary", *CCM* (October 1997), pp. 46-48.

45. Interview with Bob Hartman, Franklin, TN, 10 July 2002; Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, pp. 68, 76. For a look at Petra's later career, see "Petra", in Rabey, *The Heart of Rock and Roll*, pp. 80-89, and Lucas W. Hendrickson, "The Beat Goes On", *CCM* (April 1997), pp. 20-27; "Petra", in Powell, *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music* (pp. 692-699).

46. Devlin Donaldson, "Nancy Honeytree: The Life of a Pioneer", *CCM* (October 1997), p. 56; Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, pp. 68-69; "Honeytree", in Powell, *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music* (pp. 421-422).

47 Interview with Chuck Girard, July 1998, p.2., on One Way Jesus Music website: <http://www.one-way.org/jesusmusic/interviews/girard/girard.htm>.

48 Ferraiuolo, "Love Song", p. 83.

49 *Love Song*, Good News Records, 1972.

50 Chuck Girard and Fred Field, "Little Country Church", Dunamis Music, 1971.

51 Tom Coomes and Chuck Girard, "Front Seat, Back Seat", Dunamis Music, 1971.

52 Chuck Girard, "A Love Song", Dunamis Music, 1972.

53 Taped telephone interview with Bob Cotterell, 18 February 2005.

54 Chuck Girard, "Chuck Shares About the Songs--A Love Song", on the One-Way.org website: <http://one-way.org/lovesong/chuksong.htm>.

55 S.v. "Love Song" in Powell, *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music*, p. 545.

56 Ibid., see pp. 543-547.

57 Larry Eskridge, "Jesus People Survey Tabulations and Comments (May 2004)," p. 15. In May 2004 I compiled the results of the survey, a statistical breakdown of 812 completed responses. As part of the survey we asked respondents to name the "most influential" or "favorites" in five categories, including "Most Influential Jesus Music Album". A fair percentage of our respondents chose not to answer these questions or simply remarked "too many to list" or something similar as their response. Others listed several bands or artists, and sometimes listed them alphabetically. I decided to accept up to the three first responses for these questions and kept a running tab of who and what garnered votes. When all was said and done, I believe this approach, while not ironclad by any means, nonetheless gave us a fairly clear indication of the albums that were broadly influential within the Jesus People movement. The album *Love Song* received a total of 152 mentions, compared to the two albums that tied for second place, *The Everlastin' Living Jesus Music Concert* (Maranatha # 1) and *Only Visiting This Planet* by Larry Norman, both of which received 41 mentions. These albums were followed by Norman's *Upon This Rock* (27

mentions), 2nd Chapter of Acts' *...*With Footnotes* (22 mentions) and Keith Green's *No Compromise* (19 mentions). See Appendix A.

58. E-mail from Larry Norman to author, 6 June 2005; Tim Stafford, "Stranger In a Strange Land", *Campus Life* (March 1977), pp. 44-48; 122-126; "Didn't You Used To Be Larry Norman?", *Campus Life* (April 1977), pp. 30-33, 72-80; "Larry Norman", in Powell, *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music*, pp. 632-641).

59. Philip Yancey, "The Norman Sound", *Campus Life* (August/September 1971), p. 60; Plowman, *The Jesus Movement*, p. 108.

60. People, *I Love You*, Capitol Records, ST-2924, 1968.

61. Yancey, "The Norman Sound", p. 60.

62. Don Williams interview; Duane Pederson interview; Enroth, Ericson, and Peters, *The Jesus People*, p. 80.

63. Larry Norman, *Upon This Rock*, Capitol Records, ST-446, 1969; Impact Records, HWS-3121, 1970.

64. "Sweet, Sweet Song of Salvation", by Larry Norman. J.C. Love Publishing, 1969.

65. "I Wish We'd All Been Ready", by Larry Norman. J.C. Love Publishing, 1969.

66. Larry Norman interview cited in Romanowski, "Rock 'n' Religion", pp. 115-116.

67. Gene Cotton, *Power to Be*, Impact Records, HWS-1984, 1969 [RE-0379]; Gene Cotton interview, Leiper's Fork, TN, 11 July 2002.

68. Larry Norman interview cited in Romanowski, "Rock 'n' Religion", p. 116.

69. For an example, see Larry Norman, "As I See It", *Hollywood Free Paper*, 3:1(16 March 1971), p. 4.

70. Larry Norman interview cited in Romanowski, "Rock 'n' Religion", pp. 117-118.

71. Larry Norman interview cited in Romanowski, "Rock 'n' Religion", pp. 117-118. The 'guestimate' for sales rings true given the recollections of one of Norman's largest distributors, Bob Cotterell of Creative Sound, Inc (Taped telephone interview with Bob Cotterell, 18 February 2005).

72. Norman is mentioned prominently in the *Time* cover story ("The New Rebel Cry: Jesus is Coming!", 21 June 1971) on pp. 56 and 61. Norman was interviewed at "Faith Festival '71" in Evansville, Indiana by a CBS News crew for the "Roger Mudd Show" (Philip Yancey, "The Norman Sound", *Campus Life*, August/September 1971, pp.60-61). Much of this interview--sounding as if it was taped live off of a television set--can be heard on Norman's album *Bootleg* (One-Way Records, JC-4847, 1972 [RE-1332]).

73. Larry Norman, "Why Don't You Look Into Jesus?", Strawbed Music, 1972.

74. Norman waged a continual apologetic for Christians' use of rock 'n' roll, noting that other innovations in worship music from Luther, Watts, and William Booth had similarly once been met with outrage. Said Norman: "The lesson is clear, or should be. Continually embracing the current musical forms to present the Christian message, religious music has again and again become relevant to a contemporary world that would accuse it of being outdated. Today, the new Christian music (Jesus music, Jesus rock, etc.) is common ground between the religious and secular world. With the advent of the vinyl 45 and the non-stop disc jockey, music has become a second language. It has the power to lead or mislead. Just as it once influenced the use of drugs and campus revolution, it can be (and is being) used to proclaim in a modern tongue a message that is almost 2,000 years old" (Larry Norman, "Is Rock Wrong?", *Campus Life* [December 1976], pp. 38-39). This same article was reprinted and placed inside all the releases from Norman's Solid Rock Productions in the mid and late 1970s.

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- 75 Larry Norman, "Why Should the Devil Have All the Good Music?", Strawbed Music, 1972.
- 76 Larry Norman interview cited in Romanowski, "Rock 'n' Religion", p. 119.
- 77 Jeremy Spencer wandered away from the rest of the band before a concert in Los Angeles in late 1970; they later found him on the street with the Children of God (COG). At that point the COG were not perceived as being a cultic breakaway from the rest of the Jesus People movement so there was a fair amount of coverage given to Spencer's conversion in early materials on the Jesus People (see for example, Michael McFadden, *The Jesus Revolution* [New York: Harrow Books, 1972], pp. 119-123). Spencer remained a part of the COG for decades, recording albums and putting on stage shows. For a later update on some of his doings see Miriam Williams, *Heaven's Harlots* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1998).
78. Mylon LeFevre's family, the Atlanta-based LeFevres, members of the Church of God (Cleveland, TN), had first begun touring and singing in 1921 and by the 1950s were one of the premier Southern Gospel singing families (See James R. Goff, Jr., *Close Harmony: A History of Southern Gospel* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002] pp. 127-130, 227-230). A teen musical prodigy, Mylon's first song "Without Him" was recorded by Elvis Presley and dozens of other artists. In 1969 he broke with the family singing group over his sideburns and desire to move into rock 'n' roll territory with his music. Forming his own group, he was signed to the Cotillion label and in 1970 released his first album, entitled simply *Mylon* (Cotillion Records, SD-9026, 1970 [RE-1290]). A growing addiction to drugs and alcohol passed LeFevre quickly beyond the exclusive orbit of 'gospel rock'. In the late 1970s LeFevre experienced a 'rededication' of his life, forsook drugs and alcohol, formed a new band and went on to become a major force in 1980s CCM as "Mylon LeFevre and Broken Heart" (see "Mylon LeFevre" in Rabey, *The Heart of Rock and Roll* (pp. 12-21), and the entry for "Mylon LeFevre" in Powell, *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music*, pp. 518-522).
79. In the late '60s Cleveland, Ohio native Glenn Schwartz was an up-and-coming 'guitar god' with the James Gang and the Pacific Gas and Electric (PG&E) Company. At some point in 1970 he wandered into Arthur Blessitt's His Place on Sunset Strip; Blessitt helped Schwartz with his drug problems and the young rocker underwent a conversion experience which began to make itself known in PG&E's musical direction (see Plowman, *The Jesus Movement*, p. 97). Schwartz eventually linked up with Ohio-based evangelist and teacher Larry Hill and was the primary moving force behind Hill's group, the All-Saved Freak Band. The act toured the country relentlessly for the better part of the '70s, releasing a few independently-produced and distributed albums such as *My Poor Generation* (Rock the World, 730605, 1973 [RE-0054]). By the early '80s the band, following their leader's increasingly erratic behaviour and heretical teachings, dropped almost entirely from sight. Apparently, Schwartz may have been taken from Hill's group sometime in the late '80s and "deprogrammed" (see Claude Crain, *Gospel Rox*, p. 7). While Schwartz's career path led away from the spotlight, his music was nonetheless well-known within Jesus Music circles and served as a professional reference point for its aspiring guitarists.
- 80 "Peter, Me, and Mary", (Noel Paul Stookey interview), *Campus Life* (May 1972), pp. 52-58; Bob Combs, "Paul Stookey On...", *Campus Life* (June 1972), pp. 44-47, 114, 116; Bob Combs, "Paul Stookey: Dylan Told Him About the Bible", *Campus Life* (June/July 1975), pp. 28-29; Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, pp. 99-100.
- 81 Noel Paul Stookey, "The Wedding Song", Big Ben Music, 1971. The song went as high as number 24 on the Billboard music charts in the fall of 1971 (Whitburn, *Billboard Book*, p. 405).
- 82 See for example, *Real to Reel*, Newworld Records, MWS-090477, 1977; Billy Ray Hearn interview.
- 83 Devlin Donaldson, "Rewind; Barry McGuire", *CCM* (April 1996), p. 55.
- 84 "Eve of Destruction" hit the top of the Billboard music charts in late August 1965 (Whitburn, *Billboard Book*, p. 281).
- 85 Barry McGuire with Bob Combs, "Eve of Destruction", *Campus Life* (October 1974), pp. 44-47, 70-71; Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, pp. 71-73; Donaldson, "Rewind", p. 55.

86 Steve Rabey, "Age to Age", *CCM* (July 1998), p. 19; Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, p. 93; *Glass Harp*, Decca Records, DL-75261, 1971 [RE-0575].

87 Scott Ross with John and Elizabeth Sherrill, *Scott Free* (Old Tappan, NJ: Chosen Books, 1976), pp. 145-146; Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, pp. 93-94. Phil Keaggy, *What a Day*, New Song, NS-001, 1974 [RE-1030].

88 *How the West Was One*, Myrrh Records, MSY-6598, 1977 [RE-0011].

89 For a good analysis of both the cultural and economic forces that have shaped the popular music business in the United States, see Philip H. Ennis, *The Seventh Stream: The Emergence of Rock 'n' Roll in American Popular Music* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1992). For insight into the role of technology in this process, see Andre Millard, *America on Record: A History of Recorded Sound* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

90 Russell A. Sanjek, *American Popular Music and Its Business: The First Four Hundred Years, Volume 3 From 1900 to 1984* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 507; "Religious Disk Gave Publisher a Start", *New York Times* (9 September 1973), p. 26; "Stan Moser: Direction for the '80s", *Contemporary Christian Music* (January 1981), p. W-22.

91 See Romanowski, "Rock 'n' Religion", pp. 106-109. For an example of Word Records' marketing in evangelical periodicals see the ad on the back cover of the August 1968 issue of *Christian Life*.

92 See Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 246-247; see also John P. Ferre, "Searching For the Great Commission: Evangelical Book Publishing Since the 1970s", in Quentin J. Schultze, ed., *American Evangelicals and the Mass Media* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990), pp. 99-116. For general insight into the economic fortunes of evangelicals, see Michael S. Hamilton, "More Money, More Ministry: The Financing of American Evangelicalism", in Larry Eskridge and Mark A. Noll, eds., *More Money, More Ministry: Money and Evangelicals in Recent North American History* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), pp. 104-138.

93 Ad for Creative Sound Records, *Campus Life* (September 1972), p. 13; "Know Your Publishers", *The Bookstore Journal* (October 1971), pp. 56-57; Bob Cotterell interview.

94 Bob Cotterell interview; Ad for Creative Sound, *Campus Life* (September 1972), p. 13.

95 Bob Cotterell interview.

96 Sanjek, *American Popular Music*, Vol. 3, p. 367.

97 Ibid., pp. 367, 585.

98 Rabey, "Maranatha! Music", p. 45; Romanowski, "Rock 'n' Religion", pp. 117, 124.

99 Romanowski, "Rock 'n' Religion", pp. 127-128.

100 Billy Ray Hearn interview.

101 Billy Ray Hearn interview. Randy Matthews, *I Wish We'd All Been Ready*, Word Records, 1971, WST-8547 [RE-1174].

102 Billy Ray Hearn interview. Randy Matthews, *All I Am is What You See*, Myrrh Records, MST-6502, 1972; *Crimson Bridge*, Myrrh Records, MST-6503, 1972 [RE-0383]; *First Gear*, Myrrh Records, MST-6505, 1972 [RE-0605].

103 Billy Ray Hearn interview. Barry McGuire, *Seeds*, Myrrh Records, MST-6519, 1973 [RE-1196]; *Honeytree*, Myrrh Records, MST-6523, 1973 [RE-0899]; Malcolm & Alwyn, *Fool's Wisdom*, Myrrh

Records, MST-6518, 1973 [RE-1136]; Randy Matthews, *Son of Dust*, Myrrh Records, MST-6515, 1973 [RE-1171].

104 2nd Chapter of Acts ... **With Footnotes*, Myrrh Records, MST-6526, 1974 [RE-0009].

105 Devlin Donaldson, "Rewind: 2nd Chapter of Acts", *CCM* (January 1996), p. 65; Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, pp. 70-71.

106 Billy Ray Hearn interview.

107 Billy Ray Hearn interview; Romanowski, "Rock 'n' Religion", pp. 135-136.

108 Annie Herring, "Easter Song", Latter Rain Music and Word Music, Inc., 1974.

109 Billy Ray Hearn quoted in Romanowski, "Rock 'n' Religion", p. 136.

110 Billy Ray Hearn interview; Romanowski, "Rock 'n' Religion", p. 136.

111 Benchmark sales figures cited in Romanowski, "Contemporary Christian Music", in Schultze, ed., *American Evangelicals and the Mass Media*, p. 153. Barry McGuire, *Lighten Up*, Myrrh Records, MST-6531, 1975 [RE-1195]; Honeytree, *The Way I Feel*, Myrrh Records, MST-6530 [RE-0902]; Michael Omartian, *White Horse*, ABC-Dunhill/Myrrh, MSA-6564, 1974 [RE-1354]; *Petra*, Myrrh Records, MST-6527, 1974 [RE-1437].

112 Romanowski, "Rock 'n' Religion", pp. 134-135.

113 Sanjek, *American Popular Music, Volume 3*, p. 561; Billy Ray Hearn interview.

114 Ronald L. Johnstone, "Who Listens to Religious Radio Broadcasts Anymore?", *Journal of Broadcasting* 16:1(Winter 1971-1972), pp. 93, 97-98; Jim Palosaari, "The Christian Radio-Record Connection: Will the Circle be Unbroken?", *Contemporary Christian Music* (May 1981), pp. 42, 46, 48.

115 s.v. "Radio and Television Commission", in *Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists, Volume III, 1971*, p. 1933.

116 Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, pp. 46-48.

117 Ibid., p. 109.

118 Interview with Scott Ross, Virginia Beach, VA, 20 August 2002. Uncatalogued tape recordings--most of them still on the original reel-to-reel tapes are contained in the "Scott Ross Cultural Collection" in Regent University's library, Virginia Beach, VA. For typical examples of the Ross programme from which examples in this paragraph are taken, see SRS#164, Tape ENT 275 (ca. spring 1973); SRS#165, Tape ENT 279 (spring 1973); SRS #201 'C', Tape ENT 376 (ca. Nov./Dec. 1973); SRS# 272 "B", Tape ENT 629 (ca. late 1974/early 1975).

119 "Scott Ross Show", SRS#189 'A', Tape ENT 312 (ca. fall 1973).

120 "Scott Ross Show", Tape 287 F (cassette), side B (ca. August 1975).

121 Survey response by Roger McGlaughlin, West Chester, OH, submitted 23 December 2002.

122 Scott Ross interview; Ross with Sherrill and Sherrill, *Scott Free*, pp. 139, 145-146, 155.

123 Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, p. 90.

124 "KYMS: Flagship of a New Movement", *Contemporary Christian Music* (June 1979), p. 17; Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, pp. 89-90.

125 Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, p. 92. By the end of 1976 several other stations had adapted at least a partial Jesus Music format, including WQLH in San Bernardino, CA; WYFC in Ann Arbor, MI; WINQ in Tampa/St. Petersburg, FL; KBIQ in Seattle, WA; WYCA in Hammond, IN; KSON in San Diego, CA; and, WZZD in Philadelphia, PA (Romanowski, "Rock 'n' Religion", n.62, p. 214).

126 Interview with Sam Smith, Aurora, IL, 23 May 2002; interview with Dave Bunker, East Dundee, IL, 2 July 2002; Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, p. 94. The FCCM would splinter in the late '70s over the growing tensions between 'ministry-oriented' and 'industry-types' within the organization.

127 Ad for first "Christian Artists Music Seminar & Camp", *Christian Life* (April 1975), p. 13.

128 Plowman, *The Jesus Movement*, pp. 110-111; Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, p. 83.

129 Edward E. Plowman, "Shore to Shore Wave of Witness", *Christianity Today* (7 May 1971), p. 34.

130 See for example, "The Great Camp Meeting in 1973", *Christianity Today* (6 July 1973), p. 48; and "Farm Fellowship", *Christianity Today* (30 August 1974), pp. 36-38.

131 See for example, "Jesus '75: The Spirit Lives On," *Christianity Today* (12 September 1975), pp. 54-55; "Kentucky Weekend," *Christianity Today* (23 May 1975), p. 58; Baker, *Contemporary Christian Music*, pp. 86-87.

132 Eskridge, "Jesus People Survey"; see Appendix A.

133 *Harmony* 1:1 (May 1975).

134 Romanowski, "Rock 'n' Religion", pp. 197-198. For a history of *Contemporary Christian Magazine* (now *CCM*) from 1979 through early 1998, see Doug Threaten, "Cover to Cover", *CCM* (April 1998), pp. 48-50.

135 S.v. "Chuck Girard", Powell, *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music*, pp. 362-363; S.v. "Richie Furay," p. 348.

136 Larry Norman, *So Long Ago the Garden*, MGM Records, SE-4942, 1973 [RE-1336].

137 Billy Ray Hearn interview; Romanowski, "Rock 'n' Religion", p. 166.

138 The musical details on the emergence of 'Contemporary Christian Music' from amid the genre of 'Jesus Music' during this period is well-documented via a number of sources. The best academic analysis is Bill Romanowski's 1990 dissertation "Rock 'n' Religion". For an intricate, artist-by-artist account, see Mark Allen Powell's exhaustive *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music*.

Chapter 8

I Wish We'd All Been Ready: The Jesus People Fade From View

While the Jesus People movement had long been out of the national media spotlight, the proliferation of coffeehouses and Jesus People fellowships in the mid-1970s--to say nothing of the expanding presence of Jesus Music and its related festivals and radio airplay--bespoke what seemed to be a thriving Christian youth subculture. Although observers seemed to detect a change in orientation from aggressive evangelism to a focus on spiritual development, the 'Jesus Freaks', if groups like the Shiloh Youth Revival Centers were any indication, appeared to be moving towards stability and permanence. And yet the Jesus People were in the beginnings of a slow fade from view. By the end of the decade, the Jesus People would be little more than a memory on the American cultural and religious scene.

The reasons for this decline were many. Of course, in such a far-flung and decentralized social movement any number of personal and localized circumstances played their part in the disappearance of various Jesus People groups and organizations. Money troubles amid the sickly, inflation-plagued American economy were certainly a more general factor on the practical side of the ledger, and the impact of the wider charismatic world's infamous 'Shepherding Movement' took its spiritual and psychological toll as well. However, the major reasons for the Jesus People's disappearance boiled down to two factors for which they individually or corporately bore little blame--their own maturation and growing up, and a sea change in the national youth culture which had rendered the hippie style with which they were so closely identified, passé. Most of the former Jesus People blended into the woodwork of the churches and organizations that made up the larger evangelical subculture; in that process, most Jesus People organizations simply faded away. Nonetheless, a few of the

larger Jesus People groups were able to adjust to changing times and situations and, finding their own particular niche in the nation's evangelical subculture, carried the movement's torch into the 1980s and beyond.

A Changing and Maturing Movement?

By the early and mid-1970s the Jesus People movement's influence had begun to spread even beyond the North American continent. In Britain, a nascent Jesus movement had begun among pockets of church youth following a visit by the cross-walking Arthur Blessitt in the fall of 1971. A subsequent campaign by the Jesus Family, a group led by former Milwaukee Jesus People leader Jim Palosaari, resulted in a West End musical production (*Lonesome Stone*) during the summer of 1973, as well as what turned out to be the inaugural concerts that became the long-running Greenbelt Christian musical festivals.¹ Meanwhile, in Australia the movement surfaced in John Smith's much-publicised "God Squad" motorcycle gang "outreach" ministry, as well as in various youth ministries that adapted the coffeehouses and "Jesus music" so popular in North America to Australian youth culture.²

However, even as the movement was beginning to spring up overseas, by the mid-1970s it was clear that the Jesus movement in the United States was undergoing changes and that it was no longer quite the exuberant, Jesus-marching, street corner-preaching expression of the flower children-gone-revivalist-Christian it had been just a few years earlier. Still, if anything, the growth of such things as the Jesus Music 'Industry' (see Chapter 7) seemed to betoken a movement that was coming of age. That certainly seemed to be the case when one looked at the growth of a Jesus People organization like the Shiloh Youth Centers.

Through the mid-1970s Shiloh was a remarkable example of the manner in which the Jesus People movement had grown and prospered. What had started out as a

wandering band of fewer than twenty bedraggled Jesus People from Southern California (see Chapter 4) had become one of the largest communal groups to emerge out of the hippie counterculture, much less the Jesus movement. By late 1977 Shiloh had more than 1,000 full-time adult members in and around their headquarters area near Eugene, Oregon, and within its far-flung network of nearly fifty communal houses across the United States.³ Scattered from Dutch Harbor, Alaska, in the Aleutian Islands to Savannah, Georgia, the houses served as bases for evangelization and recruitment as well as sites for businesses that supported the individual houses and the organization. The owner of farms, houses, apartment buildings, an office building and other properties in their headquarters area around Eugene, Shiloh sponsored a number of travelling 'ministry teams', printed a monthly 'journal' and operated a number of businesses ranging from tree planting and beekeeping to an Alaskan crabbing operation. The group even had its own two-engine plane, and operated a medical clinic and credit union. Altogether, Shiloh had a *net* worth of probably more than \$2 million dollars and was running an annual budget of more than \$3 million dollars.⁴ It was indeed, as former Shiloh administrator Joe Peterson described it, "a nearly self-sufficient coast-to-coast empire".⁵

Despite the national success of such a large Jesus People organization as Shiloh, however, the movement was not receiving much recognition outside its own boundaries. In fact, by the mid-70s the general absence of God's Forever Family from the national media spotlight had made it easy for many to lose track of the movement. As early as the fall of 1973, sociologist Ronald M. Enroth, co-author of the briskly-selling book *The Jesus People: Old-Time Religion in the Age of Aquarius*⁶ could ask "Where Have All the Jesus People Gone?" in an article in the evangelical monthly, *Eternity*.

For his part Enroth, surveying the scene on the West Coast where he had done most of his research in the summer of 1971, knew that the Jesus People were still there, but the fact that an article under that title was being published was plain evidence that the movement was now off the public's--even, it would seem, the evangelical public's--mental radar screen. "Although the TV cameras and news reporters have moved on to new assignments", Enroth reassured *Eternity* readers, "the Jesus movement is still alive, and in some places, thriving." He did sense, however, that the Jesus People were less given to "superficial fervor" on the streets and were concentrating on "more committed discipleship" through Bible study and education. Many Jesus People were in evidence in established evangelical churches which had "made a definite, commendable effort to accommodate the young people". Overall, Enroth saw the signs of a movement which was undergoing "healthy growth" and a "more enlightened, balanced maturation".⁷

Enroth's operating question and general observations would be seconded over the following three years by similar articles that appeared in the *International Review of Missions* in April 1974, the evangelical periodical *Christianity Today* in late 1975, and the national newsweekly *U.S. News & World Report* in the spring of 1976.⁸ The author of the article in the *International Review of Missions* noted that the impact of the Jesus People in conservative congregations had not only added "much-needed" warmth to "emotion-starved" evangelical congregations, but was so strong that "the average hair length [had] grown by several inches".⁹ Similarly, the piece in *U.S. News & World Report* emphasized the manner in which the Jesus People were becoming a "potent force in old-line congregations".¹⁰ These comments on church participation by the Jesus People were not just wishful thinking, either. Survey results of former movement members clearly point to the fact that the overwhelming majority of Jesus People were

also involved in traditionally-styled church congregations in addition to their activities as Jesus People.

Table 8.1

“Did you attend a local church during your involvement in the JP movement?”

-Yes:	84.6%
-No:	12.6%
-Not sure:	01.1%
-No Answer:	01.7% ¹¹

The *Christianity Today* article was particularly insightful, coming as it did from Ed Plowman, the pastor who had served as the evangelical mainstream’s unofficial liaison/publicity agent with the Jesus People movement during 1971 and 1972 (see chapter 5). The article examined the evolution of a few of the Jesus People’s more prominent figures, and marvelled at the growth of Chuck Smith’s Calvary Chapel in Costa Mesa, California. Plowman noted that the movement itself had continued to expand after the glory days of 1971, particularly in the Midwest. Overall, however, Plowman had the distinct impression that the ethos of the overall movement had changed from an apocalypse-driven concentration upon evangelism to a quieter emphasis on personal discipleship and learning. Large segments of the movement [had] disappeared behind closed doors...”, Plowman commented. The trend was “away from [the] streets and into books, away from confrontation and toward contemplation....there [was] less emphasis on outreach, more on worship and Bible study”. Plowman nonetheless saw that all these positive developments carried with them a possible trade-off:

Undeniably, the movement has made an impact for good on the lives of many individuals, and a lot of churches are stronger for it. But with all the present-day emphasis on discipleship, community, and church activity in the apparent absence of ...evangelism, the current crop of teenagers might well ask: Whatever happened to the Jesus movement?¹²

Indeed, Plowman was more prescient than he knew at the time. Despite the impressive status of organisations like Shiloh in the mid-'70s and the general spread of the 'Jesus Revolution' and its coffeehouses and fellowships across the country, the Jesus People movement was by the late 1975 appearance of his article actually on its last legs as a distinct religious movement among American evangelical youth. As in the decline of most cultural movements, the factors would be several and complex, an unfortunate mix of local and specific personalities and circumstances interacting with larger cultural and social trends. Bound together within the space of a few years, these various factors would spell the end of the Jesus People.

The 'Shepherding' Movement

If there was anything resembling a wide-spread internal development which contributed to the passing of the Jesus People movement, it was the investment of a number of local Jesus People groups in a phenomenon that greatly impacted the wider world of charismatic and Pentecostal Churches in the 1970s--the Shepherding movement. This movement was the brainchild of a group of charismatic ministers and evangelists--Bob Mumford, Derek Prince, Ern Baxter, Don Basham and Charles Simpson--who had begun a group called "Holy Spirit Teaching Ministries" (later known as the Christian Growth Movement) in 1969 and a magazine (*New Wine*), to flesh out their vision for New Testament Christianity and to 'shepherd' the growing ranks of independent charismatic Christians coming out of the ranks of the Mainline Protestant and Catholic churches.¹³ Based in Ft Lauderdale, Florida (the leaders were also known as the 'Ft Lauderdale Five'), they quickly came to see the ranks of the burgeoning Jesus movement as being in need of their guiding hand.¹⁴

For their part, many Jesus People leaders and their evangelical helpers had seen the need to firm up their shaky theology in the wake of their internal troubles with the

Children of God which, by 1971, had veered off into increasingly questionable doctrine and behaviour and gained a number of converts from other Jesus People groups before a general alarm had been sounded throughout the larger evangelical and Jesus People communities.¹⁵ The Shepherding movement with its emphasis on a prolonged period of study and discipleship coupled with strict lines of authority that made each individual accountable to a 'shepherd' offered an attractive solution. A number of influential Jesus People figures such as Lonnie Frisbee, Oliver Heath, Ray Rempt and Scott Ross were eventually to come under the movement's guidance and dozens of local Jesus People fellowships across North America--whether officially connected or merely influenced by tapes and literature--participated in the Shepherding Movement to one degree or another.¹⁶

While the movement spoke to the Jesus People's desires for a deeper grounding in the Christian faith, 'Shepherding' proved to be, for the most part, a disaster. Reports of authoritarian control and oversight over such matters as personal finances, career and job decisions, courtship, marriage and childbearing were rampant. One couple, which had at one time been connected with Jesus People houses in Tallahassee, Florida, reported how "covering pastors" would "help" married couples select the colour and style of new furniture purchases and even chose names for new babies.¹⁷ Patrick Bowen, a member of another Jesus People fellowship in Florida, noted how he "once was corrected for moving across town without first getting the 'witness' of [his] elders".¹⁸ At the Oak Park Fellowship in Oak Park, Illinois, Arthur Cook reported that his "shepherds" told him what job to take. When his wife objected to the mandated direction she was "told to put up and shut up. Women were basically to be seen and not heard".¹⁹ Brian Carling depicted his experiences with a Ft Lauderdale Five-influenced faction that emerged at Nashville's Jesus People-packed Belmont Church of Christ as

nothing short of “cultic control”, which “humiliated [him] and a lot of others”.²⁰ At one point, Jesus People USA in Chicago (JPUSA), influenced by the Shepherding movement, even instituted public spankings of adult members of the community who were perceived as being out of line.²¹

But it was not only individuals and couples who suffered from the controversy--many Jesus People groups and churches were damaged and, in a few cases, outright destroyed by their participation in the Shepherding movement. Besides JPUSA in Chicago, the long-established Love Inn community in Freeville, New York, was badly shaken by the movement.²² The Belmont Church of Christ, a church heavily-laced with Jesus People, in Nashville, TN, endured a split when a segment of the church leadership pulled out to form the House of Blessing.²³ The Lamb’s Chapel near Charlotte, NC, the Suncoast Fellowship in St Petersburg, FL, and Jacob’s Well in Kitchener, Ontario, meanwhile, eventually disintegrated altogether, largely through all the problems and dissension which Shepherding brought to these Jesus People churches.²⁴

By the beginning of the 1980s the Shepherding movement had been severely stigmatised within evangelical circles, exacerbated by concerns within the larger culture over reports of mind control and abuse by groups like the Children of God, the Unification Church and Jim Jones’ People’s Temple.²⁵ But by this time, it had already wrought havoc on a number of Jesus People churches and groups and had proved to be a significant factor in the demise of the overall Jesus People movement.

The Jesus People: Growing Up

While the Shepherding movement inflicted damage on a segment of the Jesus People, its reach was not deep enough to have derailed the movement by itself. Much more significant were factors that were not spawned within the Jesus movement. One

of these was the basic reality that the Jesus People were simply getting older and were moving into the adult world.

If the Jesus People were showing signs of maturity and getting on with life, they were in plenteous company by the mid-'70s. One of the plain facts was that more and more of the Baby Boom generation were beginning to move past the troubled years of adolescence. 1976 marked a significant demographic milestone: in that year the oldest Baby Boomers turned thirty years of age. The generation which had once mouthed the popular credo "Don't trust anyone over 30", had now--in the words of the famous "Pogo" cartoon strip--"met the enemy and it is us". Millions more of their Postwar Boomer contemporaries were hurtling toward this same realisation, as by that same year a majority of their generational peers had reached that official milestone of legal, American adulthood, 21 years of age.²⁶ Despite the fears of their elders during the height of the late '60s rebellion, the mid-1970s revealed that America's youth had not utterly eschewed the normal rites of adult passage nor completely dropped out of society--not by a long shot. Education, careers, marriage (even despite the growth in cohabitating couples--one sure evidence of the changes wrought by the Sixties) and starting families (while frequently delayed by a few years) were just as much the normal pattern for the Baby Boomers as they had been for previous generations.²⁷

If anything, the Jesus People movement with its imbibing of traditional biblical values of hard work, responsibility and domesticity seemed to have done more than its part in the domestication of the Baby Boom generation, particularly in regard to the salvaging effect upon its 'hard-core' countercultural cohort. The requirements for faithful discipleship did much to propel many individual Jesus People 'back on track' and steadied others as they attempted to cope with the various life choices of late adolescence and early adulthood. As the '70s progressed, the Jesus People experience

proved to be a spiritual staging area for tens of thousands of young Americans who were making their minds up about marriage, schooling and career direction.

One of the most prominent indirect functions of the movement's coffeehouses, communes, communal houses and churches was in the way that they served as something akin to a gigantic Jesus People marriage bureau. Primary sources from the Jesus People are filled with announcements, anecdotal asides and passing references to the matrimonial links being forged among their number and were celebrated as signs of stability and maturity. "Peggy Lee has been with us for two years and is responsible for filling literature orders" the Christian World Liberation Front informed its supporters in a 1974 fundraising letter, "In June, she will marry Gene Burkett" who, the same letter noted, had "come to us recently to be with the Street Theatre".²⁸ Steven Derek Preston, a member of Chicago's Jesus People USA group, concluded his autobiographical testimony of being rescued from drugs, meditation and biker violence by showing how much God had revolutionized his life: "Now I'm married and serving God where He wants me....I've been a Christian for four years now...".²⁹

Early San Francisco Bay area Jesus People leader Kent Philpott (see chapter 3) clearly saw the inclinations toward matrimony in boy-girl relationships among the Jesus People as a sign that young people's lives were being turned around. In late 1970 he noted the progress of two of the residents of his Zion's Inn in San Rafael, CA, in his journal: "Two of our girls will be married soon", he happily noted. "Linda has been here for over thirteen months....And Kathy, with us six months....They are marrying brothers, Ernie and Jimmy Ayala".³⁰ A year later, Philpott's newsletter informed supporters that "there had been ten people fully-involved in our immediate ministry marry, and several more marriages are coming up".³¹ Four years later, the story was much the same within Philpott's communal houses around Marin and Sonoma counties.

He told his supporters only half-jokingly in a monthly newsletter: “You see, we are opening houses and people are getting married. That seems to be the main thing we are doing”.³²

That people in their late adolescent and early adulthood would be developing relationships and getting married is certainly not surprising, especially within a religious movement which touted the virtues of pre-marital chastity in the midst of an otherwise sexually-obsessed society. What was particularly meaningful about it among the Jesus People, however, would be the consequences such developments held for the movement itself. Given the earlier intensity of Jesus People evangelistic efforts and sometimes near-daily rounds of group Bible study and worship, the continual siphoning off of young couples to a more domestic, ‘cocooning’ phase of life carried with it an inevitable change in the maintenance of Jesus People life-as-usual.

This dynamic became particularly problematic for those young married couples who were attempting to carry on within communal living arrangements. The lack of privacy, financial hardships, and the sometimes grating habits and pathologies of one’s house/commune mates would often prove to be a real problem for young married Jesus People couples. This need for more space--physical, financial, and psychic--is hinted at in a 1974 letter from one young wife in a communal home in Novato, California. “Kris” wrote the wife of her group’s leader a long, breezy letter and slipped in a short, but telling, passage that revealed that her fascination with full-time communal ministry had just about run its course:

You know Bobbie that I love my house an awful lot, but I decided that if you and Kent stay in England for a year then I am going to encourage Mark to find us our own place to live. It gets to be a drag for Mark....Same people, same mistakes . . . and problems.³³

The Shiloh communes had also recognized this dynamic--particularly the economic problems thereof--and made provisions for it in the early 1970s. Shiloh allowed married couples in its group based in and around Eugene, Oregon, and across the nation to rent out separate houses and apartments from the organisation and even instituted a "salary" for about fifty of the group's leaders and staff in 1974 to facilitate the arrangement.³⁴ By 1977, almost all of the 200 married couples within the group were living non-communally 'within' the commune. While the economic and privacy issues might have been more-or-less solved by this type of strategy, the overall life of the group took an unavoidable hit. Sociologists studying the group in the mid-to-late 1970s noted that "the two groups (married and single people) live somewhat separate lives, with there being an apparent decreasing contact between the two groups".³⁵ Smaller, less well-heeled communal Jesus People groups could seldom afford so sweeping an arrangement. For these more numerous and typical Jesus People groups the impact of the marrying-off of its members usually meant something much more akin to separation, if not divorce, from the group.

While marriage represented a continual coming-of-age drain on the core constituency of most, if not all, Jesus People groups, America's burgeoning opportunities for higher education provided another. Despite the movement's countercultural and sometimes anti-intellectual bent, in reality the vast majority of the Jesus People showed by life example that they shared the larger American culture's belief in the powers and virtues of education. Results from the 2004 survey compilation of over 800 former Jesus People showed that slightly more than 70% had the equivalent of an associate's degree or two full years of college education, and a full 48% claimed to have earned a bachelor's degree (compared to 27% of the general American population in 2003).³⁶

Certainly at the time, a move to acquire education was viewed as a positive. For many, who had perhaps fallen behind as the result of adolescent trials and/or drug-related incapacity amid their footloose wanderings in the hip counterculture, an effort to undertake or resume formal education was hard-earned evidence of the way Jesus was helping them 'get it together'. As Kent Philpott surveyed the progress of his work in late 1971, one of the sure gauges of the success of his ministry was the fact that "In the overall Bay Area ministry 40 to 50 young people" had "enrolled in college for the Fall semester".³⁷

Many Jesus People were part of the movement even as they attended college but were eventually taken out of their local 'scene' by further educational and career choices. For example, Gordon Lewis was an engineering student at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Albany, New York, in the mid- '70s as a member of a local communal Jesus House and was involved with a coffeehouse in nearby Troy, NY, but then he moved on to graduate education at Penn State.³⁸ Stephen Jay Briggs was a student at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill as a business administration student when he was converted in 1973. A member of a secular rock band, Briggs formed a Jesus band called the Forever Family Band and played in coffeehouses in Virginia and the Carolinas, but then enrolled as a student at Dallas Theological Seminary in 1976.³⁹

In some cases, these sorts of life decisions would prove fatal to the existence of an entire group when one particularly important member was removed from the mix. One such example was the fate of the Avalon Jesus People group in Akron, Ohio (see Chapter 6). With a network of affiliated Christian centres in and around the Akron area, a street paper, and a "Jesus Free Store", the group was flourishing in the mid-1970s.⁴⁰ However, the group's leader, Craig Yoe, encountered strong resistance from a

segment of the group that opposed a move towards organizing a church. The Avalon group split apart and with his decision to pursue his abilities as a graphic artist and cartoonist the enterprise disbanded and the group's properties were sold off.⁴¹

Yoe's 'moving on' and the situation in Akron was but symptomatic of the major age-related demographic changes that were affecting the Jesus People as a wider youth movement. Marriage, family, education and career choices naturally began to change their time, commitment and financial priorities. As tens of thousands of Jesus People moved on with their lives as they grew older, it inevitably began to pull them away from, and hence, weaken the movement.

Hard Times: Jesus People Close Up Shop

For the vast majority of former Jesus People, the movement's evaporation in the mid and late '70s was a gentle fading away, another change in a period of life transition marked by marriage, new families, new homes, new jobs and careers, and the hunt for 'a good church'. In many ways, the transition was probably similar to that of any group of young adults who began to leave the ethos and institutions of youth culture behind as they settled into the adult world. These sorts of changes, however, are usually an easier one for individuals than for institutions and organisations. Having already taken on some sort of corporate life of their own, Jesus People groups were forced to respond to the new cultural direction.

The easiest and perhaps most natural response, of course, was simply to close shop and call it a day. For the vast majority of small Jesus People fellowships, groups, communal houses and coffeehouses this was the scenario which most often played itself out. Undoubtedly for many beleaguered Jesus People groups all these concerns often boiled down in one way or another to a basic matter that also reflected the times-- money problems. The heretofore booming American economy had run into some major

problems by the mid-1970s, triggered by the costs of the Vietnam War, the beginning of a change from a manufacturing to a technology and service-oriented economy, and the first shockwaves caused by American dependence on OPEC oil.⁴² Stunned economists coined a new term --'stagflation'--to describe the country's resultant oxymoronic financial reality which combined the usually polar opposite trends of economic recession and double-digit inflation.⁴³ By the end of 1974 consumer prices were increasing over 12% a year (compared with a mere 4% as late as 1969) and the unemployment rate had moved past 7% (just 3.5% in 1969). By the end of 1975, the median price of American homes had climbed 50% in just three short years and mortgage rates had passed 9% (up from the 'standard' 4-5% during the 1950s and 1960s).⁴⁴ Worse yet, rising unemployment and inflation hit especially hard among a youthful constituency which was not only attempting to establish themselves financially, but vying with hordes of other Baby Boomers to squeeze their way into a constricted job market. All these factors surely took their toll on many struggling Jesus People groups who--often coming from a place in the less-than-well-heeled counterculture among the perennially-behind-the-economic-curve young--were hardly flush to begin with.

The changing times coupled with bad economic conditions undoubtedly proved to be a tough set of obstacles for many small Jesus People groups in the mid and late '70s. But it was not only the stand-alone coffeehouse or local Jesus House operations that suffered financially; even some of the movement's leading lights were forced to close their doors. Evangelical Concerns, the San Francisco group which had overseen the establishment of the Living Room coffeehouse in the Haight-Ashbury back in 1967 (see Chapter 3) and had provided legal and financial support that set a number of Bay Area Jesus People groups on their feet (the Christian World Liberation Front and Jews

for Jesus among them), lost their *raison d'être* as the movement waned. The organisation attempted to sponsor special events and rallies in the Bay Area in the mid-'70s but the financial drain--absent the excitement of the movement's salad days--proved too much. By 1976, with its assets under \$1,000, the organisation's board decided to call it quits.⁴⁵

A similar fate befell Duane Pederson's underground Jesus paper, the evangelistically-oriented *Hollywood Free Paper*. At one point in the early '70s it had become a national operation and reached an average circulation of over 400,000 copies.⁴⁶ But it quickly fell victim to the changes in the youth culture landscape and the general cultural passing of the underground newspaper as a national symbol of the counterculture.⁴⁷ By the mid-70s Pederson had trimmed his 20+ person staff back to a pair of helpers as the paper's active circulation dwindled to well under the 50,000 mark. The paper officially ceased publication in 1979, but by that time Pederson had already shifted gear into prison ministry and shortly thereafter became the pastor of a Venice, California, congregation belonging to the Missionary Church.⁴⁸

While the waning of the Jesus movement and attendant financial hardship brought about the demise of Evangelical Concerns and the *Hollywood Free Paper*, the recipe for disaster for the heretofore prospering Shiloh organisation was a mixture of internal politics and government-initiated financial crisis. Shiloh's rapid growth had brought with it tension within the ranks of its leadership over the authority and lifestyle of the group's founder, John Higgins. Exacerbating these problems were mounting concerns over the group's relationship with the Internal Revenue Service (IRS). Although Shiloh had legal status as a non-profit corporation, the IRS audited the group in 1977 and contended that Shiloh's business endeavours were subject to the Unrelated Business Income Tax (UBIT). Shiloh was hit with a \$750,000 judgment for back UBIT

and immediately launched a legal countermove to contest the decision.⁴⁹ These twin problems came to a head in April 1978 when eight Shiloh board members suddenly appeared in Savannah, Georgia, where Higgins was attending his sister's wedding. In an early morning tribunal held in the back of a passenger van, the eight accused him of a dictatorial leadership style, mismanaging funds to his own benefit and practising favouritism. In the face of such a broad phalanx of opposition from within his corps of lieutenants, Higgins resigned his position, returned to Oregon and moved his family out of their Shiloh-owned house.⁵⁰

News of Higgins' departure sent shockwaves through the organisation, especially among the rank and file who were oblivious to any problems at headquarters and who tended to view their leaders as spiritual heroes. Almost overnight, Shiloh began to unravel. Heated meetings occurred all across the country and people began to leave in droves. Several houses split off—some of them forming the seeds for new Calvary Chapel churches—and a number of others simply closed. By the end of 1978 there were only three houses still operating under the Shiloh umbrella. By June 1980 Shiloh had officially ceased to exist. 'The Land', the site of the commune's once-bustling training school outside Eugene, continued to operate as a retreat centre for various evangelical church groups from 1982 until 1989. However, Shiloh's lingering tax case was finally lost in 1987, and 'The Land' was sold in 1989 to pay legal fees.⁵¹

The legal end of Shiloh was but the postponed tail-end of a series of closures and moving on for the Jesus People. The financial hard times of the mid and late 1970s effectively spelled the end for scores and scores of Jesus People groups and organisations already in flux due to the changes within their own constituents' evolving lives and priorities. The scarcity of money was often the last straw in a series of challenges.

Changes in the Larger Youth Culture

Even with the aging of its constituency and the inexorable manner in which the young Jesus People were beginning to move into mainstream adult society, the movement might very well have endured beyond the mid/late 1970s had there been a continuous influx of younger believers who continued to flock to the coffeehouses, communes and 'Bible raps' which had been so effective in the days of the 'Street Christians'. However, the cultural terrain had changed a great deal in the 8-10 years since the 'Summer of Love' in 1967. In the process, that which had made the Jesus People 'with-it' and 'relevant' was no longer dominating the youth culture.

The most obvious change was the fact that the counterculture, while still exerting a tremendous, lasting influence upon the society at large, had long since faded into oblivion. The so-called 'heyday' of the counterculture passed, in the estimation of historian Timothy Miller, after a mere four to five years, or, by the early 70s.⁵² As the decade progressed the emerging American youth culture(s) reflected what commentators labeled the "Me Decade", marking a rejection of the "peace and love" and "back-to-nature" ethos that had characterized the hippie counterculture and which had formed so central a part of the Jesus People identity and style.⁵³ With the 'seedbed' culture from which it had emerged undermined, its main connection to the secular culture had been severed.

This fact of life was also reflected in the fact that as the 1970s progressed—and as has been noted, the publicity concerning the Jesus movement had disappeared (see Chapters 5 and 6)—the 'spiritual' edge to popular culture and music which had existed in the early 70s (see Chapter 5) had long-since evaporated. On the rock charts, Jesus was no longer cool. For instance, aside from a short, two-week appearance in the Top 40 of a re-make of the song "Jesus is Just Alright" in February 1973 by the Doobie

Brothers (hardly a Jesus People band--their name saluting a popular term for a marijuana cigarette),⁵⁴ and the pan-Christian appeal of Australian nun Janet Mead's 'hip' version of the "The Lord's Prayer" in the spring of 1974,⁵⁵ not a single song featuring 'spiritual' content of a forthright--or not-so forthright--Christian nature would appear on the American hit parade until the recently born-again Bob Dylan's "Gotta Serve Somebody" hit the number 24 spot in the autumn of 1979.⁵⁶

Obviously, the cultural factors which had helped produce the Jesus movement and catapult it into the national limelight were non-existent by the mid-to-late-70s when the Jesus People were fading from view. What was worse, a bevy of new youth cultures had arisen during this period which stood in dramatic contrast to what had existed just a few short years before. Backed by record companies, radio stations, and marketers eager to tap into the next 'big thing' or into a sizeable new market segment, these new versions of youth culture revolved around new musical styles--heavy metal, disco, punk and new wave--that all represented a reaction against the cosmic idealism of the '60s flower child (in the words of cultural critic John Street, the emerging scene was more about "paint your face", than "feed your head".⁵⁷), even though they shared the countercultural enthusiasm for sex, drugs and rock 'n' roll. All in all, it was hardly promising cultural terrain for the Jesus People.

One of the new forms of youth culture that was emerging in the mid-and-late 1970s had musical ties to the earlier "acid rock" of the hippie era and the guitar-heavy sounds of the rock music of the early '70s, but was light years removed from the cosmic spirituality and philosophizing that often characterised music in those years. "Heavy Metal" took its name from a phrase in the 1968 motorcycle anthem "Born to be Wild" by the band Steppenwolf ("heavy metal thunder")⁵⁸ and emphasized the 'party hardy,' good time aspects of the rock and roll lifestyle. While the genre was heavily influenced



Figure 1: Light years removed from the hippie bands of just a few years earlier, the American 'heavy metal' band KISS racked up huge record sales and concert audiences beginning in the mid-1970s with their penchant for showmanship, 'good time rock 'n' roll' and hints of occult involvement (photo of album cover from the website www.foothillcougars.com).

by big-name '70s rock acts such as Led Zeppelin, Humble Pie, Alice Cooper and Slade, newer bands such as AC/DC, Kiss, Def Leppard and Judas Priest formulated an approach which eschewed any pretence at 'art' or 'relevance' in favour of a straightforward, hard-driving repertoire of power chord-driven songs celebrating sex, alcohol, drugs and violence.⁵⁹ Many groups accentuated their rebellious attitude and iconoclasm by openly embracing the trappings and imagery of witchcraft and Satan worship into their music and stage acts.⁶⁰

Although detested by rock critics and adult authority figures alike, heavy metal music garnered a continually growing following among American youth--particularly among lower middle-class white adolescent males--during the second half of the 1970s. Not until the late 1980s would heavy metal achieve its greatest success--accounting for nearly 40% of all record sales in the United States.⁶¹ But its long haired, t-shirt and blue jean-clad 'headbangers' certainly presented a viable, growing identity and subculture for millions of teenagers growing up in the mid-to-late 1970s.

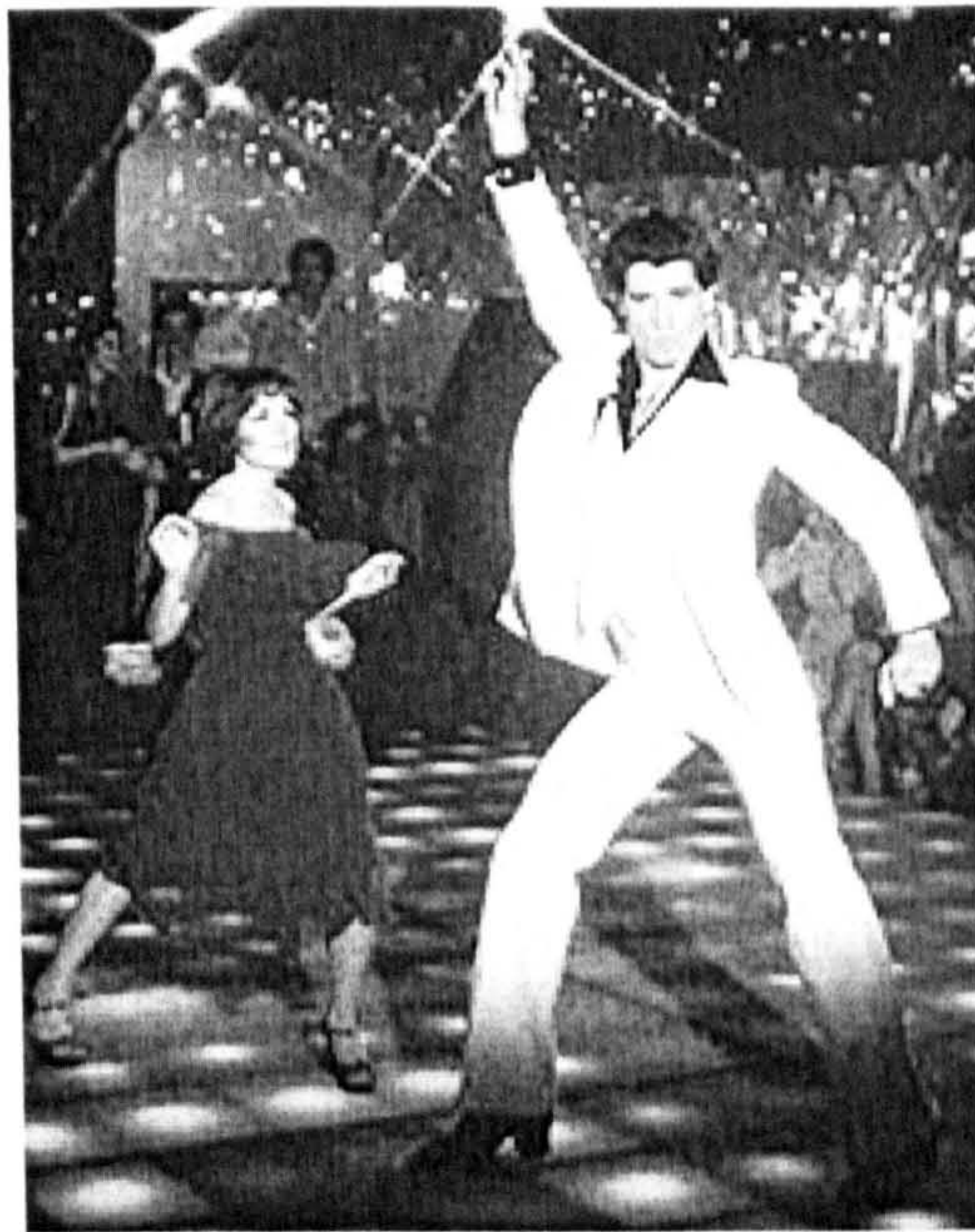


Figure 2: Actor John Travolta strikes his famous pose in the 1977 smash film, *Saturday Night Fever*. The ethos of the disco was 180-degrees at odds with the values of the hippie counterculture (photo from Paramount Pictures).

At the other end of the musical and fashion spectrum, the disco subculture had its origins in the growing gay dance club scene of the late 1960s which quickly gained popularity among urban black, latino and white ethnic audiences.⁶² These clubs pushed a musical style derived from black soul music that emphasized energetic, danceable rhythms underscored by a prominent, steady bass line--the predictable 'disco beat'. At the disco club the decoration was all glitz and glitter and the emphasis was on intricate dance steps and conspicuous consumption in the form of high priced fashions, hair-dos, jewellery and drugs (particularly the new glamour drug of choice, cocaine). Disco was largely about competition--economic, athletic, sexual--and, quite unlike the hippie counterculture, placed a premium on conformity in order to make the grade. Many clubs like New York City's famous Club 54 cultivated snob appeal, with gatekeepers who allowed only the well-connected, the well-heeled, the fabulously-attired, and the stunningly-beautiful to enter.⁶³

Disco music began to show up on the nation's record charts and radio station playlists in a big way when two disco songs (the Hues Corporation's "Don't Rock the Boat" and "Rock Me Baby" by George McCrae) hit the number one spot on the Billboard charts in succession in July 1974.⁶⁴ The trend accelerated in 1975 and 1976 with disco gaining an increasing lion's share of record sales. The peak of 'disco fever' came in late 1977 with the release of Robert Altman's film *Saturday Night Fever*. Buoyed by a smash double album soundtrack featuring the music of the Bee Gees (the album sold 20 million copies⁶⁵), *Fever* starred a young TV sitcom actor named John Travolta as the film's working-class Italian-American protagonist trying desperately to 'make it' in the pricey environs of Manhattan's disco competitions. The movie's stunning dance sequences and lurid sexuality fuelled 'discomania'. At its peak in '78, disco was a \$4 billion dollar a year industry with more than 200 radio stations nationwide devoted to a disco-only format. Besides the sales of music, disco clubs, roller rinks, clothing and accessories fed a lucrative, if relatively short-lived, submarket.⁶⁶ While disco would fade rapidly in the early '80s, it left an indelible mark upon mid and late '70s youth culture.

Other options had begun to appear in the mid-70s, however, for those American youth who were disillusioned with the counterculture, bored with 'heavy metal' and who could neither afford, nor stomach, disco. The punk scene and 'New Wave' music were both imports from Britain which quickly found sizeable followings on the American side of the Atlantic. Punk represented the evolution of musical tastes among British working-class bands like the Sex Pistols and rejected not only the adult establishment but also the bloated excesses of 'corporate rock'--to say nothing of the glamour and social climbing ethos of disco.⁶⁷ Cultivating a style that emphasized leather jackets and chains, punk rockers sported crew cuts or outlandish spiked hair-dos



Figure 3: Smiling punks pose for a photo in the Soho district of London in the late 1970s. While punks rejected the ‘establishment’ as had the hippies before them, their demeanor and attitude reflected a tendency toward isolation and nihilistic rage (photo taken from website www.freespace.virgin.net).

in bright, day-glo colours, and took pride in body-piercing and self-mutilation with safety pins. Their favoured bands brandished a frenetic, driving sound and, unlike the ‘guitar heroes’ of mainstream rock music, prided themselves on a lack of instrumental and vocal expertise. Punk audiences were chaotic, either performing a hopping ‘pogo’ dance or bashing into each other in an exercise that became known as ‘slam dancing’. For their part, punk bands often made a show of contempt for their own fans, cursing them and spitting on them from the stage.⁶⁸

While its nihilistic spirit made it clear that change was in the youth culture air, punk rock never enjoyed mass acceptance in the United States; it was definitely a musical subculture which appealed to limited pockets of urban trendies and alienated suburban kids. Youthful American audiences found punk’s middle-class British cousin, ‘New Wave’ music, a much more palatable musical option. While its earliest

proponents such as Elvis Costello opted for a melodic, stripped-down sound utilising traditional rock instrumentation, the new generation of electronic synthesizers and computerized drum machines were quickly incorporated into the sounds of performers like Gary Numan and increasingly dominated the scene. New Wave brought an oddly technological, sci-fi twist to the world of rock music and, indeed, the penchant of the genre's performers and fans for strange hairstyles, garish makeup, bright colours and vaguely militaristic-looking fashions resembled something out of a *Star Trek* episode.⁶⁹

Although New Wave music would not reach its American peak until the early and mid-'80s, its appearance on the youth culture landscape in the mid-to-late '70s provided only further evidence of how far national youth culture had evolved since the beginning of the decade. Framed against this kind of backdrop, the Jesus People image and style looked like an out-of-date relic of the '60s. Evangelical young people might continue to embrace rock music and the youthful bridge to the youth culture might still bring in some lost secular sheep, but increasingly the avenue would be evangelical youth cultures that mirrored the larger evolving scene (see Chapter 9), not through recruitment to a Jesus People movement marked by all the countercultural trappings which had once made it a powerful force. In many ways, the demise of the counterculture and the rise of a variety of new, startlingly different, youth cultures was the *coup de grâce* to the Jesus People. With all its other troubles--a maturing base, internal squabbles and financial problems--the new terrain in American youth culture was just one problem too many. It was clear that, by the late 1970s, the Jesus People movement was over.

Jesus People Adaptations

Not all Jesus People groups were pulled under by the treacherous cultural currents of the mid-to-late 1970s. A number of Jesus People groups through the



Figure 4: The British pop group Kajagoogoo ca. 1983--moussed hair, make-up and exotic fashions positioned 'New Wave' enthusiasts somewhere between punk and disco--far from the 'natural' look of the hippie counterculture (photo from the website www.kajagoogoo.com).

particulars of their own circumstances and the ingenuity of their leadership found ways to adapt their organisations to the new cultural terrain. There was no one pattern for these groups' development but more generally a gravitation toward other ministry models within the evangelical subculture which were not dependent on a Jesus People orientation.

One group which adapted something of a 'niche strategy' was the Berkeley-based Christian World Liberation Front (CWLF--see chapter 4). By 1975, the CWLF was an established organisation with dozens of full-time staffmembers that served as a canopy to a number of different ministries--the *Right On!* newspaper, discipleship ministries, halfway houses working with addicts, campus ministries, a street theatre troupe, a developing anti-cult research group called the Spiritual Counterfeits Project, and a free university dubbed "The Crucible".⁷⁰ However, its leader, former Campus Crusade staffer Jack Sparks, had become increasingly concerned with the theological problems surrounding parachurch work and the quest for true primitive Christianity. As

part of his intellectual wrestling with this question, Sparks had quietly joined together with several other ex-Campus Crusade acquaintances (including Gordon Walker, the head of another Jesus People-friendly ministry, Grace Haven Farm in Mansfield, Ohio) in a study group independent of his work with the CWLF to dig into theology and church history in an endeavour to reproduce the pure embodiment of the First Century Christian church.⁷¹

Inevitably, Sparks' own intellectual and spiritual pursuits impacted some of those in the CWLF. Thus, in the spring of 1975 when Sparks announced in a specially-called meeting that he and his group had come to the conclusion that Eastern Orthodoxy was the end of their search, a portion of the CWLF which was privy to Sparks' concerns and thinking were ready to go along with him in an attempt to create an evangelical version of Orthodoxy. However, for a large segment of the CWLF the news came as a complete surprise: "It kind of came out of the blue for a lot of us", recalled former *Right On!* staffmember Sharon Gallagher, "when these . . . five [former] Campus Crusade guys started saying they were apostles and linked to the 3rd-century Church--I didn't get it".⁷² Ultimately, about two-thirds of the CWLF staff were unconvinced by his arguments for Orthodoxy as the embodiment of pristine Christianity.⁷³

Sparks, for his part, respected the difference of opinion and agreed to step down from his position. He proceeded to write a cordial and supportive letter to financial contributors and for the readers of *Right On!*⁷⁴ and moved on to become the primary leader--'Father Jack'--in what became the Evangelical Orthodox Church in 1979 (the group was officially admitted into the North American Antiochian (Syrian) Orthodox Church in 1987).⁷⁵ With Sparks' departure, the disparate arms of the CWLF lost their centre and eventually separated into several different organisations: the "Spiritual

Counterfeits Project” became an independent apologetics ministry with its own newsletter and journal; *Right On!* transformed into *Radix* magazine which probed the arts, theology and politics from a slightly left-of-centre perspective; and the Crucible eventually transformed into New College-Berkeley, a decade-long experiment in evangelical seminary education.⁷⁶

Jews for Jesus: A Jesus People Group Goes Parachurch

Jews for Jesus was an example of a creation of the Jesus People movement which adjusted to the changing times by purposely moving into the mould of an evangelical parachurch organisation. In its beginnings (see chapter 4) Jews for Jesus closely resembled any number of other Jesus People groups working with disaffected, drug-taking hippies and students with the one distinctive that the majority of those tended to be, not surprisingly, Jewish.⁷⁷ But within a few years, the group’s leader Moishe Rosen, a former field worker for the American Board of Missions to the Jews, had steered the group away from a concentration upon disillusioned young Jews in the counterculture. Increasingly, the group’s street witnessing campaigns and street theatre targeted Jews across the age spectrum and made itself very visible in downtown districts throughout the country.⁷⁸ In the process, Jews for Jesus quickly became the subject of much discussion and concern among the leaders of the American Jewish community even as Rosen and his workers became victims of physical and verbal abuse in their evangelistic efforts.⁷⁹ The militant Jewish Defense League (JDL) became a particular problem and at one point the FBI warned Rosen that the JDL had targeted him for assassination.⁸⁰

Capitalising on growing visibility amid the controversy, Rosen positioned his group as a vibrant new outreach to the Jewish people--a particularly vital concern within the evangelical church given its enthusiasm for dispensational prophetic schemes

which books like Hal Lindsey's *The Late, Great Planet Earth* had stirred up. Jews for Jesus speakers and its musical team(s), the Liberated Wailing Wall, regularly spoke at evangelical churches and missions conferences and developed a popular presentation entitled "Christ in the Passover", all of which helped build a substantial donor base among rank and file evangelicals. By the late 1990s, the organisation was the largest of the evangelical missions to the Jews with an annual budget of more than \$14 million dollars and over 150 full-time workers in sixteen offices in the United States, Canada, England, France, Israel, Russia, South Africa, Argentina and Australia.⁸¹

The Jesus People as a Denomination

The manner in which the CWLF and Jews for Jesus were able to move on as the larger movement broke up around them, is testimony to the fact that despite the changes in American youth culture, a number of Jesus People groups did manage to weather the storm and carried on beyond the 1970s. Many of these were individual 'fellowships' of Jesus People like the Cornerstone Church in Brantford, Ontario, the Solid Rock Jesus Fellowship in Salina, Kansas, and the Koinonia church in Potsdam, New York, which eventually assumed the identity and role of an independent (and usually charismatic) local church. However, for many of these local Jesus People fellowships, a logical course was to link up with one of the most prominent and successful manifestations of the Jesus People movement--Chuck Smith's Calvary Chapel in Costa Mesa, California.

With nothing like the fanfare which had surrounded the movement and Calvary Chapel in 1971, the 'Little Country Church' in Orange County continued to grow and grow and grow throughout the 1970s. By 1974, the church had constructed a new facility with a sanctuary seating 2,300 people--that filled three times every Sunday morning. A new Fellowship Hall with a closed-circuit TV connection to the recently-built auditorium was soon erected, adding seating for another 700 per service. In

addition to the church itself, Calvary Chapel's musical arm Maranatha! Records and Music (see Chapter 7) was going strong and, through the efforts of an entrepreneurial forty-something couple who had begun attending Calvary, the church established "Maranatha Village" (a Christian strip mall with bookstore and office space) and acquired a local radio station.⁸²

Despite his success, Smith decided that rather than continue to stoke the growth of the Costa Mesa congregation, he would encourage several of the Jesus People converts he had mentored--what sociologist Donald Williams called Smith's "sons" in his book *Reinventing American Protestantism*--to begin new Calvary Chapels.⁸³ With little or no financial support (Smith reasoned that if God's anointing was on an individual, he would soon have a congregation that could support him), these protégés, Mike McIntosh, Greg Laurie, Raul Ries, Kenn Gullicksen, Jeff Johnson, Tom Stipe, Oden Fong and others--ordained by filling out a form and handing it in to Smith⁸⁴--created new Calvary Chapels in Riverside, Downey, San Diego and other cities which maintained the emphasis on simple, upbeat 'worship' music, come-as-you-are informality and expository Bible teaching. Each church remained self-supporting and ties with the home church in Costa Mesa were associational and relational--usually consisting of telephone conversations with Smith.⁸⁵ And the churches were successful: for example, Mike McIntosh's Horizon Christian Fellowship in San Diego, begun in January 1975, was by the early '80s attracting 5,000 people per week, had over 100 home fellowship groups meeting, had started a magazine and had created radio and TV broadcast ministries.⁸⁶

The story was similar in several other cases and the pastors of these new congregations in turn sent their protégés (now trained at a new Calvary Chapel Bible College in Costa Mesa) out to plant new churches. But given the group's informal



Figure 5: The 3,000-seat Calvary Chapel “Big Tent” in Costa Mesa, California, ca. 1972 (photo courtesy of David Di Sabatino).

nature and the phenomenal growth that it was experiencing, problems were inevitable. The most serious began to develop among several Calvary Chapel churches which placed a more overt emphasis on charismatic worship and healing--in particular, the 1,800-member Calvary Chapel in Yorba Linda led by ex-rock band manager John Wimber, and eight churches which had originated under one of Smith's 'sons', Kenn Gullicksen⁸⁷ (interestingly, a hyper-charismatic tendency toward 'signs and wonders' among these churches would begin at a series of meetings in 1980 led by Smith's irrepressibly charismatic ex-colleague, the 'hippie preacher' Lonnie Frisbee, who by that time had extricated himself from the Shepherding movement and made a brief return to Calvary Chapel⁸⁸). In 1982 Smith gave his blessing for the more charismatic

churches to go their own way and the Vineyard Fellowship was born. Soon another thirty Calvary Chapels joined the new movement and it was off and running.⁸⁹

By the end of the twentieth century, both Calvary Chapel and its offspring, the Vineyard, had become a major force within the American evangelical subculture. Although these 'non-denominational' denominations had lost their overt identification as a 'Jesus People Church' and their larger flagship churches tended to be folded into the 'megachurch' phenomenon by observers, they owed their style and philosophy to the Jesus movement.⁹⁰

Epilogue: Still Truckin' For Jesus--Chicago's Jesus People USA

For the most part the strategy for those Jesus People organisations that survived the movement's virtual disappearance in the mid-to-late 1970s was one of adaptation, evolution or absorption into the larger evangelical subculture. Visibly, there was little that survived the salad days of the 1970s. One major exception, however, could still be found in the early twenty first century in the rough Uptown neighbourhood of Chicago's North Side. Jesus People USA--JPUSA (juh-POOH-zah) as it is known--- one of the four splinters of Jim Palosaari's Milwaukee Jesus People group (see Chapter 5) managed not only to endure, but (in a relative, and distinctly countercultural sense) prospered as a communal Christian organisation that still reflected its origins in the days of the hippie. From a 'temporary' site in the basement of an old church to an old six-flat on Paulina Street, JPUSA put down roots in Chicago. Under the guidance of a group of elders, the community fed, housed, and clothed its members and worked among the city's disadvantaged through a network of roofing, carpentry, moving and printing businesses. In the process, they supported the ministry of its touring bands ("Resurrection", "Headnoise", "Crash Dog" and others), a street evangelism troupe ("The Holy Ghost Players") and a street paper (*Cornerstone*) which managed to be one



Figure 6: A 1971 photo of the group that eventually became Jesus People USA, or, 'JPUSA' (photo courtesy of Jesus People USA).

of the only Jesus papers to achieve a national readership base and survive the 1970s.⁹¹ Through a combination of sound management and the growing respect and help of local evangelical churches, JPUSA continued to upgrade their facilities and expand their membership, merging with a small African-American fellowship called New Life in 1978.⁹² Seeking a sense of accountability it aligned itself under the authority of the Evangelical Covenant (formerly the Swedish Covenant) denomination and officially became Jesus People USA Covenant Church in 1989.⁹³ Its original rock band, Resurrection (later the Rez Band), maintained visibility in the world of Contemporary Christian Music throughout the '80s, representing a hard rock tie to the raw beginnings of Jesus Music⁹⁴; its old street paper *Cornerstone* became a polished magazine with a reputation for innovative graphics, thoughtful theological articles and investigative reporting.⁹⁵ In 1984 the group began its "Cornerstone" music festival in Grayslake, Illinois, attracting thousands of people for a multi-day round of music and teaching. In the early 1990s the group had moved the festival to a 500-acre property it had purchased in downstate Bushnell, Illinois, attracting over 20,000 people to the annual



Figure 7: A young member of the JPUSA commune prepares salad for the group's daily meals, ca. late 1990s (photo courtesy of Jesus People USA).

event. By the early twenty-first century satellite Cornerstone festivals were underway in North Carolina and Florida.⁹⁶

Since 1990 JPUSA has been located in an old, dilapidated ten-storey hotel for which the group scraped together nearly \$2 million dollars for purchase and partial renovation. Dubbed “Friendly Towers”, the hotel and some nearby run-down office and warehouse space the group acquired constituted a Jesus People island in the racially-diverse, immigrant-laden Uptown neighbourhood. Always on the countercultural margin, tattooed, body-pierced youth with strange hair-dos and colourings were a vibrant segment of the group's newer membership. Indeed, by the turn of the twenty-first century, the group had about 500 resident members including about eighty senior citizens who were “at risk of falling through the cracks of traditional social programs”. In addition to its music and publishing efforts, JPUSA maintained a soup kitchen which fed as many 200 people a day, an overnight shelter that could house 100 homeless men, housing for homeless women and children, a complex of twenty ‘transitional’ apartments for formerly homeless families, and “Operation Nehemiah”, a building supply company in Romania which provided employment and served as a base for



Figure 8: A young JPUSA woman at work in the commune's daycare centre, ca. late 1990s (photo courtesy of Jesus People USA).

evangelism and support for two JPUSA-run orphanages for abandoned HIV-positive Romanian children.⁹⁷

All has not been sweetness and light, however. In 1994, the group came in for criticism in sociologist Ronald M. Enroth's book *Recovering from Churches that Abuse* which highlighted complaints from former members who accused the group's leadership of excessive disciplinary methods and authoritarian control.⁹⁸ A number of evangelical leaders and scholars jumped to the group's defence and an internal investigation by the Evangelical Covenant Church found no major, systemic problems.⁹⁹ Similar allegations resurfaced in 2001 in a series of front page articles in the *Chicago Tribune* with the ironic added twist of long-time commune members who expressed displeasure with the fact that they left after years in the community with little in the way of financial wherewithal.¹⁰⁰

Nonetheless, JPUSA survived these rounds of bad publicity and internal dissension. Given that they had been able to weather the passing of the counterculture,

the bad economy of the 1970s and early 1980s, and wave after wave of passing fads in American youth culture, this was not altogether that surprising. In a very visible manner the Chicago commune continued to carry the flame of the Jesus People movement--which had originated in the heart of the 1960s hippie counterculture--into the twenty-first century.

Conclusion

The decline and eventual disappearance of the Jesus People movement in the mid and late 1970s came rather gradually and unexpectedly. Although the 'Jesus Revolution' had been under the radar of the nation's media for several years, the sprawling numbers of Jesus People fellowships, churches and coffeehouses in the mid-1970s seemed to indicate that the movement was thriving. Yet observers' comments about the movement's seemingly less aggressive behaviour and inward-turn toward study and discipleship betrayed deeper trends which were at work within the movement.

In reality, the Jesus People themselves were naturally following the impulses of their Baby Boomer life course and were increasingly concentrating upon the duties and opportunities of young adulthood--education, marriage, family and careers. The rhythms of life within traditional church congregations proved increasingly more suitable for their situations than the intensive involvement in Jesus People communal groups and organisations. Inevitably these trends--coupled with the impact of the infamous Shepherding Movement and the perilous American economy of the 1970s--generally spelled the end for the Jesus People as an organisational entity. The final blow to the maintenance of the Jesus People movement came in the form of major changes in the nature and orientation of new youth cultures which emerged in the mid and late 1970s to challenge the former dominance of the hippie counterculture. These

youth cultures, buoyed by the music and fashions of the heavy metal, disco, punk and New Wave scenes were all radical rejections of the 'peace and love/back to nature' values of the '60s hippie counterculture. The Jesus People, who were so tied to the hippie ethos, appeared increasingly out of step with the music, tastes and sensibilities of a younger cohort of teenagers. With fewer and fewer potential Jesus People in the larger youth culture's pool, the movement simply collapsed.

While the movement itself met its demise, not all remnants of the Jesus movement folded their tents. Some endured in more or less pristine fashion while others found specific niches within the evangelical subculture that allowed them to function and, even, prosper. Groups like Jews for Jesus and Calvary Chapel would actually surpass the success they had achieved during the height of the Jesus People movement, carrying the influence of the Jesus Revolution decades after it had faded into the realm of American religious history.

ENDNOTES

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1. For a contemporary look at the Jesus People movement in Britain, see Geoffrey Corey, *Jesus Bubble or Jesus Revolution: The Growth of Jesus Communes in Britain and Ireland* (London: The British Council of Churches Youth Department, 1973).
 2. To date, the best accounting of the Jesus People in Australia—including juxtaposition with its American antecedents—is contained within a doctoral dissertation written by the Melbourne-based God Squad's leader, (Kevin) John Smith, "The Origins, Nature, and Significance of the Jesus Movement as Revitalization Movement", (Asbury Theological Seminary, 2002); see particularly pp. 310-399.
 3. Timothy Miller, *The 60s Communes: Hippies and Beyond* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1999), p. 95.
 4. James T. Richardson, Mary W. Stewart, and Robert B. Simmonds, eds., *Organized Miracles: A Study of a Contemporary, Youth, Communal, Fundamentalist Organization* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1979), pp. 44-45; David Tabb Stewart and James T. Richardson, 'Mundane Materialism: How Tax Policies and Other Governmental Regulation Affected Beliefs and Practices of Jesus Movement Organizations', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 67/4 (December 1999), p. 831.
 5. Joe V. Peterson, 'The Rise and Fall of Shiloh', *Communities: Journal of Cooperative Living* 92 (Fall 1996): 61.
 4. Ronald M. Enroth, Edward Erickson, Jr., and C. Breckinridge Peters, *The Jesus People: Old-Time Religion in the Age of Aquarius* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972).
 7. Ronald M. Enroth, 'Where Have All the Jesus People Gone?', *Eternity* (October 1973), pp. 14-17, 28.

8. Richard N. Ostling, 'The Jesus People Revisited', *International Review of Missions* 63(April 1974), pp. 232-237; Ed Plowman, "Whatever Happened to the Jesus Movement?", *Christianity Today* (24 October 1975), p. 46. 'Whatever Happened to....Young 'Jesus People' Moving On', *U.S. News & World Report* (29 March 1976), p. 49.

9 Ostling, 'The Jesus People Revisited'; quotes found on pp. 234, and 232, respectively.

10 'Whatever Happened to... Young Jesus People', p. 49.

9. Larry Eskridge, 'Jesus People Survey Tabulation & Comments (May 2004)', question 13, p.7; see Appendix A

12. Ed Plowman, 'Whatever Happened', p. 46.

13. For the best examination of the rise and fall of the Shepherding Movement's vision and the theological network it spawned see S. David Moore, *The Shepherding Movement: Controversy and Charismatic Ecclesiology* (London: T & T Clark, 2003).

14 Moore, *The Shepherding Movement*, p. 50.

15 Such prominent Jesus People leaders as Linda Meissner and David Hoyt were persuaded to join the COG and took a number of their followers with them during the summer and fall of 1971. This set off a flurry of activity within the Jesus People community and its 'straight' evangelical allies to steel the movement against the COG's grab for members. For an example of the strife between the COG and the 'mainstream' Jesus People, see the furore over the fate of the movement in Seattle as covered in the *Seattle Times*: Ray Ruppert, "Issue of the Church Splits Jesus People Army", *The Seattle Times* (17 October 1971), p. B10; "Sect Has Pied-Piper Effect", (17 October 1971), p.1; "The Children of God: Who Are They?", (17 October 1971), p. B6; "Real Jesus People' See New Momentum", (17 November 1971), p. A14; "Opponents Break In, Order Children of God to Leave", (3 December 1971), p. A1.

16. David Di Sabatino, 'Lonnie Frisbee', unpublished graduate seminar paper, Queen's University (Kingston, Ontario), Spring 1997, pp. 22-23. Frisbee was under the direct guidance of Bob Mumford from 1971 until 1976, at which time he left to return to Calvary Chapel for a short period. Frisbee's first departure from Calvary Chapel was perceived by many of those he left behind as being out of step with God's will, a position they believed was validated by the subsequent lack of success in Frisbee's ministry (see Enroth, 'Whatever Happened to the Jesus People?', p. 28). Scott Ross interview, 20 August 2002. Ross' involvement in part led to his former--and future--employer Pat Robertson to ban the Christian Growth Movement from appearing on his 700 Club or on his Christian Broadcasting Network (S.v. S. David Moore, 'Shepherding Movement', in Stanley M. Burgess and Eduard M. Van Der Maas, eds., *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002], pp. 1060-1061); Moore, *The Shepherding Movement*, pp. 50-51.

17. Ron and Vicki Burks, *Damaged Disciples: Casualties of Authoritarian Churches and the Shepherding Movement* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992), p. 91.

18. Survey response by Patrick Bowen, submitted 9 July 1998.

19 Survey response by Arthur Cook, Chicago, IL, submitted 20 April 2004.

20. Survey response by Brian Carling, Gaithersburg, MD, submitted 5 August 1998.

19. Kirsten Scharnberg, 'Commune's Iron Grip Tests Faith of Converts', *Chicago Tribune*, (1 April 2001), p. 15; see also Ronald M. Enroth, *Recovering From Churches That Abuse* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994); see pp. 121-136, 142-145, 150-153.

20. Interview with Scott Ross, Virginia Beach, VA, 20 August 2002; survey response by Barbara Pilato Haschmann, Rochester, NY, submitted 7 May 2002.

23 Carling survey.

22. Survey response by Grace Mullen Cook, Johnson City, TN, submitted 26 June 2003; survey response by Luke Bisceglie, San Diego, CA, submitted 23 May 1999; survey response by Warren Gaebel, Markham, ON, submitted 12 December 2001.

25. Robert Digitale, "An Idea Whose Time Has Gone?", *Christianity Today* 34:5 (19 March 1990), pp. 38, 40, 42; Randy Frame, "Maranatha Disbands as Federation of Churches", *Christianity Today* 34:5 (19 March 1990), pp. 40-42; S.v. Moore, "Shepherding Movement".

26. The "Baby Boom" had begun in 1946 and officially stretched through 1964--by 1976, the 3.2+ million "Boomers" born in '46 hit 30 years of age; the majority of their fellow Boomers--over 35 million born between 1947 and 1955--had reached at least age 21 by 1976 (*Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1950, 1954, 1958*).

27. By the mid-1970s, the number of first marriages for those ages 18-24 had dropped by nearly 40% since the immediate postwar years (*Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1976*, Table No. 97, p. 68). However, this was more reflective of a growing trend toward the postponement of marriage than the erosion of the institution itself (Arlene Skolnick, *Embattled Paradise: The American Family in an Age of Uncertainty* [New York: Basic Books, 1991], pp. 90-91, 168).

28. CWLF fundraising letter, pp. 1-2, ca. 1974; Kent Philpott Collection.

29. Steven Derek Preston, 'Who's Ever Heard of a Hindu Biker?' *Cornerstone* 4:22 (1975), 10.

30. Kent Philpott, Journal, ca. late 1970, p. 102; photocopy in possession of author.

31. Kent Philpott, newsletter, 18 November 1971, p. 1; Kent Philpott collection.

32. Kent Philpott, newsletter, ca. May 1975, p. 2; Kent Philpott collection.

33. "Kris" to Bobbie Philpott, 14 July 1974, p. 5; Kent Philpott collection.

34. Richardson, Stewart, and Simmonds, *Organized Miracles*, pp. 35, 62-68, 84-85.

35. Richardson, Stewart and Simmonds, *Organized Miracles*, p. 133.

34. Eskridge, 'Jesus People Survey Tabulations', p. 1; 11.3% of survey respondents claimed to have earned a graduate degree at some point. National figures of U.S. population holding bachelor's degrees found in "Educational Attainment in the United States: 2003", Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau (June 2004), p. 1.

37. Kent Philpott newsletter, 18 November 1971, p. 1.

38. Gordon Lewis taped interview, Cerritos, CA, 3 August 2002.

39. Survey response by Stephen Jay Briggs, Hendersonville, NC, submitted 29 May 2002.

40. 'What the Jesus People Say About Themselves', article from *The Falls News* (Cuyahoga Falls, OH), n.d., reprinted in *Jesus Loves You*, ca. 1973, pp. 6-7; 'Jesus Free Store', *Jesus Loves You*, No. 18, ca. 1974, p. 10.

41. Taped telephone interview with Craig Yoe, 13 July 2004; survey response by John White, Kent, OH, submitted 28 January 2002.

42. James T. Patterson, *Great Expectations: The United States, 1954-1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 785-786.

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43. Carroll, *It Seemed Like Nothing Happened*, pp. 127-132.
42. David Frum, *How We Got Here: The 70's: The Decade That Brought You Modern Life--For Better or Worse* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), pp. 291, 294.
45. Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Directors of Evangelical Concerns, Inc., 14 March 1974; 1 May 1975; Financial Statement, Evangelical Concerns, Inc., 10 December 1976.
46. *Hollywood Free Paper*, 3:15 (ca. Summer 1971), p. 3; Duane Pederson interview, Lake Los Angeles, CA, 2 August 2002, tape 1.
47. For a good look at the general rise and fall of the underground newspaper see Abe Peck, *Uncovering the Sixties: The Life and Times of the Underground Press* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985).
48. Pederson interview, tape 1 and 2.
49. Stewart and Richardson, "Mundane Materialism", p. 831.
50. Web article "Shiloh", (<http://www.shiloh-shuffle.com/shiloh.htm>); Stewart and Richardson, "Mundane Materialism", p. 828.
51. Miller, *The 60s Communes*, pp. 95-96; Stewart and Richardson, "Mundane Materialism", p. 828; "Shiloh" web article.
- 52 Timothy Miller, *The Hippies and American Values* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), p. 3; for a good thumbnail sketch of the counterculture's enduring legacy see pp. 125-144.
53. A contemporary view of the changing nature of American youth culture in the early 1970s and its more self-absorbed attitude is provided in Daniel Yankelovich, *The New Morality: A Profile of American Youth in the 1970s* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1974).
- 54 Joel Whitburn, *The Billboard Book of Top 40 Hits* (4th ed., New York: Billboard Books, 1989), p. 134.
- 53 Ibid., p. 282; Mead's version—which one imagines by dint of her being a nun probably sold quite well to Catholic youth—reached as high as #4 on the Billboard charts.
- 56 Ibid., p. 140. Excusing the lyrical appearance of "eleven long-haired friends of Jesus in a chartreuse micro-bus" in C.W. McCall's early 1976 novelty hit, "Convoy", some might count Debby Boone's massive fall 1977 #1 hit "You Light Up My Life" as a contender for this honour, given her squeaky-clean evangelical connections and later claims to be singing the song "about my relationship with the Lord" (Fred Bronson, *The Billboard Book of Number One Hits* [New York: Billboard Books, 1985], p. 475). However, its lyrics--a theme song written (not by Boone) for a forgettable movie of the same name--were certainly ambiguous. It's doubtful that many secular teens were putting a gospel wrinkle on the lyrics "it can't be wrong, when it feels so right".
57. John Street, *Rebel Rock: The Politics of Popular Music* (London: Blackwell, 1986), pp. 172-174.
- 58 Mars Bonfire, "Born to Be Wild", MCA Music, 1968.
56. Probably the best guide for understanding the history and culture of heavy metal music is Deena Weinstein, *Heavy Metal: The Music and Its Culture*. (NY: Da Capo Press, revised ed., 2000).
- 60 Understandably, this penchant for Satanic symbolism and Devil-friendly rhetoric resulted in extensive criticism of rock music--particularly citing examples from heavy metal--by many fundamentalist and evangelical spokesmen in the 1970s and 1980s. See for example, Dan Peters, *Why Knock Rock? Is It Bad? Is it Good? Does it Really Matter?* (St. Paul: Bethany Fellowship, 1984); and, Jacob Aranza, *Backward Masking Unmasked*, cassette tape, Shreveport, LA: Huntington House, 1983.

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58. Figure cited in Robert Walser, *Running With the Devil: Power, Gender, and Madness in Heavy Metal Music*. (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1993), p. 3.
62. S.v. "Disco", *The Rolling Stone Encyclopedia of Rock & Roll* (New York: Rolling Stone Press, 1983), pp. 151-152.
63. Peter N. Carroll, *It Seemed Like Nothing Happened: America in the 1970s* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1982), p. 266.
64. Joel Whitburn, *The Billboard Book of Top 40 Hits* (New York: Billboard Publications, 1983), p. 504.
65. S.v. "Disco", *Rolling Stone Encyclopedia*.
66. Michael Brake, *Comparative Youth Culture: The Sociology of Youth Culture and Youth Subcultures in America, Britain and Canada* (London: Routledge, 1985), pp. 125-126; Carroll, *It Seemed Like Nothing Happened*, p. 266.
67. A window into the mindset of the punk rock world is provided in the 'career' of quintessential punk rocker "Johnny Rotten" (John Lydon) of the seminal punk rock band the Sex Pistols. A good take on Rotten and the Sex Pistols can be found woven throughout Greil Marcus, *Lipstick Traces: A Secret History of the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989).
68. S.v. "Punk Rock", in Peter Gammond, *The Oxford Companion to Popular Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 474; Carroll, *It Seemed Like Nothing Happened*, p. 267.
69. Martha Bayles, *Hole in Our Soul: The Loss of Beauty & Meaning in American Popular Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 323-326, 372-373; Carroll, *It Seemed Like Nothing Happened*, p. 267.
70. Bill Squires telephone interview, 3 October 2002; CWLF fundraising newsletter, ca. late 1973. See various issues of *Right On!* for insights into the CWLF operation.
71. Fr Gordon Walker interview, Franklin, TN, 10 July 2002; Fr Peter Gillquist interview, Warrenville, IL, 23 March 2002. Gillquist's book *Becoming Orthodox: A Journey to the Ancient Christian Faith* (Ben Lomond, CA: Concilar Press, 1992, revised 2002) is a good guide to the history of Sparks' and friends search for true Christianity and their ultimate decision to go Orthodox.
72. Sharon Gallagher taped interview, Berkeley, CA, 6 August 2002, tape 1.
73. Gallagher interview; Squires telephone interview.
74. Jack Sparks, 'Androloclean Outlook', *Right On!* (September 1975), p. 4; Jack Sparks letter to CWLF supporters, ca. September 1975.
75. See Gillquist, *Becoming Orthodox*.
76. David Gill taped interview, Oakland, CA, 6 August 2002; Squires taped telephone interview. *Right On!* became *Radix* in the fall of 1976. The Berkeley-based Spiritual Counterfeits Project began publishing its *Spiritual Counterfeits Journal* in 1977.
77. Martin "Moishe" Rosen taped interview, San Francisco, CA, 5 August 2002; Ed Plowman, 'Turning on to Jeshua', *Christianity Today* 16 (17 December 1971), pp. 289-290. See also Moishe Rosen with Bill Proctor, *Jews for Jesus* (Old Tappan, NJ: Fleming H. Revell, 1974).
78. Ruth A. Tucker, *Not Ashamed: The Story of Jews for Jesus* (Sisters, OR: Multnomah Publishing, 1999), pp. 84-92; Rosen interview.

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79. For an example of the concern and analysis that Jews For Jesus triggered within the Jewish community see Moshe Adler, 'Alienation and Jewish Jesus Freaks', *Judaism* 23(Summer 1974), 287-297; Samuel Z. Fishman, ed., *Jewish Students and the Jesus Movement: A Campus Perspective* (Washington, D.C.: B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations, 1973); and, Robert A. Cohen, 'Infiltrating the Jews For Jesus', *Jewish Digest* (February 1979), pp. 8-12.
 80. Tucker, *Not Ashamed*, p. 100.
 81. Ibid., p. 193.
 82. Donald E. Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism: Christianity in the New Millennium* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p. 34; survey response by Jim and Betty Willems, ?, CA, submitted 13 November 2002.
 83. Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism*, p. 34.
 84. Brought out in Sherwood Eliot Wirt, *For the Love of Mike: The Michael McIntosh Story* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1984), pp. 127-128.
 85. Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism*, pp. 34-37.
 86. Wirt, *For the Love of Mike*, pp. 154-155.
 87. Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism*, pp. 46-48.
 88. Di Sabatino, 'Lonnie Frisbee', n79, p. 24.
 89. Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism*, pp. 48-50.
 90. See Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism*, for a good look at the history and development of these groups.
 91. 'Citizens of Two Worlds', *Cornerstone* 5:30 (1976), pp. 4-5; Jon Trott, 'Life's Lessons: A History of Jesus People USA Covenant Church', *Cornerstone* 22:102/103 (1993), pp. 13-18; Jon Trott, 'Life's Lessons, Part Two', *Cornerstone* 23:104 (1994), pp. 18-23. For an early sociological analysis of "JPUSA's" ethos, see David F. Gordon, 'A Comparison of the Effects of Urban and Suburban Location on Structure and Identity in Two Jesus People Groups' (Ph.D.: University of Chicago, 1978).
 92. Jon Trott, 'Life's Lessons: Part Three', *Cornerstone* 23:105(1994), p. 39.
 93. "Who Are We? Meet Our Family", (JPUSA webpage, <http://www.jpusa.org/jpusa/meet.htm>).
 94. Mark Allan Powell, S.v., "Resurrection Band", *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002), pp. 752-757; Steve Rabey, 'A Long, Strange Trip: Resurrection Band, a Cornerstone in Christian Rock Celebrates Its Silver Anniversary', *CCM Magazine* (October 1997), pp. 46-47, 49.
 95. Among Cornerstone's journalistic coups was the exposé of the immoral and unethical practices, and fraudulent biographical claims of long-time evangelical comedian/author/reformed 'satanic high priest' Mike Warnke in a series of articles in the early 1990s. The articles were later expanded into a book; see: Michael Hertenstein and Jon Trott, *Selling Satan: The Tragic History of Mike Warnke* (Chicago: Cornerstone Press, 1993).
 96. 'Meet Our Family: Jesus People USA at Thirty', *Cornerstone* 31:123 (2002), p. 13; Scharnberg, 'Commune's Iron Grip', p. 1A.
 97. Scharnberg, 'Commune's Iron Grip', pp. 14-15A; 'Meet Our Family,' *Cornerstone*, pp. 10-15.

98. Ronald M. Enroth, *Recovering from Churches that Abuse* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994); see pp. 121-136, 142-145, 150-153.

99. See for example William Backus, 'Who's Abusing Who?', *Cornerstone* 22:102/103 (1994), pp. 35-40; Ruth Tucker, 'JPUSA is Family', p. 41; Enroth, *Recovering*, pp. 150-153.

100. Scharnberg, "Commune's Iron Grip", pp. 1A, 14-15A; Kirsten Scharnberg, 'Exodus From Commune Ignites Battles for Souls', *Chicago Tribune* (2 April 2001), pp. 1A, 11A.

Chapter 9

God's Forever Family: the Long-Term Impact of the Jesus People Movement

Although the Jesus People movement had ceased to be a major cultural force within American evangelicalism by the late 1970s, its impact continued to be felt far beyond the end of that decade. Part of its lingering influence was the concrete result of the local, regional and national institutional and organisational footprint that was left in the wake of the movement (see Chapter 8). However, the influence of the Jesus People was felt well beyond the on-going remnants of the movement itself, wielding a great deal of impact upon the internal life and direction of a resurgent evangelical subculture that from the mid-1970s forward was noted for its growing activism and staying power.

The significant influences wrought by the Jesus People upon American evangelicalism could be broadly grouped into three major categories: music, youth/popular culture and church life (or, perhaps more aptly, 'doing church'). First, the Jesus movement's enthusiasm for the rock 'n' roll-based musical stylings of its time period marked the beginning of an enduring, Christianised version of the genre manifested in the multi-million dollar 'Contemporary Christian Music' (or, simply, 'CCM') industry. Another portion of the Jesus People's musical heritage that eclipsed even the influence of CCM from the late-1970s forward was its more relaxed, folk-influenced sibling that had come to be known simply as 'praise music'. First pioneered in a marketing sense by Calvary Chapel's Maranatha! Music (see Chapter 4), the simple tunes and frequently, biblical, lyrics of praise music swept across America's ecclesiastical landscape during the latter decades of the twentieth century.

The role of the Jesus movement in changing the musical face of American evangelicalism highlighted another major area where the legacy of the 'Street

Christians' endured--the revolutionised nature of the evangelical churches' relationship with youth culture and its closely related 'cousin,' popular culture. Whereas prior to the emergence of the Jesus People American evangelicals had fought to keep both youth culture and popular culture at bay, the acceptance of the countercultural trappings and styles of the Jesus People during the late 1960s and 1970s pioneered a new model for evangelical dealings in these arenas. After their experience with the Jesus movement, evangelical youth leaders and organisations from the 1970s forward aggressively sought to accommodate the varying permutations of American youth culture and their ever-changing music, hairstyles, fashions, fads and pastimes through the creation of popular culture-attuned (if wary) parallel Christian youth subcultures.

The changes in evangelical music and treatment of youth culture and popular culture, however, only served to play up a larger dimension of what was perhaps the most significant concrete impact of the Jesus movement upon the evangelical subculture--their sway upon the manner in which many American evangelicals 'did church'. The tremendous growth of the so-called "new paradigm" churches such as Calvary Chapel, Hope Chapel and the Vineyard Fellowship heralded a new style of charismatic congregation that combined conservative theology and Bible-centred teaching with upbeat music, come-as-you-are informality and a general friendliness to--not in this case the counterculture--but suburban American tastes and lifestyles. This trend echoed in the stunning growth of independent and denominationally-based 'seeker-sensitive' churches whose most prominent model--Willow Creek Community Church in South Barrington, Illinois--traced its origins to a flourishing youth ministry created during the height of the Jesus movement in the Midwest.

But perhaps as important an aspect of the Jesus People movement's impact upon American evangelicalism went beyond these concrete developments. Indeed, in

retrospect, one of the movement's most important legacies may have been the existence of the Jesus People themselves and the long-term impact the movement had upon the youth--evangelical, and converts to evangelical religion--who came of age during the period from 1968 to 1977. Given the critical juncture of American society in the late 1960s and during the early-to-mid 1970s, the Jesus People movement proved central to keeping many youth in line with the traditional theology and values of the evangelical subculture. In this regard, the Jesus movement was undoubtedly a crucial precursor to the renewed evangelical social, cultural and political involvement that was obviously under way by the 1980s.

Contemporary Christian Music Industry

Perhaps the most readily visible outgrowth of the Jesus People movement was the emergence of the Contemporary Christian Music industry (CCM). From humble beginnings in the movement's coffeehouses and communes, 'Jesus Music' had, by the mid-'70s, made significant strides toward becoming a sanctified version of the larger music and recording industries (see Chapter 7). Unlike its parent movement, however, 'Jesus Music' did not fade away in the mid and late-1970s. Instead, the newly-defined genre of CCM continued to expand its sales, record labels, radio airplay and--along with the rapidly diversifying pop music scene--the styles and genres of its Christian stable of 'rock' artists. By the end of the '70s old-line artists from the 'Jesus Music' days such as the 2nd Chapter of Acts, new CCM 'stars' such as pert Norwegian-American songstress Evie Tornquist ("Evie"--pronounced Eh-vee), combined with a fresh new round of secular music converts such as country pop crooner B.J. Thomas to push CCM's numbers ever higher, frequently garnering sales of more than 100,000 copies of their albums.¹ Perhaps inevitably, given the early success of Myrrh Records (see Chapter 7) and the existing infrastructure of the Southern Gospel music world (to

say nothing of the stronger evangelical demographics of the Southern United States), the CCM industry quickly came to revolve around ‘Music City’--Nashville, Tennessee. CCM’s maturation during the 1980s and 1990s was best evidenced in the skyrocketing career of young Nashville-bred pop singer, Amy Grant. A wealthy radiologist’s daughter reared, ironically, in the Church of Christ (which forbids musical instruments in its services), Grant released her first album while still in high school (1977). Backed by her father’s money and a surprisingly able management team consisting of her former youth pastor and an older brother-in-law, Grant gradually moved from teenage coffeehouse singer to bona fide CCM superstar with her 1982 album *Age to Age* marking her arrival as a star. Containing such songs as “El Shaddai” and “Sing Your Praise to the Lord”, the album became the first CCM album to reach first Gold (sale of 500,000 copies--and in one year’s time) and then Platinum (sale of 1,000,000 copies) album status. Grant’s success grew from that point, and with the release of her *Unguarded* album in the summer of 1985 she became the first CCM artist to land a song (“Find a Way”) in the Billboard Top 40 charts (peaking at #29). Grant reached the height of her stardom in the early 1990s with the release of her *Heart in Motion* (1991) album which yielded a #1 song (“Baby, Baby”--written for her baby daughter, Millie), four other Top 20 hits, and total sales of over 6 million copies.² All in all, Grant’s career by 2005 had produced sales of over 25 million albums, numerous Grammy and Dove awards, and even--just behind pop music icon Bing Crosby--the second best-selling Christmas album (*Home for Christmas*--1993--4 million sold) ever.³

Amy Grant was, of course, a spectacular individual success story. However, her popularity and sales trajectory mirrored what was going on in the larger world of CCM from the early 1980s into the early years of the twenty-first century. In 1984 CCM



Figure 1: Amy Grant's first 'gold' album--1982's Age to Age. Grant, a native of Nashville, Tennessee is the all-time best-selling artist in the history of Contemporary Christian Music.

chalked up sales of about \$75 million dollars, a figure that increased by over 15% the next year.⁴ A little more than a decade later (1996) CCM sales had jumped to over \$550 million, and when ticket sales and merchandising were added in, made for perhaps \$900 million in total revenue. By that point CCM had eclipsed both classical and jazz music in the U.S. marketplace.⁵ Overall, during the 1990s 'Gospel' music (including CCM as well as black and white gospel music) experienced an average yearly jump in sales of about 22% compared to an annual 5% increase for other musical formats.⁶ By 2000 CCM accounted for nearly \$750 million in record sales and represented 7% of total American music sales--double the revenue of Latin music and more than the sales in the jazz, classical and 'New Age' genres combined.⁷

Despite its 'success' in raw numbers, CCM has continued to have some critics within the evangelical community, though diminishing in number, force and success as the years--and generations--go by. As the years have gone by, such criticism as remains has largely switched from fears about rock 'n' roll being 'the Devil's music' to concern about the genre's waffling message and captivity to the larger culture.⁸ Perhaps most surprisingly, the greatest amount of consternation over CCM's muddled sense of

mission, financial success and trappings of glamour has been found within the CCM industry itself. The ghost of the earnest, penniless counterculture Jesus People coffeehouse singer ‘ministering for the Lord’ has hung heavily over CCM.

While no major artists went as far as one of the genre’s early shining lights, Keith Green, who in 1979 decided on the basis of verses like Micah 3:11 (“Israel’s priests instruct for a price and her prophets divine for money...”) that he could no longer see his way to charging money for his albums,⁹ there was a steady stream of self-criticism and excoriation about CCM’s acceptance of the secular music industry’s norms and mores. For example, in 1986 a group of over sixty CCM musicians challenged the publishers of *Contemporary Christian Music* magazine and the ‘Christian Music Industry’s’ use of music sales charts and record reviews as worldly practices unsuitable for brethren ‘in ministry’:

The whole area of reviewing albums and ripping apart one another’s offerings unto the Lord is disgraceful. If you don’t like an album we simply ask that you not review it. It is not right or righteous that an offering which has taken a year or more of our lives and an outpouring of our hearts and labor should be torn down by the subjective opinion of one Christian brother.¹⁰

That same year, none other than the ‘grandfather’ of Christian rock, Larry Norman, lamented CCM’s commercial turn. “We have prostituted ourselves”, Norman said, “we write for consumption”.¹¹ Other insider voices--not surprisingly, many of them old-line CCM artists with their roots firmly in the Jesus movement such as Californian John Fischer and Steve Camp of Wheaton, Illinois--continued to take the ‘industry’ to task through the years.¹²

Nonetheless, despite these sorts of misgivings, it was clear that CCM had secured a long-term niche within both the evangelical subculture and within the American entertainment industry. It provided a ‘baptized’ musical alternative for

American evangelical youth, living on well after the idea--and musical stylings--of 'hippie Christians' had faded into memory. As such, CCM was an important element of the Jesus People movement's legacy.

Praise Music

While the Jesus movement through CCM provided a specifically evangelical Christian version of commercial, more entertainment-oriented rock 'n' roll, the Jesus People also were the major force behind the development of a musical revolution which made its way straight into the heart of American church life. Whether known as 'Contemporary Worship Music', 'Praise and Worship Music', or, more simply just as 'Praise Music', thousands and thousands of church congregations across North America--most of them evangelical, but by no means all--from the late-1970s forward adopted musical stylings in their congregational worship which had originated and been popularized by the Jesus People movement. Cutting straight to the heart of Sunday morning itself, the spread of praise music proved to be an even more prolific--and controversial--bequest of the Jesus People than was CCM.

As noted (see Chapters 4 and 7), the use of simple, self-composed, largely folk music-influenced songs had been a ubiquitous feature of the Jesus movement from its earliest communal houses and coffeehouses. Perhaps the single most important font of this new style of music, however, was the original Calvary Chapel in Costa Mesa, California. Pastor Chuck Smith's decision to bankroll a recording of Calvary Chapel groups and subsequent move to incorporate Maranatha! Music (see Chapter 7) was the trigger to this development. While Maranatha!'s first album, *The Everlastin' Living Jesus Concert*--later simply *Maranatha! 1* (1971)--blurred the boundaries between Jesus Music as intended for entertainment and Jesus Music intended for worship, the

record sold over 160,000 copies and began to spread the Calvary Chapel 'praise' sound beyond Southern California.¹³

As huge numbers of evangelical church teens identified with the movement, praise music, as an upbeat, more 'relevant' sound, began to make inroads into many established evangelical congregations--and not just the 'Spirit-filled' churches of the Pentecostals and charismatics. It was apparent that a majority of evangelicals instinctively realized that keeping the 'Jesus Generation' in church meant a willingness to put up with, in the words of one evangelical church music doyen: 'guitar-plucking kids who play three bad chords but smile a lot (while we hold our ears and cry 'How long, O Lord!')'.¹⁴ While 'Jesus Rock' would have been unacceptable, or tolerated for teens' personal listening, praise songs like "Father, I Adore You" (1972), "Seek Ye First" (1972) and "Humble Thyself in the Sight of the Lord" (1978) found favour--or at least, forbearance--within worship services even among many older churchgoers.

Such was the spread of praise music into the congregational grass-roots of American church life that by the late '70s the leaders of Calvary Chapel's Maranatha! Music were beginning to notice that their once-flourishing roster of solo artists and bands was being steadily outperformed by the recordings and sheet music devoted strictly to praise music. Thus it was that in 1980 Maranatha! pulled the plug on all their 'artists', releasing them from their contractual obligations to refocus their efforts on the development and distribution of praise music.¹⁵ To supplement their recordings of praise music, Maranatha! published a comprehensive *Maranatha! Music Praise Chorus Book* in 1983 that quickly became a leading source for the chorus-singing congregation.¹⁶

During the 1980s and into the 1990s praise music continued to make steady advances into the nation's churches. Reflective of this reality was the rise of a whole

range of new companies that specialized in the publication of praise and worship music, such as the Vineyard International's (see below) Mercy Publishing (1983) and Integrity/Hosanna! Music (1987). Its impact was also inevitably helped through the expansion of its musical cousin CCM and the work of artists such as John Michael Talbot and Michael Card whose music tended more toward the softer, reflective and devotional side of the musical spectrum.¹⁷ Additionally, occasional worship anthems by more mainstream CCM artists such as Michael W. Smith's "Great is the Lord" (1983) and Rich Mullins' "Awesome God" (1990) went straight from massive popularity on the radio to a central place in congregational worship.¹⁸ The trend towards praise music was also intensified by the rise of the so-called 'seeker-sensitive' churches (see below) that leaned towards pop-sounding strains of contemporary choruses in their strategy to be more 'user-friendly' to otherwise non-churchgoing Baby Boomers and their generational successors.

Although praise music made tremendous inroads into the life of thousands of American congregations from the 1970s forward, its acceptance was by no means universal. Many older and more-traditionally-minded churchgoers along with musical and theological elites within the church and seminaries--particularly on the Reformed side of the evangelical spectrum--fought the new music tooth and nail, resulting in a struggle that by the 1990s had been dubbed 'Worship Wars'.¹⁹ The critics not only did not like the praise music style, but cited a number of major shortcomings they believed were endemic to the overall genre. To the anti-praise music critics, the new worship tunes were too subjective and self-centred, emphasising the worshipper and their feelings, rather than God and the gospel. Moreover, they regarded praise music as too consumerist and pragmatic, an attempt to appeal to people's 'felt needs' and entertainment tastes in the service of church growth as opposed to the preaching of the

hard-won truths of scripture and theology. Perhaps worst of all, it was just plain anti-intellectual--a 'dumbing down' of worship that was at best 'milk for babes', a style of music that aimed for the lowest common denominator that by its mere existence drove out 'quality' music and worship.²⁰

In spite of the critics, however, there was no perceptible rolling back of the praise music tide in the nation's evangelical churches. If anything, compromise seemed to be the answer to most local skirmishes in the Worship Wars in the form of 'blended' worship services or separate 'traditional' and 'contemporary' services. On other fronts the progress of praise music seemed to move forward, strengthened by the influx of imported praise music from Britain (the music of Graham Kendrick and the band Delirious) and Australia (the enormously popular Hillsongs oeuvre from Hillsong church in the Sydney suburbs).²¹ Perhaps most indicative of the genre's appeal was the increasing domination of 'praise' cds and 'worship' songs on the CCM charts and Christian radio stations in the early years of the twenty-first century.²² Increasingly, the songs that evangelicals listened to at home, at work and in their cars on their personal stereos or radios, were often the same ones they might end up singing in their Sunday morning church services. Praise music, the often controversial offspring of the Jesus People movement, had truly worked its way into the very warp and woof of American evangelical life within a period of less than thirty years.

Youth Culture

One of the most startling impacts of the Jesus People upon the American evangelical subculture was its influence on the manner in which evangelicals handled the relationship of their young to the larger youth culture. Prior to the advent of the Jesus People, evangelicals had been extremely suspicious of youth culture and had approached it mainly by attempting to isolate their children from its styles, fads and

music (see Chapter 2). The general evangelical embrace of the Jesus People movement in the early-to-mid-'70s, however, forever changed that dynamic.

The major element of the new evangelical relationship was the peace many evangelicals had established with the world of rock 'n' roll, the foundational element of modern American youth culture. While there was still plenty of evangelical resistance to the content of rock music and the lifestyles of contemporary secular rock artists during the 1980s and thereafter,²³ the acceptance/tolerance of Jesus Rock (see Chapter 7) had fundamentally altered the stakes of the game. Now in the wake of the passing of the hippie youth culture style (see Chapter 8) the controlling assumption within most evangelical circles was that the musical form of rock 'n' roll was essentially neutral, as were the trappings of youth culture. Thomas E. Trask, the General Superintendent of the Assemblies of God denomination when asked about contemporary youth ministry methods in a 2005 interview specifically looked back to the Jesus People movement as casting the mould for youth evangelisation:

I remember when people from the Jesus Movement . . . began pouring into our churches. The churches that said, 'These people don't fit our mold and style' missed a tremendous opportunity for evangelism and discipleship. Churches that welcomed the Jesus people had the joy of seeing a great harvest It isn't a matter of style, it's the content. We don't compromise the message --that is sacred. Churches need to make adjustments--as long as they don't water down the gospel--to reach young people.²⁴

Evangelicals from the 1970s forward responded to the multiplying genres and styles of rock music/youth culture by simply 'baptizing' the new forms and changing the typical 'message' from one honouring sex, drugs, liquor, violence, consumerism, misogyny, and so on to evangelistic messages, themes of standing for Christ, the value of sexual purity and so forth. The formula proved remarkably flexible and successful.



Figure 2: The changing face of American evangelical youth culture: the popular Christian heavy-metal band Stryper, 1985; l to r Tim Gaines, Michael Sweet, Robert Sweet, Oz Fox (photo taken from clipping in *Christianity Today*).

From the late 1970s onward multiple evangelical youth cultures flourished in North America, all of them supported by bands and ‘artists’ which provided a musical subtext. Until the music’s popularity waned in the late 1980s, there was a broad niche for a replica evangelical youth subculture that mimicked the electronic music, exotic hair-dos, militaristic fashions and spandex of the mainstream ‘New Wave’ style.²⁵ One of the enduring evangelical youth subcultures down through the years has been the heavy metal Christian subculture supporting within its broad tent different metal sub-varieties--’glam’, thrash, speed metal, even a Christian version of so-called ‘death metal’. For fans *Heaven’s Metal* magazine (later, plain old *HM*) helped link the subculture together as did various local radio programmes and even a few churches targeted especially at heavy metal kids.²⁶ For those youth who were into reggae music and Rastafarian styles there were ‘Gospel Reggae’ bands like Christafari, Imisi, God



Figure 3: The ‘New Wave’ Christian group, Bourgeois Tagg, ca. 1985 (photo from clipping in *CCM* magazine).

and I and Temple Yard replete with dreadlocks and *sans* ‘ganja’ (marijuana).²⁷ For the black on black-garbed ‘Christian Goths’ that arrived on the scene in the 1990s and afterward there were study groups and websites like ‘The Church of the Living Dead’ and bands such as The Groaning, Skillet, Beauty for Ashes and Crimson Moonlight.²⁸ Christian rap--pioneered by groups like DC Talk in the late ‘80s--became an ever-larger draw for both urban black teens and suburban white fans by the twenty-first century, with the music and ‘witness lifestyle’ bolstered by *Feed* magazine, created in 2003.²⁹

Not surprisingly, there were voices within the ‘adult’ evangelical subculture in the post-Jesus People years that were less than enthusiastic about the broad peace that had been made with youth culture. Individual parents and pastors and youth ministries still pointed to particular characteristics and images present in certain portions of the secular youth culture as ‘no go zones’ for godly evangelical teens. Some evangelical scholars and theologians--again, mostly from the Reformed wing of evangelicalism--weighed in with critiques of youth culture heavily influenced by 1950s secular critiques emphasizing the roles of capitalism and commodification in its creation and distribution.³⁰

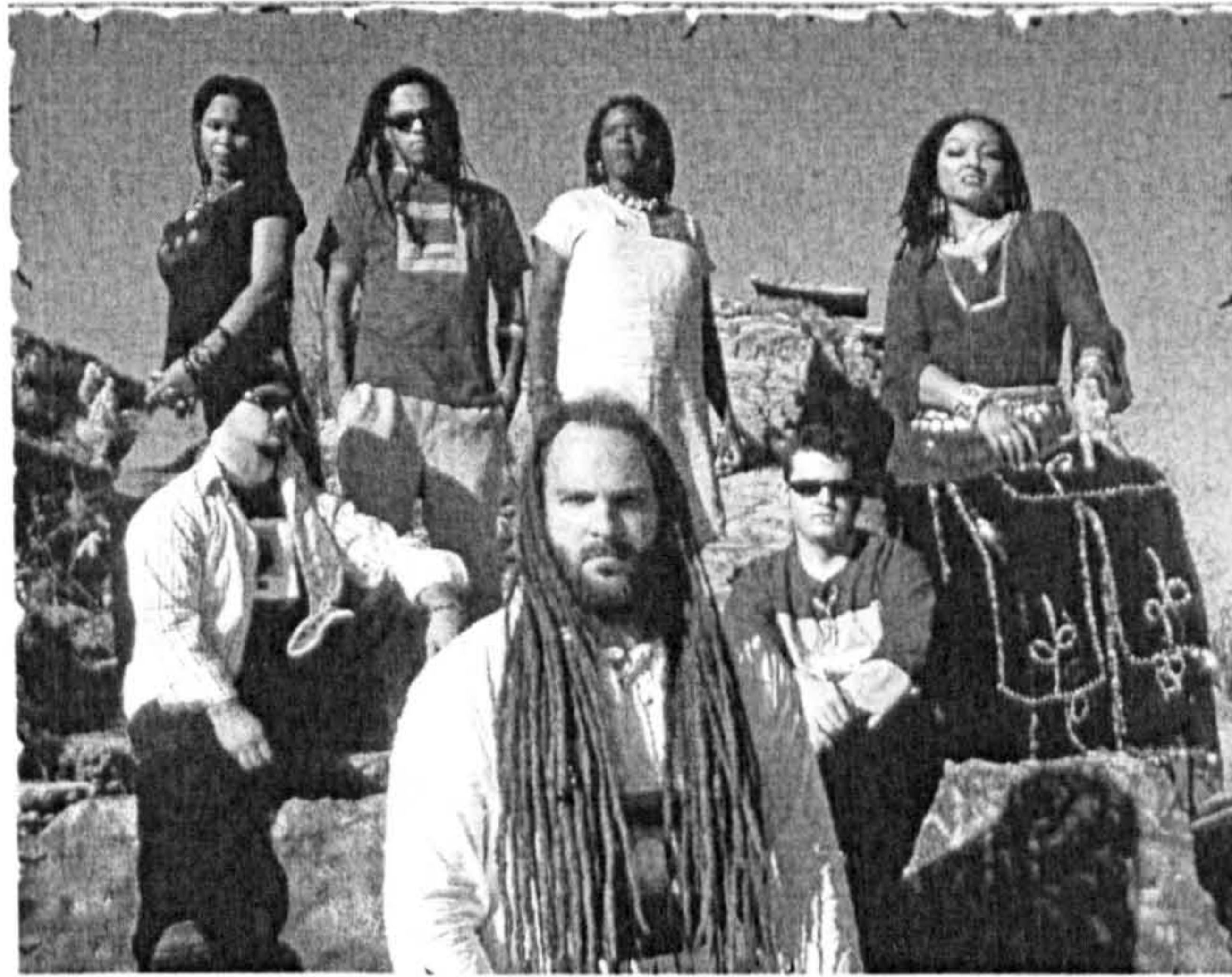


Figure 4: An example of the proliferating musical and cultural identifications possible within evangelical youth cultures in the early twenty-first century--the CCM reggae band, Christafari, ca. 2004 (photo from www.christafari.com)

For the most part, however, these criticisms have to date had little effect on the larger overall trend within evangelicalism to replicate secular youth cultures in a (largely) sanitized, Christian alternative. The imperatives of relevance and evangelism seemed to argue in favour of the new, successful status quo. The strategy that first manifested itself in the evangelical response to the Jesus People movement and which proved so successful in that instance had thus become the automatic reflex within the ranks of most conservative Protestants by the later twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

Popular Culture

Another after-effect of the Jesus People movement that was part and parcel of the new evangelical tolerance for rock music and youth culture, was the manner in which the larger world of popular culture itself had become much more friendly territory for evangelical Christians from the mid-1970s forward. This represented a huge change from attitudes which most conservative Protestants had traditionally held against ‘worldly’ entertainments and amusements right down into the postwar period (see Chapter 2). The Jesus People, with their penchant for rock music, posters, bumper

stickers, buttons, cartoons, jewellery and various types of 'Jesus' clothing and merchandise (see Chapter 4), had signalled a massive Baby Boomer break with these old evangelical taboos which expanded and intensified into the 1980s and beyond as the generation moved into positions of leadership.

One of the major beneficiaries of this new evangelical interest in music and other pop culture-related products generated by the Jesus People movement was the Christian bookstore industry. Colleen McDannell in her book *Material Christianity* emphasized the way in which Christian bookstores met the Jesus People's desire for a totally enveloping Christian "life style".³¹ Combined with a new surge in evangelical publishing, McDannell argued that the new Jesus People-driven merchandise revolution played a major role in the near-tripling of Christian bookstores in the period between 1965 and 1975, and an average sales growth rate of nearly 16% in the mid-70s.³² Even after the Jesus People had faded into the shadows, however, the Christian bookstore industry, fuelled by the growing sales of music, greeting cards, videos, toys, 'witness-wear' and curios continued its tremendous growth. By the early 1990s, while the sale of print items had dropped to only 49% of all sales in Christian bookstores, total revenue had risen to just over \$3 billion dollars.³³ By the year 2000, sales had hit the \$4 billion mark.³⁴

The success of the Christian bookstore industry emphasized the manner in which evangelicals created an entire parallel universe of 'baptized' entertainment options for themselves from the 1970s onward.³⁵ Of course, there was the existence of religious television and various cable and network channels which increasingly brought a wide variety of entertainment options into evangelical homes. Recorded video entertainment--particularly for children--was a particularly high-profile component of grass-roots evangelical life, producing such best selling series as Focus on the Family's

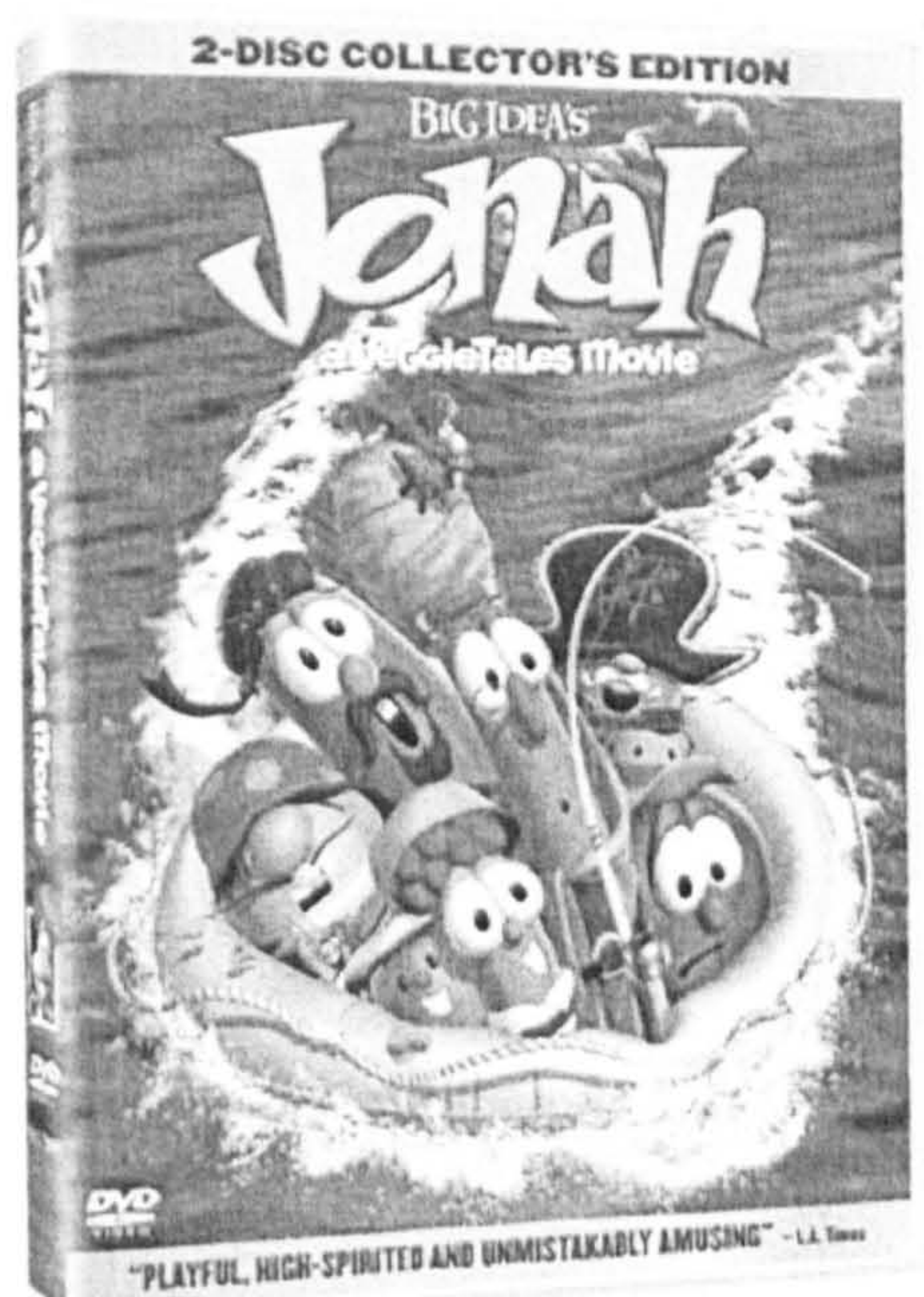


Figure 5: BigIdea's popular VeggieTales series became a family entertainment staple in American evangelical homes in the 1990s (photo from www.bigidea.com).

mixed live-action/animation *McGee and Me* which sold over 15 million copies between 1991 and 1996; and, the computer-animated *Veggie Tales* series which began in 1993, sold over 22 million videos by 2001, and in 2002 produced *Jonah*, a general-release, feature-length cartoon that pulled in over \$25 million in ticket sales at the nation's movie theatres.³⁶

For those who wished to go outside their own homes and still avail themselves of suitably 'Christian' entertainment there were a number of options. For the athletically-inclined there were such things as the "Christian Wrestling Federation" which coupled the low-brow theatre and physical showmanship of professional wrestling with in-the-ring allegories and post-match testimonies.³⁷ For those looking for a vacation destination, the theme-park smorgasbord of Orlando, Florida, held not only Disney World, Sea World and Universal Studios but the "Holy Land Experience", a 15-acre, \$16-million dollar museum/living history attraction where the family could stroll through a Jerusalem street market, visit a replica of the garden tomb and then

afterward dine on Goliath Burgers and Centurion Salads.³⁸ For many evangelicals there were also local nightlife alternatives such as the Washington, D.C., area's Synergy, a Christian comedy club in Beltsville, Maryland.³⁹

The fact that the world of parallel evangelical entertainment options was growing during this period highlights a larger reality--the fact that evangelicals had also greatly relaxed their general resistance to secular 'entertainment'. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the realm of movie-going and video-watching. Whereas as late as 1957 it was assumed by a solidly evangelical leader such as Youth for Christ's Robert A. Cook that no self-professing Christian should consider darkening the door of a movie theatre,⁴⁰ by the late-1980s conservative psychologist and radio host James Dobson could invite Ted Baehr, evangelical publisher of the bi-weekly newsletter *Movieguide*, to provide his vast *Focus on the Family* radio audience with tips on the suitability of new film releases for family viewing.⁴¹ In fact, by 2004 a study cited in *Time* magazine showed that evangelical Christians were among the most frequent movie attenders in the American population.⁴²

Obviously, such a major shift in attitudes toward popular culture among American evangelicals was the result of a combination of cultural and social forces. However, the Jesus People movement was key to this shift as they were the first sizeable group of evangelicals to disregard traditional conservative Protestant strictures against participation in popular culture. The approval the Jesus People received from the bulk of the evangelical establishment to 'do their own thing' as they followed Christ may well have unintentionally provided the entire subculture--particularly its Baby Boomer ranks--with the evangelical equivalent to a pop culture emancipation proclamation.

Calvary Chapel and the Vineyard: “New Paradigm Churches”

Among the most important outcomes of the Jesus People movement was the emergence from within its midst of a group of successful evangelical churches/denominations which, while no longer associated in the public mindset with the movement, continued to reflect its style, values and characteristics. Absolutely unhindered by the disappearance of the Jesus movement, Calvary Chapel, the Vineyard Fellowship and Hope Chapel adapted their old formula for success --an emphasis on Bible-centred teaching, the gifts of the Spirit, contemporary music, and a relaxed, come-as-you-are atmosphere--from a countercultural constituency to middle-class suburbanites and experienced tremendous growth from the mid-1970s onward. By the late 1980s these churches had established themselves as an important--and controversial⁴³--new part of the American evangelical scene.

Calvary Chapel, from its beginnings as a small, independent charismatic church in Costa Mesa, California (see Chapter 4), began planting new churches in Southern California in the early 1970s that soon mirrored the success of the parent church (see Chapter 8). Through starting new ‘church plants’ and voluntary affiliations by independent charismatic churches (about 13% of all Calvary Chapels in a 1997 survey),

⁴⁴ Calvary Chapels soon began to sprout up outside California, and then beyond the West Coast and Southwest. By the mid-1990s there were over 600 Calvary Chapels in the United States and about 100 abroad.⁴⁵ By 2005, Calvary Chapel had expanded to nearly 950 affiliated congregations in the United States (churches in all states except Delaware and North Dakota) and over 200 churches overseas, half of them in Europe.⁴⁶ Because most Calvary Chapel churches do not offer formal ‘membership’ and there is no denominational structure as such, the size of the group is hard to gauge.

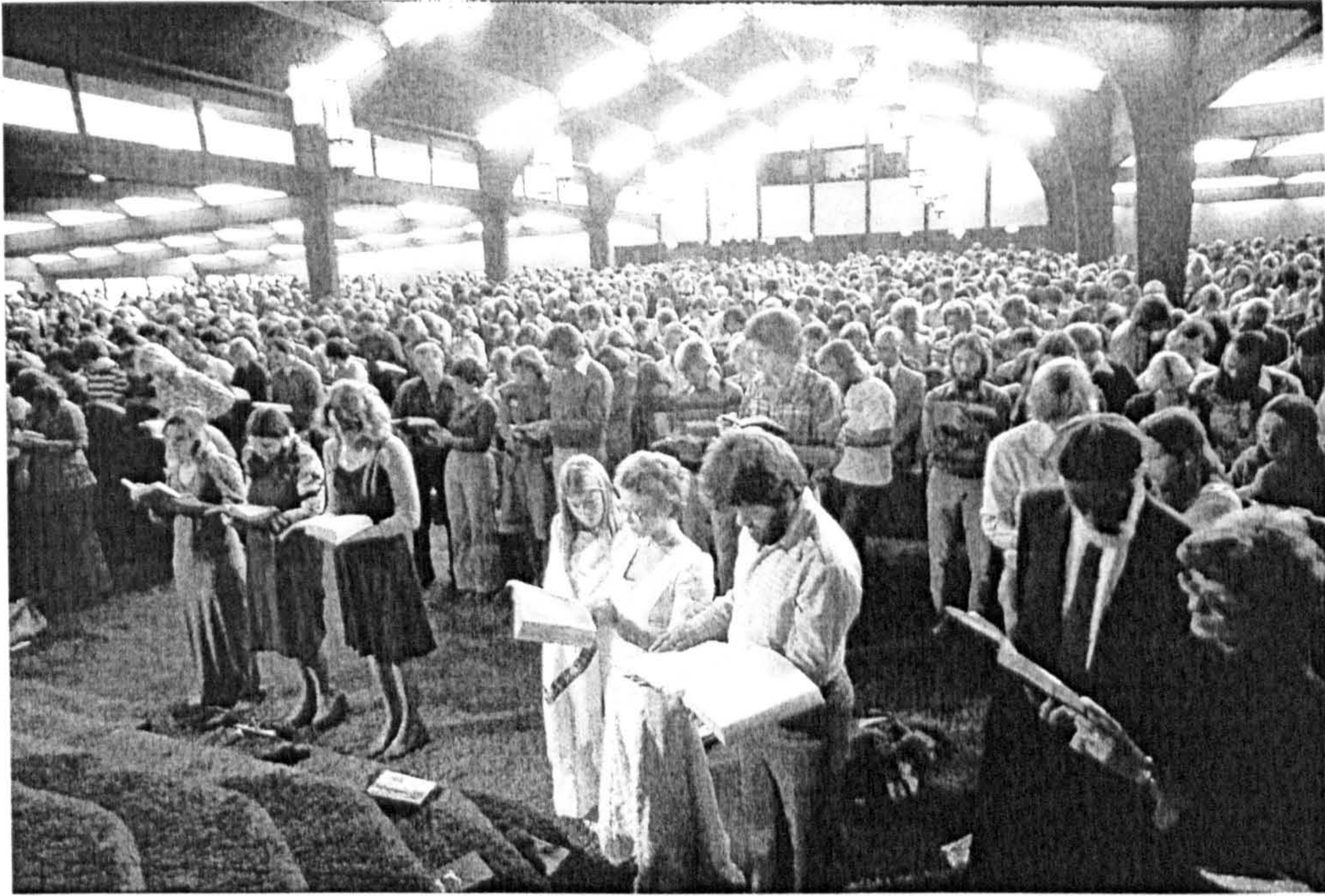


Figure 6: A Sunday morning worship service in the ‘new’ sanctuary at Calvary Chapel in Costa Mesa, California, ca. late 1970s (photo courtesy of David Di Sabatino).

However, a reasonable estimate of weekly attendance in the early twenty-first century would have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of 180,000-220,000.⁴⁷

Calvary Chapel’s ‘stepchild’, the Vineyard Fellowship, originated within Calvary Chapel and formally separated as a group of about forty churches in the early 1980s over the Vineyard’s heavier concentration on the gifts of the Spirit (see Chapter 8). From that beginning, the Vineyard, helped by its leader John Wimber’s increasing role in the ‘signs and wonders’ movement within charismatic circles and the spreading influence of its music, grew steadily. Among the Vineyard’s most notable member congregations was the Toronto Airport Vineyard (joined 1991), the source of the ‘Toronto Blessing’ movement that began shaking charismatic circles worldwide in 1994. By the mid-1990s, there were 400 Vineyard churches in the United States (about 35% of them ‘adopted’ from other denominations), and another 200 outside the country.⁴⁸ By 2003 there were approximately 600 Vineyard churches in the U.S. with a total membership placed at 140,000, and another estimated 800 churches overseas. To

put this in perspective, in a little over twenty years the U.S. membership of the Vineyard had surpassed long-standing American evangelical denominations like the Baptist General Conference, the Christian Reformed Church, the Cumberland Presbyterian Church and the Wesleyan Church.⁴⁹

Hope Chapel had its beginnings in Redondo Beach, California, in 1971 after the Jesus People scene had become well entrenched in Southern California (see Chapter 4). There, Ralph Moore, the pastor of a small congregation from the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel (coincidentally, Chuck Smith's home denomination), had a desire to reach out to young, single adults. Harnessing his youth group to pass out free copies of David Wilkerson's *The Cross and the Switchblade*, his little church, re-dubbed 'Hope Chapel', was soon bursting at the seams. Looking back in 2004, Moore recalls that he "was still pretty straight", unlike his fledgling congregation. "The church was Jesus freaks from the get-go", he remembered "we were invaded by bikers, surfers and a topless dancer named 'Kitten' by our second Sunday". Moore, only 25 at the time, remembered "freaking out about being a suit and tie guy with all those kids". But, he quickly "jumped in with both feet" and soon opened up a coffeehouse--the Sonshine Inn--in the back of the church.⁵⁰ The church eventually bought a decrepit bowling alley in nearby Hermosa Beach, which they remodelled to hold an 800-seat auditorium they filled on Friday, Saturday and Sunday nights. Moore left Hermosa Beach in 1984 to start a similar work in Hawaii. However, the Hope Chapel movement, in which Moore remained a central figure, continued to grow under the auspices of the Foursquare denomination. By the mid-'90s there were fifty Hope Chapels, and a scant decade later the number had grown to 200 churches claimed on six continents.⁵¹

In his important 1997 book *Reinventing American Protestantism*, University of Southern California sociologist Donald E. Miller identified Calvary Chapel, the

Vineyard and Hope Chapel as the cutting edge of a movement of 'New Paradigm' churches in the United States. In Miller's estimation, these 'New Paradigm' churches achieved a unique balance whereby they incorporated aspects of the therapeutic, individualistic and anti-establishment values of the counterculture, while rejecting its inherent narcissistic tendencies by questioning the drive for "self-fulfillment", valuing personal accountability and emphasizing the need for community in the life of the church.⁵² Although Miller (a self-described liberal Episcopalian⁵³) largely painted the new churches' success over and against the increasingly ossified congregations of 'mainline' Protestant churches, he also argued that Calvary Chapel and the Vineyard were a step beyond "business as usual" in America's evangelical churches. Whereas their theology "might even be described as fundamentalist", Miller contended that because of their desire to be "culturally relevant in their music and organizational style" they distanced themselves from "formalized worship patterns" found "in most evangelical denominations". As such, in Miller's opinion, they represented a "new paradigm".⁵⁴

While Miller's analysis was stimulating, he failed to acknowledge, however, that the 'new paradigm' which he described had in fact been the Jesus People movement. The members of 'God's Forever Family' had actually set the template for Calvary Chapel, the Vineyard and all who followed with the combination of very conservative, even "fundamentalist", theology with a style that was "culturally relevant in their music and organizational style" even as they distanced themselves from "formalized worship patterns of churches in most evangelical denominations". Calvary Chapel and the Vineyard amid all their success in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries were the ecclesiastical legacy of the 'new paradigm', not its fount.

Willow Creek and the ‘Seeker-Sensitive’ Movement

Another component of the ‘New Paradigm’ churches which Miller lumps in with Calvary Chapel and the Vineyard--although he does not directly study them in *Reinventing American Protestantism*⁵⁵--are the proliferating ‘seeker-sensitive’ ‘mega-churches’ which sprang up all across the United States during the 1980s and 1990s. In many ways similar to the ethos of Calvary Chapel or the Vineyard, these explicitly ‘user-friendly’ churches such as Saddleback Community Church (Lake Forest, CA), Wooddale Church (Eden Prairie, MN) and Calvary Church (Grand Rapids, MI) featured upbeat praise music and a casual atmosphere. While tending to target a more explicitly ‘white collar’ or ‘corporate’ demographic of middle-class-and-up white suburbanites, there were certainly many similarities to their Jesus People-rooted, Southern Californian cousins.

Interestingly, the roots of the most famous and influential of these ‘Seeker-Sensitive’ churches--Willow Creek Community Church in South Barrington, Illinois, in Chicago’s northwestern suburbs--go back to a burgeoning youth ministry created during the height of the ‘second phase’ Jesus People movement in the early-to-mid ‘70s when evangelical teenagers were adapting elements of the countercultural Jesus People persona as their own (see Chapter 6). ‘Son City’ began as a combination youth choir/rock combo (the “Son Company”) outreach programme during the fall of 1972 at the thirty year-old South Park Church in Park Ridge, Illinois. Led by Dave Holmbo and Bill Hybels, the group’s meetings combined rock music, a talk by Hybels, skits, games and contests borrowed from the Rolling Meadows, Illinois-based AWANA (“Approved Workmen Are Not Ashamed”) children’s ministry, Youth for Christ and other various evangelical youth organizations.⁵⁶ By the spring of 1974 the group had grown from its

original sixty or so members to around 600, and by the summer of 1975 had grown to a weekly attendance of about 1,100.⁵⁷

From the beginning, the leaders of Son City were awash in the new music of the Jesus movement which served as the catalyst for their attempts to find a relevant way to reach high school youth. The music of the group Love Song was particularly influential: “their 8-track--we actually wore that thing out” recalled Scott Pederson, who served on the Son City staff and shared an apartment with Hybels and two other leaders. “The music, the lyrics had a profound effect . . . it was something that we were all really hungry for, for a lot of us who had grown up in the church . . . trying to find how . . . we personally [could] establish our own relationship with Christ”.⁵⁸ Other Jesus Music artists such as Phil Keaggy, Larry Norman, Michael Omartian and the JC Power Outlet were also big favourites with the Son City leadership and they often took groups of their young followers to local Chicago-area Jesus Music concerts. As Lynne Hybels recalled about the impact of these Jesus People musicians in the Hybels’ 1995 history of the Willow Creek movement:

Their songs echoed the longings and beliefs of the kids’ hearts but set the lyrics to music they loved Kids like my own, who have grown up with Christian contemporary music, can’t appreciate what this meant to a generation of Christian kids who had grown up without a music to call their own. It was exciting. It was emotional.⁵⁹

By the summer of 1975 conflicts with the church board over Son City’s budget, its increasing use of the facilities and its loud music led to the departure of both Holmbo and Hybels.⁶⁰ In September of 1975 Hybels began a new church at the Willow Creek movie theatre in nearby Palatine, Illinois, that sought to “offer this creative and innovative type of service to an adult audience”.⁶¹ There, according to historian Fred W. Beuttler, “the youth group formed a church in its own image and structure”.⁶²

Continuing its emphasis on upbeat music, drama, a casual atmosphere and a general non-threatening ambience with Sunday services aimed at a posited suburban 'Unchurched Harry' and 'Unchurched Mary' and weekday services for more intensive Bible study and 'discipleship', Willow Creek was attracting over 2,000 in weekly attendance by 1978. In 1981 the church christened a new auditorium on 90 acres of farmland it had purchased in South Barrington. As the '80s progressed Willow Creek became nothing short of a phenomenon: weekly attendance went over 10,000, new services were added, facilities enlarged and the number of ministries and special concerns groups grew.⁶³

By 2005 Willow Creek would be averaging 21,000 in attendance each week, sponsoring 100 separate ministries while employing over 400 full and part-time employees and taking in over \$48 million dollars in annual revenue. To share its successful techniques through literature, conferences and workshops, the church incorporated the Willow Creek Association in 1992; by the early twenty first-century over 10,000 churches in North America and around the world from 90 different denominations were members.⁶⁴ What had begun as an exercise in utilising the upbeat strains of the emerging Jesus Music to evangelise suburban Chicago high school kids during the height of the Jesus People movement had become the most influential exponent of the 'seeker-sensitive' strategy to evangelical churches around the world.

The Generational Impact of the Jesus People Movement

Certainly, the cumulative effect of all these ongoing cultural and institutional legacies of the Jesus People movement would mark it as having played an important role in the shaping of American evangelicalism and the larger American cultural landscape as it moved into the early twenty first-century. However, these lingering 'after the fact' influences of the Jesus People should not be allowed to eclipse the

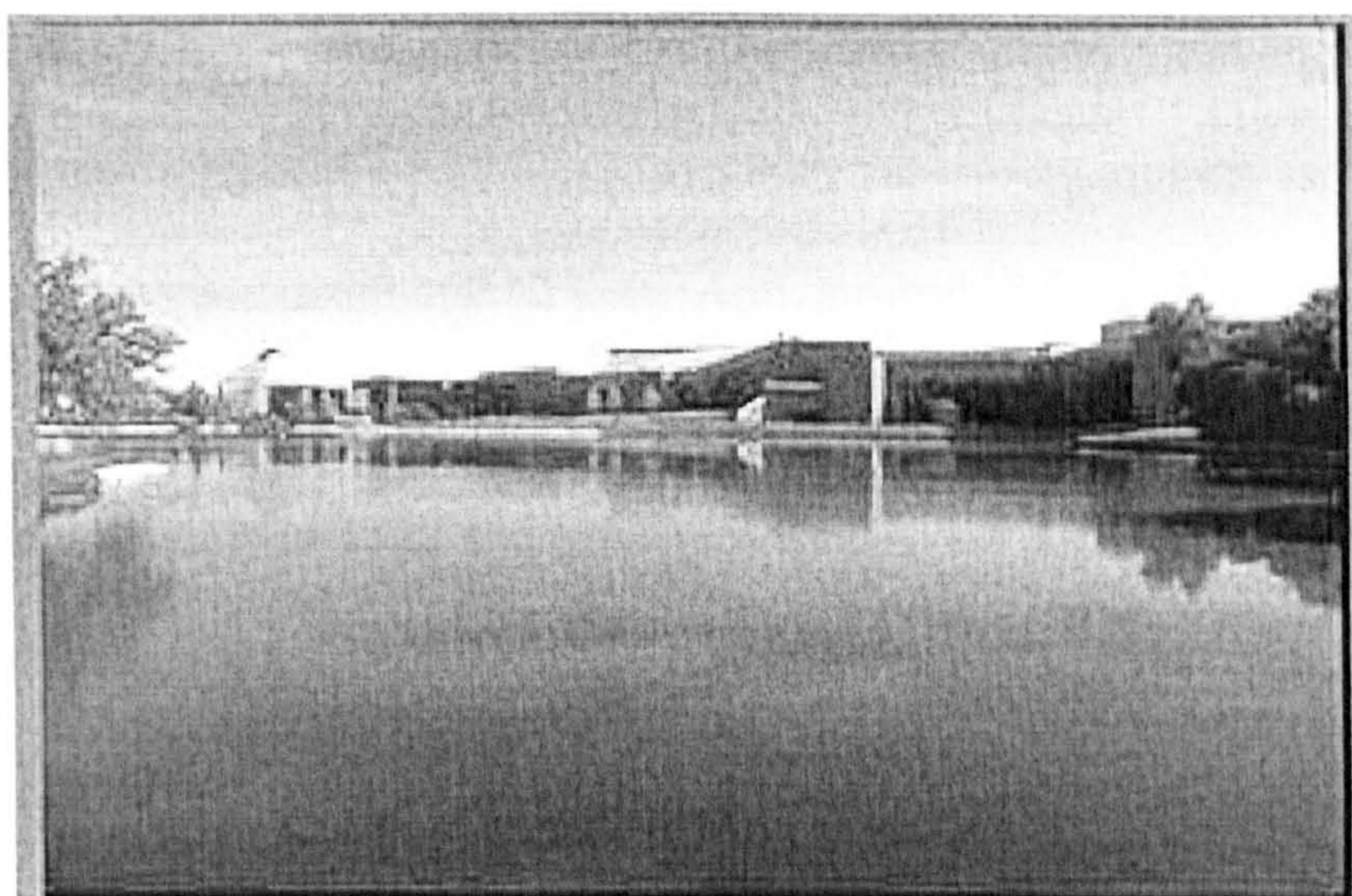


Figure 7: The facilities of Willow Creek Community Church in South Barrington, Illinois are nestled amid a 155-acre campus with its very own lake (photo from website www.promiseland-online.de).

significance of the movement itself within its historic, generational context. Perhaps the movement's largest impact was to be found in the lives of those young people who were touched by the 'Jesus Revolution' and the implications that their personal experience would have upon the direction of American evangelicalism in the decades that followed. The Jesus People movement, it turns out, was likely a crucial--and until now, nearly unrecognised--factor in the overall resurgence of American evangelicalism.

The Jesus People movement arose, it must be remembered, out of the counterculture and amid the chaos and tumult that were the 1960s in America. It is no exaggeration to state that the direction and allegiance of a whole generation of American youth was up for grabs during this period with no sure outcome in sight. Even as the combination of countercultural rebellion and radical politics were causing many young people to reject their parents' traditional values, morality and religion, the rise of the Jesus People movement became something of a bridge back to the American mainstream for thousands and thousands of the era's youth.

Louis Berry, a Vietnam veteran, was one such example. Looking back in 2000, Berry recalled returning to the States in May 1969, describing himself as “a mental mess from the drugs and death and all that. Anti-military would be putting it mildly!” Berry came into contact with people in the Jesus movement in Seattle while awaiting discharge from the army in 1970 and upon returning to his home in Vallejo, California, ran into more Street Christians from a local coffeehouse. They soon had an impact upon Berry:

I noticed how they loved one another I told them what ever you have I want it. So they told me about the Lord Jesus . . . Well, I got saved the day I got saved Jesus set me free from the drugs. My whole attitude about everything changed. My hatred and rebellion left me.⁶⁵

Milton Resh, a Michigan pastor, reminisced in 2001 about how he became involved with the “God’s Thing” ministry as a teenage hippie in Detroit.

The year was 1969. I started dating a girl who went to the home meetings that were held nightly at this couple’s home. I went one night and it was as though my whole life was in the light. I freaked and ran out to my car to escape A good friend of mine followed me out to the car and asked me to pray with [him] about asking Jesus into my life. I did and it was like a ton of bricks was lifted off my shoulders. I lost every desire to get high. Before you know it, I had moved . . . along with about 25 others into this Jesus Freak commune.⁶⁶

Peggy Hillick had a similar story. An 18-year-old girl living on her own in New York City, she was involved through friends in radical politics and “had attempted suicide and was regularly sniffing glue” when she came into contact with a coffeehouse in the West Village. Given a copy of *Good News For Modern Man* she read it and gave her “life to the Lord”. The decision changed her life:

I began to realize that the problems facing our country and society were not solely caused by the government . . . that the root of so much pain and suffering was basically our separation from God. We were steeped in a lot of anger and revolt primarily because of our sin

and self-centeredness. It slowly became apparent that I could no longer justify serious radical protests of behavior or even the ongoing hatred for authority and deep-seated mistrust. My whole focus changed from how unfair my life was to how incredible was the love of God. It pretty much turned my world topsy-turvy (and a better topsy-turvy!!!).⁶⁷

These sorts of experiences were echoed by many more thousands of countercultural-leaning kids and full-blown hippies during the course of the movement. And although the second phase of the Jesus movement after the 1971 publicity bonanza (see Chapter 5) brought a multitude of evangelical teens into the movement, it must be remembered that the numbers of ‘street people’ impacted by the movement was considerable. The results of the survey of former participants in the Jesus People movement give an indication as to the sizeable number of the Jesus People who had at one point numbered themselves among the ‘Woodstock Nation’:

Table 9.1

Did you consider yourself a hippie prior to involvement with the Jesus People?

Yes:	38.9%
No:	39.3%
Not sure:	09.5%
No answer:	12.3% ⁶⁸

Clearly, a substantial slice of those who were involved with the Jesus People had been either full-fledged ‘hippies’ or ‘fellow-travellers’ of the counterculture.

However, just as the Jesus People movement was a life-changing, worldview-altering experience for many former hippies, it proved perhaps only slightly less earthshaking to many evangelical teenagers who became involved in the movement. For these ‘straight’ youth, caught between the allures of popular culture and the ‘with-it-ness’ of the counterculture on the one hand, and the loyalties to their families and the strictures of their evangelical upbringing on the other hand, the ‘Jesus Revolution’ appeared as a literal Godsend. At a time when the culture was all about ‘relevance’ and ‘authenticity’, the Jesus People offered both in spades. For evangelical teenagers the

Jesus People movement provided a safe--or safer--path through the adolescent minefields of culture, faith and identity.

Looking back years later, these teenage evangelical 'converts' to the Jesus People movement singled out different aspects of the movement's attraction. To some it was clearly a matter of relevance to the times and youth culture. Dan Brady, an early attendee at Calvary Chapel in Costa Mesa, was one such case. Reminiscing in 1998, he recalled, "I was a Christian before the Jesus movement [however] I was thrilled to find that there was music that I could listen to and enjoy".⁶⁹ Susie Melkus of the Agape Fellowship in San Anselmo, California, remembered in 1999 how "thrilled I was that 'rock' music became such an integral part of church", replacing "the old fashioned hymns and organ 'boring' music".⁷⁰ Similarly, Mitch Bright, raised in the United Pentecostal Church in the Midwest, looked back and recalled, "I fell in love with [Phil] Keaggy and [the] 2nd Chapter [of Acts'] music along with many of the others. [I] liked the idea of keeping my hair long!"⁷¹ The opportunity to include familiar aspects of youth culture within their spiritual experience was a definite attraction for many church youth who joined the Jesus movement.

For some evangelical teenagers the sense of unity and purpose that the Jesus People movement seemed to offer was its most striking feature. Doug McCleary was involved with the Jesus People during his high school days in Oregon in the mid-1970s. Writing in 1998 from his vantage point as a Presbyterian minister in Washington state, he recalled that "there was an electricity in the air I was excited. I remember running into other young Christians in school and other places, and there being a tangible sense of unity of allegiance and purpose".⁷² Carolyn Barta recollected how the Jesus People movement served to unite her friends from different denominational backgrounds in Conley, Georgia. Raised in a strict church setting, her fellow Jesus

People were instrumental in her attempts to “open [her] mind and not be so narrow-minded we were all from different churches, yet when we all got together doctrine wasn’t important”.⁷³ This grass-roots ecumenism they found in the Jesus People was another appealing feature of the movement for many ‘straight’ church kids.

For other church-raised teens, however, it was the fervour and transparency of the Jesus People combined with their relevance that made the movement so attractive. Bill Overpeck, who was involved with the Jesus People in his hometown of Terre Haute, Indiana, recalled being invited to one of their meetings by a friend:

The group [Jesus People of Terre Haute] had rented the second floor of a downtown building and held meetings several times a week. I was dissatisfied with my church (mainline Christian fundamentalist) and wanted something more. On April 7, 1972 I walked into a roomful of scraggly kids and immediately realized two things: they had something REAL and I wanted it.⁷⁴

Joe Stephen McNair, a Texas teenager raised in the Church of Christ, had a similar reaction. Becoming involved at The Well coffeehouse in Austin, he found the Jesus People something very different. “These folks at The Well really believed in God and Jesus and were not into the whole ‘church thing’”, he wrote in 2000. “I wanted to know their Jesus and not the safe Jesus I had been taught in church”.⁷⁵ McNair’s experience mirrored that of Paul Basden in Virginia. Growing up the son of the pastor of the First Baptist Church of Richmond, he recalled in 2003 how his “life was unalterably changed” when as a high school sophomore in 1971 he met a group of Jesus People from the University of North Carolina. “They talked unabashedly about Jesus”, Basden recalled, “I had never heard such a thing--and my parents were devout believers”.⁷⁶ To these teens and many others from church backgrounds, the Jesus People represented a fervent, vital expression of Christian faith which they did not find in their parents’ lives or traditional church settings.

All in all, the coming together of hippie freak and straight church youth in the Jesus People movement made for a powerful imprint on a major segment of the Baby Boomer generation. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to argue that the Jesus movement constituted something of a powerful jog in the generation’s life trajectory. Survey results of former participants in the Jesus People movement suggest several ways in which this may have been the case.

One major impact of the movement seems to have been a clear rejection of countercultural attitudes about drug use. When asked if they had been users of marijuana before their involvement with the Jesus People, just under 30% reported themselves to have been ‘regular’ users and a little over 17% had been ‘occasional’ users of the drug. When asked about prior use of LSD, 10.5% claimed to have been ‘regular’ users and 16.3% said that they had been ‘occasional’ ‘trippers’. But after involvement with the Jesus People attitudes toward drug use changed dramatically:

Table 9.2

Did the Jesus People movement alter your attitude toward drug use?

Yes:	61.8%
Not sure:	03.0%
No:	29.4%
No answer:	05.8% ⁷⁷

Given the fact that most evangelical teens involved in the movement would have presumably tended to be against drug use before their involvement with the Jesus People (hence, 29.4% “No”), these numbers are convincing evidence of the changes wrought amongst the converts from the counterculture. In fact, the more conservative post-Jesus People attitudes toward drugs among survey participants mirrors the thrust of findings about growing resistance to the legalisation of marijuana within the American population in the years between 1977 and 1985.⁷⁸ It is hard to believe otherwise than

that the rise of the Jesus People movement constituted a significant obstacle to the spread of recreational drug use among American youth.

Another major impact of the Jesus People movement may have been in decelerating the otherwise runaway social locomotive that was the sexual revolution. Over 45% of the survey respondents noted that they had been involved in sexual activity either ‘regularly’ or ‘occasionally’ prior to their involvement in the Jesus People. Remembering that many of these respondents were in fact evangelical teenagers reared in the church made their response to a follow-up question about the impact of the movement on their attitudes toward premarital sex particularly surprising.

Table 9.3

Did the Jesus People movement alter your attitude toward premarital sex?

Yes:	62.8%
Not sure:	03.8%
No:	28.6%
No answer:	04.8% ⁷⁹

These numbers, in light of the strong teachings against sexual immorality within the evangelical subculture, would seem to suggest that perhaps even a sizeable number of youth raised as evangelicals--lured by the siren song of the counterculture’s free and easy ethic of sexual pleasure--may have perceived themselves as having been more open to the possibility of sexual activity before their involvement with the Jesus People movement. It is enough, in fact, to raise the question of just how complete the triumph of the ‘Sexual Revolution’ might have been had it not been for the ‘Jesus Revolution’. A 1977 study of changes in the attitudes of young adults under the age of twenty-five for example, showed that 41% of those surveyed had actually become more liberal since they were teens.⁸⁰ Given that sort of change in the larger culture, the survey numbers above suggest just how much greater the loosening in attitudes toward

traditional sexual morality might have been in the 1970s and thereafter had it not been for the impact of the Jesus People.

Another one of the fascinating results of the survey was the apparent impact that involvement in the Jesus People movement seems to have had on the political leanings of those who became involved in the ‘Jesus Revolution’. As early as the spring of 1972 a short blurb in the *New York Times* mentioned that observers on the West Coast had noticed that many Jesus People were registering as Republican voters.⁸¹ And Robert Ellwood in his 1973 study of the Jesus People, *One Way*, noted that the possibility of the Jesus movement producing more conservative voters was one of the concerns of “politicians”.⁸² The survey results suggest that there may have been merit in the earlier speculation. When asked how they would have perceived their individual political identity before they became involved with the Jesus People, as a group they definitely skewed toward the left:

Table 9.4
What was your political identity prior to involvement with the Jesus People movement?

Liberal:	42.0%
Moderate:	27.2%
Conservative:	22.4%
No answer:	08.4% ⁸³

However, when asked to describe their political orientation at the time of taking the survey, the consensus of the participants had swung far to the right:

Table 9.5
What is your political identity today?

Liberal:	10.3%
Moderate:	25.2%
Conservative:	57.0%
No answer:	07.5% ⁸⁴

Granted that these definitions were somewhat in the ‘eye of the (self) beholder’, they nonetheless provide an interesting indicator of the respondents’ perceptions of where

they stood at the two points of time in light of the commonly bandied-about political categorisations of American politics. Obviously, it suggests that the Jesus People movement--particularly, in the incorporation of its hard-core countercultural element into the larger evangelical community--may have played a very important role in eventually moving many young people into the ranks of conservative American politics, looming as an important component of the much-touted rise of the so-called 'Religious Right'.

Conclusion

Far from being an ephemeral blip or a religious fad, the Jesus People movement was a major--if underappreciated--episode in American religious history. It was not merely a Californian phenomenon, a by-product of pop culture that was around just long enough to flash across the cover of *Time* magazine before it became little more than a fading memory of the 1960s. Instead, the Jesus People movement was from its beginnings a unique combination of the counterculture and American evangelical religion that eventually had a national impact during a lifespan which lasted almost a decade.

First arising amid the heart of the counterculture's blossoming in the Haight-Ashbury neighbourhood of San Francisco, the movement was the product of earnest attempts by 'straight' evangelical pastors like John MacDonald and Baptist seminarian Kent Philpott to reach out to the hard-core 'hippies' and bedraggled 'street people' of 1967's 'Summer of Love'. With a tolerance of their hippie converts' long hair, fashions and music born out of their desire to evangelise the young, the new 'Street Christians' found space to begin moulding a counterculturally-friendly style of evangelical Christianity that resonated with their peers.

Although the movement had first appeared in the Bay area, it was further to the south in Los Angeles and nearby Orange County that the movement caught fire. With outposts like Arthur Blessitt's 'His Place' on the Sunset Strip, the 'Salt Company' coffeehouse at Hollywood Presbyterian Church, and the effective alliance between Pastor Chuck Smith and 'hippie evangelist' Lonnie Frisbee at Calvary Chapel in suburban Costa Mesa, a flourishing Jesus People 'scene' emerged in Southern California. Dozens and dozens of communal houses and coffeehouses dotted the landscape by late 1969, supported by an emerging Jesus People brand of music, underground 'Jesus Papers' and a variety of Jesus People-related merchandise--buttons, posters, bumper stickers and so forth.

The movement that took shape was broadly characterized by a combination of characteristics borrowed from both its countercultural and evangelical cultural seedbeds. From the countercultural side came an emphasis on communal living, a preference for casual dress and comfort--even in worship services--and an enthusiasm for the incorporation of popular culture (especially music) in the worship and daily lives of adherents. Evangelical distinctives included an emphasis upon the Pentecostal 'gifts of the Spirit' such as speaking in tongues; a pervasive belief in the miraculous component of the Christian faith (miracles, signs, angelic appearances and so forth); and, a voracious interest in the apocalyptic. Taken together, this unique combination of characteristics provided the common bonds which tied the Jesus People movement together.

While the Jesus People first surfaced in California and began to thrive there, it was clear that the 'Golden State' held no monopoly on the blending of counterculture and evangelicalism. As early as 1968 'Street Christian' groups began to emerge across the United States--in the Pacific Northwest, in upstate New York, Virginia, Florida and

cities like Detroit, Cincinnati and Philadelphia. By early 1970 it was apparent that the Jesus People movement had truly become a national movement within the larger counterculture.

With the movement's spread beyond California, the Jesus People began to attract growing attention from the secular and evangelical press during 1970. Helpful in this regard was the concurrent appearance of a number of popular songs with spiritual, or forthrightly Christian, subject matter and themes and--particularly--the late 1970 appearance of the rock opera, *Jesus Christ Superstar*. By merging the worlds of music, hippies and the person of Jesus, this spate of 'religious rock' created a cultural backdrop by which the Jesus People movement was suddenly understandable and relevant. As a result, a torrent of publicity about the Jesus People appeared during the year 1971. The nation's secular newspapers and magazines as well as the religious press lavished extensive coverage on the movement and dozens of books by, on and about the Jesus People were published. For a country wearied by years of bad news involving its youth, the news about the Jesus movement was a refreshing breeze of fresh air.

With the huge outpouring of publicity the Jesus movement began to attract large numbers of teenage 'church kids' from evangelical congregations who enthusiastically adapted the music and accoutrements of their older, hippie Jesus People role models. With the backing of important evangelical leaders like evangelist Billy Graham, many pastors and youth workers likewise seized upon the 'Jesus Revolution', as did organisations like Campus Crusade for Christ, which appropriated the Jesus movement as the theme for its June 1972 EXPLO '72 gathering in Dallas, Texas. By that time, 'God's Forever Family' had spread into nearly every nook and cranny of the nation with the ubiquitous Christian coffeehouse as the new local hub of the movement. The Jesus People had become the expression of a new evangelical youth subculture.

Amid the growth of the Jesus movement, one of the most important aspects of its development had been the rise of 'Jesus Music'. Perhaps its most salient point of contact with its generation, it had emerged spontaneously from the movement's early communal houses and coffeehouse settings as a reflexive use of young people's musical idioms of choice--a blend of pop, folk and rock 'n' roll. Through the influence of important early purveyors of the music, such as Calvary Chapel's Maranatha! Music and the rise of popular 'acts' like the band Love Song and singer Larry Norman, 'Jesus Music' evolved from an informal circuit of coffeehouse stages to a rising industry featuring concerts, festivals, its own record labels, radio airplay, fan magazines and artists' associations. By the late 1970s it had paved the way for the rise of the 'Contemporary Christian Music' industry.

By the mid-to-late 1970s the Jesus People movement began to unravel. As its cohort of youth began to seek further education, marry and establish their own homes, a natural siphoning off of leaders, supporters and their efforts began to have a draining effect upon the movement. Coupled with the economic problems that plagued America in the latter half of the 1970s along with the impact of debilitating internal factors such as the involvement of many with the Shepherding Movement, many Jesus People groups were forced to close their doors forever. The final *coup de grâce* for the movement, however, was the rise of a variety of new youth cultures (and attendant musical styles) that represented a rejection of the countercultural fashions and lifestyle out of which the 'Jesus Freaks' had first emerged. No longer 'with it,' the Jesus People style appeared as an outmoded relic of the '60s and as a result, the movement disappeared.

Nonetheless, 'God's Forever Family' left an enduring legacy for the larger evangelical subculture. The Contemporary Christian Music industry that issued forth

from the Jesus movement became an important multi-million dollar component of the larger American entertainment industry and a major element of the evangelical subculture. The closely-related genre of 'Praise Music' had a tremendous impact on the very heart of American evangelicalism--the way in which it worshipped on Sunday morning. The manner in which evangelicals 'baptized' vast swaths of youth and popular culture in favour of an evangelical equivalent represented a revolution in the subculture's relationship to both realms--a change which had first been embodied in the Jesus People movement. And the Jesus movement roots of the proliferating 'New Paradigm' churches such as Calvary Chapel and the Vineyard, together with the movement's impact upon the mindset of Willow Creek Community Church's 'Seeker-Sensitive' ethos, were an important contribution to the changing face of American Christianity.

When all was said and done, the impact of the Jesus People movement on the future direction of the evangelical subculture was truly substantial. Perhaps as significantly, its impact was also clearly generational in scope. Just as the lives of a large number of the Baby Boomers were shaped by the counterculture or by the radical politics of the New Left, so the Jesus People movement was one of the major moulding forces of American youth that came of age in the late 1960s and 1970s.

For many who were involved in the movement, their experiences as part of 'God's Forever Family' continued decades later to be the benchmark by which they measured their own spirituality and the health of the American church. In 2000 Freddie Rodriguez was a pastor in Ohio, but he looked back to his involvement with Sonlight Ministries in Youngstown, Ohio, as "the most spiritual time in my life. I will never forget the Jesus movement".⁸⁵ Grace Mullen Cook who was part of Lamb's Chapel in Charlotte, North Carolina, wistfully recalled in 2003 her involvement there: "The

worship was so awesome. I think I am still trying to go there. . . . And I find if I connect with anyone who was there at that time our connection goes beyond time and space”.⁸⁶ Mark Weston, who had been involved with a Jesus People fellowship in Connecticut, echoed her sentiments: “I miss those days so much. So much has happened. I’ve become lukewarm, even unbelieving in some areas. But how can I ever deny such an experience?”⁸⁷ Paul Reilly, who had been involved with the Jesus People in northeastern New Jersey in the early-to-mid ‘70s, put it well when he reminisced about the meaning of the movement in 2002:

We all know that events we live in our ‘coming of age’ experience will always hold a great sway in our lives. Combine this with an encounter with the Living God, and the memories can never be eclipsed. Even with a family and exciting church home, I realize that I often dream very fondly of my time in the Jesus movement. It was the defining experience of my life.⁸⁸

For many who were involved with the movement, the feeling of nostalgia blends with a sense of sorrow that their offspring have “missed out” on such a tremendous rite of passage. Many, like Jeanne Clark who was a regular at Calvary Chapel in the ‘70s, admit that they “miss it all. I would love . . . my children to experience the power of God and the joy of the time”.⁸⁹ Others, like Sharon Hanson, formerly involved at the Fish House in San Diego, looked to the future with anticipation of a renewal along the lines of the Jesus Revolution. “I believe we’re on the brink of another Jesus Movement”, she wrote in 2001, “Something similar, but even more sweeping. I think we are coming into a time that has been unequaled in the history of the Church in America”.⁹⁰ Perhaps the memory of the movement itself--not just its after-effects may yet prove to hold forth a vision for future generations of evangelical youth. This possibility was reflected in a survey turned in by a then 15-year-old girl named “Summer” living in Glenpool, Oklahoma, in 2000. She noted that she had seen a video

about the movement and had heard her “friend’s parents talk about [the Jesus People]”.

She closed with a short note:

This survey probably wasn’t for me Just note this, I’m fifteen and I want the Jesus Movement again. I want it in my family. I want it in the halls of my high school. My generation is crying out for more we need it here stronger than before, so strong, to be moved by Jesus; moved out of complacency, pride, religion, out of darkness. Don’t once think the Jesus Movement is completely gone .
⁹¹
 . .

“Summer” spoke more truth than she probably realised. The Jesus People movement which had profoundly shaped her “friend’s parents” and their generation was one of the most important religious episodes in postwar American religious history. And indeed, through the many and varied ways ‘God’s Forever Family’ had made an impact, it continued to exert an influence upon American evangelicalism decades after it faded away.

Endnotes

1 Sales figures ca. 1978 cited in Don Cusic, *The Sound of Light: A History of Gospel and Christian Music* (Milwaukee: Hal Leonard Corporation, 2002), p. 295.

2 Jay R. Howard and John M. Streck, *Apostles of Rock: The Splintered World of Contemporary Christian Music* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1999), pp. 75-77; Steve Rabey, “Amy Grant” in *The Heart of Rock and Roll* (Old Tappan, NJ: Fleming H. Revell, 1986), pp. 100-107; S.v. “Amy Grant” in Mark Allen Powell, *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2000) pp. 373-379.

3 http://www.amygrant.com/view_article.php?story=324, official website press release consulted on 10 May 2005.

4 William Romanowski, “Rock ‘n’ Religion: A Socio-Cultural Analysis of the Contemporary Christian Music Industry”, (Ph.D.: Bowling Green University, 1990), p. 231.

5 Howard and Streck, *Apostles of Rock*, p. 44.

6 Ibid.

7 Lorraine Ali, “The Glorious Rise of Christian Pop”, *Newsweek* (16 July 2001), p. 41.

8 For example, contrast the rock-music-as-Satan’s-tool thrust of Tom Allen, *Rock ‘N’ Roll, the Bible and the Mind* (Alberta, Canada: Horizon House, 1982) with the cultural captivity model put forth in William D. Romanowski, “Contemporary Christian Music: The Business of Music Ministry”, in Quentin J. Schultze, ed., *American Evangelicals and the Mass Media* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990), pp. 143-169.

9 Melody Green and David Hazard, *No Compromise: The Life Story of Keith Green* (Chatsworth, CA: Sparrow Press, 1989), pp. 218-219, 221, 226-227. Getting out of his contract with Sparrow Records, Green self-financed his 1980 album *So You Wanna Go Back to Egypt?*, and offered the album for whatever the listener deigned to give him. By the spring of 1982 Green could report that he had "sold" over 200,000 records in this manner, including 61,000 gratis albums! Green's promising and --within a large segment of evangelicalism--prophetic career was cut short by his death in a plane crash in Texas in 1982. See also s.v. "Keith Green", in Mark Allan Powell, *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002), pp. 383-384.

10 "An Open Letter", *Contemporary Christian Music* [hereafter CCM] (February 1986), p. 5. Almost a decade later the issue was still considered compelling enough to be revisited. See Todd Hafer, "Critical Condition", *CCM* (November 1995), pp. 49-50, 52, 54.

11 Larry Norman quoted in Steve Rabey, "'Of Concerts and Concerns'", *Christianity Today* (19 September 1986), p. 42.

12 Steve Camp issued a Lutheresque blast at CCM in a Reformation Day 1997 mailing to 1,500 musicians, producers, record company executives and journalists entitled "A Call for Reformation in the Contemporary Christian Music Industry"; its complete text can be found on the internet at: http://www.worship.com/steve_camp_107_theses.htm (accessed 12 May 2005). For an example of John Fischer's soul-searching columns into the motives, content and direction of CCM see "Relevancy Isn't Everything", *Contemporary Christian Music* (June 1992), p. 62, and, "Watering Down God", *Contemporary Christian Music* (January 1995), p. 76. For an extended wrestling with the artistic and scriptural shortcomings of the industry and the music by one of the genre's influential artists and producers, see Charlie Peacock [Charles Ashworth], *At the Crossroads: An Insider's Look at the Past, Present, and Future of Contemporary Christian Music* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman Publishing, 1999).

13 Mark Joseph, *The Rock & Roll Rebellion* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1999), p. 14.

14 Carlton Young, "Church Music, American Style: What's Ahead?", *The Christian Ministry* 8 (March 1977), p. 8.

15 Chuck Fromm, "New Song to Contemporary Christian Music Entertainment" (M.A. Thesis: Fuller Theological Seminary, 1996), p. 74.

16 *Maranatha! Music Praise Chorus Book*, 1st ed. (Costa Mesa, CA: Maranatha! Music, 1983). The book's most recent edition, its fourth, was published in 1997.

17 John Michael Talbot was a product of the Jesus People movement who became a lay Franciscan brother in the late '70s and who has churned out a number of devotional--often sacramental-themed albums over the years. S.v. "John Michael Talbot" in Powell, *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music*, pp. 919-923. His albums *The Lord's Supper* (1980) and *The Quiet* (1985) are representative of his work. Michael Card was a Nashville native whose "El Shaddai" was recorded by Amy Grant in 1982 and won Card a Dove award for Songwriter of the Year. In the 1980s his serious, biblical-based songs won a large following among 25+ and older evangelicals. S.v. "Michael Card" in Powell, *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music*, pp. 137-139. His albums *Scandalon* (1985) and *The Promise* (1991) are typical samples of his style. In 1996 Talbot and Card teamed up for a best-selling album, *Brother to Brother*.

18 The story behind "Great is the Lord" can be found in Lindsay Terry, *The Sacrifice of Praise: Stories Behind The Greatest Praise and Worship Songs of All Time* (Brentwood, TN: Integrity Media, 2002), pp. 23-26.

19 An excellent overview of the development of the "Worship Wars" can be found in Michael S. Hamilton, "The Triumph of the Praise Songs: How Guitars Beat Out the Organ in the Worship Wars", *Christianity Today* (12 July 1999), pp. 28-35.

20 The most influential blast against praise music is perhaps contained in Marva Dawn, *Reaching Out Without Dumbing Down* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995). The best counterblast from the other side thus far has been John M. Frame, *Contemporary Christian Music: A Biblical Defense* (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian & Reformed Publishing, 1997).

21 *King of Fools* (Sparrow, 1998) is one of Delirious' more popular U.S. releases; *Hosanna! Shout to the Lord (Live)* (Sony, 1998) is representative of the HillSongs 'school' of praise and worship music.

22 For a look into the growing move towards praise music-oriented releases in the CCM world see for example Melissa Riddle, "O For a Thousand Tongues!", *CCM* (March 1998), pp. 34-36, 38, 40, 42, 44. See also the press release "Full 2004 Sales Report From the Gospel Music Association" <http://www.freshreleases.com/news/2439.html> (accessed 17 May 2005).

23 See for example Jeff Godwin, *Devil's Disciples: The Truth about Rock Music* (Ontario, CA: Chick Publishing, 1986).

24 "Ask the Superintendent--Ministering to Today's Youth", *Enrichment Journal* (found at http://enrichmentjournal.ag.org/200101/0101_006_superintendent.cfm , accessed 4 June 2005).

25 See any *CCM* magazine during the early-to-mid 1980s--much of 'mainstream' CCM was oriented towards the New Wave music of the period.

26 For an early look into the rise of 'Christian Metal' see the article on the band Stryper by Steve Rabey, "A Christian 'Heavy Metal' Band Makes Its Mark on the Secular Music Industry", *Christianity Today* (15 February 1985), pp. 45-47. *HM* magazine's website is located at <http://www.hmmagazine.com/> (accessed 14 May 2005).

27 See for example Debra Akins, "Christafari: Reggae Music for Searching Masses", *CCM* (February 1995), p. 26.

28 For insight into the Christian Goth movement see http://www.thefirstchurchofthelivingdead.com/openingpage_wrkfrms.htm (accessed 14 May 2005).

29 For a look at the world of Christian rap see <http://www.feedstop.com/> (accessed 14 May 2005).

30 See for example Kenneth A. Myers, *All God's Children and Blue Suede Shoes: Christians and Popular Culture* (Westchester, IL: Crossway Books, 1989), and Quentin J. Schultze, Roy M. Anker, James D. Bratt, et al., *Dancing in the Dark: Youth, Popular Culture and the Electronic Media* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991).

31 Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 247.

32 Ibid., p. 246.

33 Heather Hendershot, *Shaking the World for Jesus: Media and Conservative Evangelical Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p.21; McDannell, *Material Christianity*, p. 259.

34 Hendershot, *Shaking the World for Jesus*, p. 21.

35 Populist political gadfly Jeremy Rifkin was one of the first to notice and write about this in his book (with Ted Howard), *The Emerging Order: God in the Age of Scarcity* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1983). A perceptive, in-depth examination of the phenomenon that came out the next year was Carol Flake, *Redemptorama: Culture, Politics, and the New Evangelicalism* (New York: Doubleday, 1984).

36 Marc Peyser, "God, Mammon and 'Bibleman'", *Newsweek* (16 July 2001), p. 47; Hendershot, *Shaking the World for Jesus*, pp. 40-45; box office figures for *Jonah* at <http://www.the-numbers.com/movies/2002/JONAH.html> (accessed 16 May 2005). While the "Veggie Tales" cartoons

were a remarkable success as a video series, its foray into the big-time world of moviemaking with *Jonah* proved disastrous. Although the film itself made a small profit, the series' creator, Big Ideas, Inc of Lombard, Illinois, overstretched itself in the process, was forced to declare bankruptcy, and was sold (see Bob Smietana, "Running Out of Miracles", *Christianity Today* [May 2004], pp. 45-48).

37 For insight into the wonders of the Christian Wrestling Federation see <http://www.christianwrestling.com/> (accessed 16 May 2005).

38 For information on the Holy Land Experience in Orlando, Florida, see <http://www.theholylandexperience.com/> (accessed 16 May 2005).

39 Natalie Hopkinson, "The Ha-Ha-Hallelujah Comedy Movement", *Washington Post* (20 July 2004), p. A01.

40 Robert A. Cook, "What About Hollywood Movies?", *Youth For Christ Magazine* [April 1957], pp. 15-16.

41 Ted Baehr, the son of cowboy film star "Cowboy Bob Allen" (Ted Baehr, Sr.), began publishing his *Movieguide* newsletter in 1985.

42 A Barna Group research study cited in "The Gospel According to Spider-Man", *Time* (16 August 2004), p. 72.

43 While Calvary Chapel, the Vineyard, and the so-called 'Seeker-Sensitive' megachurches like Willow Creek Community Church were successful, not everyone within evangelical circles hailed their rise. Many critics--predominantly representing the 'evangelical academic and theological elite' and generally (as in the case of the critique of praise music and popular culture), tilting toward the Reformed end of the theological spectrum--were vociferous in their critiques of the Seeker-Sensitive churches, often seeing them as the embodiment of evangelicalism's descent into postmodernism and cultural relativism. See for example, Bruce Shelley and Marshall Shelley, *The Consumer Church* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1992); Douglas D. Webster, *Selling Jesus: What's Wrong With Marketing the Church* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1992); Os Guinness, *Dining With the Devil: The Megachurch Movement Flirts With Modernity* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1993). The rise of the megachurch also played heavily into David F. Wells' influential book *No Place For Truth: Or Whatever Happened to Evangelical Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993).

44 Figure cited in Donald E. Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism: Christianity in the New Millennium* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p. 50.

45 Figure cited in Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism*, p. 19.

46 Figures cited on Calvary Chapel's official website, <http://calvarychapel.com/> (accessed 17 May 2005).

47 According to Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism* (p. 35) the median attendance of Calvary Chapel in the mid-1990s was 138 per congregation, although six of the churches--not counting Calvary Chapel-Costa Mesa for which Miller, curiously, never gives an attendance estimate--had a combined weekly attendance of almost 48,000. Counting Calvary Chapel-Costa Mesa at say, 15,000 in the mid-'90s (their website in 2005 claimed that 35,000 called the church home!), adding the figures for the next six largest congregations, and then counting the rest of the 938 Calvary Chapels at the mid-'90s level produces a conservative "guesttimate" of over 190,000 Calvary Chapel attenders.

48 Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism*, pp. 19, 50.

49 Compare this to the figures cited in Eileen W. Lindner, ed., *Yearbook of American & Canadian Churches: 2005* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2005), pp. 366-377 for the Baptist General Conference (145,000), Christian Reformed Church (136,000), Cumberland Presbyterian Church (83,000) and the Wesleyan Church (114,000). Statistics on current international Vineyard churches supplied in a telephone

conversation with Barbara Johnson of American Vineyard Missions, Claremont, California, 28 June 2005.

50 Survey submitted by Ralph Moore, (founder of Hope Chapel Hermosa Beach), Kanehoe Bay, HI, 17 February 2004.

51 Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism*, pp. 39-43; mid-90s statistic cited on p. 19; 2005 Hope Chapel statistic cited on Hope Chapel-Kanehoe Bay website, <http://www.hopechapel.com/radio/> (accessed 19 May 2005).

52 Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism*, pp. 21-22.

53 Ibid., pp. 6-9.

54 Ibid., pp. 21-22.

55 Ibid., see pp. 1-2.

56 Fred W. Beuttler, "Revivalism in Suburbia: 'Son City' and the Origins of Willow Creek Community Church, 1972-1980", in Michael J. McClymond, ed., *Embodying the Spirit: New Perspectives on North American Revivalism* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004, pp. 170-173.

57 Ibid., pp. 173-175.

58 Taped telephone interview with Scott Pederson, 24 May 2005.

59 Lynne and Bill Hybels, *Rediscovering Church: The Story and Vision of Willow Creek Community Church* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995), p. 27.

60 Beuttler, "Revivalism in Suburbia", p. 175.

61 Quote found in "History" section on the Willow Creek Community Church website <http://www.willowcreek.org/history.asp> (accessed 18 May 2005).

62 Beuttler, "Revivalism in Suburbia", p. 194.

63 See Hybels and Hybels, *Rediscovering Church*, for basic historical information on Willow Creek up until the mid-90s.

64 2005 statistics cited in "One Church's Way", *Business Week* (23 May 2005), p. 84.

65 Survey response by Louis Berry, Vallejo, CA, submitted 12 May 2000.

66 Survey response by Milton Resh, Taylor, MI, submitted 12 November 2001.

67 Survey response by Peggy Hillick, Robbinsville, NY, submitted 21 May 2002.

68 Larry Eskridge, "Jesus People Survey Tabulations & Comments"; see Appendix A.

69 Survey response by Dan Brady, Flagstaff, AZ, submitted 6 March 1998.

70 Survey response by Susie Melkus, Omaha, NE, submitted 27 November 1999.

71 Survey response by Mitch Bright, Hobart, IN, submitted 5 July 2002.

72 Survey response by Doug McCleary, Sunnyside, WA, submitted 20 March 1998.

73 Survey response by Carolyn Barta, Jasper, GA, submitted 8 June 1998.

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- 74 Survey response by Bill Overpeck, Terre Haute, IN, submitted 14 May 1998.
- 75 Survey response by Joe Stephen McNair, Kyle, TX, submitted 28 January 2000.
- 76 Survey response by Paul Basden, Frisco, TX, submitted 2 February 2003.
- 77 Eskridge, "Jesus People Survey Tabulations"; see Appendix A
- 78 Gallup Poll data cited in Timothy Miller, *The Hippies and American Values* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), p. 134.
- 79 Eskridge, "Jesus People Survey Tabulations"; see Appendix A
- 80 Study cited in "The New Morality," *Time* (21 November 1977), pp. 111-116.
- 81 "Youth in Sects on Coast Registering Republican", *New York Times*, (16 April 1972), p. 36.
- 82 Robert S. Ellwood, Jr., *One Way; The Jesus Movement and Its Meaning* (Engelwood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973), p. 132.
- 83 Eskridge, "Jesus People Survey Tabulations"; see Appendix A
- 84 Ibid.
- 85 Survey response by Freddie Rodriguez, Salem, OH, submitted 1 June 2000.
- 86 Survey response by Grace Mullen Cook, Johnson City, TN, submitted 26 June 2003.
- 87 Survey response by Mark R. Weston, Gainesville, FL, submitted 4 April 1999.
- 88 Survey response by Paul Reilly, Lawrenceville, NJ, submitted 21 July 2002.
- 89 Survey response by Jeanne Clark, Renton, WA, submitted 20 January 2001.
- 90 Survey response by Sharon Hanson, Puyallup, WA, submitted 24 January 2001.
- 91 Survey response by "Summer" ?, Glenpool, OK, submitted 27 May 2000. As she was obviously too young to have actually taken part in the movement during the 1960s and 1970s, Summer's answers were not counted as part of the statistical sample used in the Jesus People survey.

Appendix A

Jesus People Survey Tabulations & Comments (May 2004)

The information below represents a statistical breakdown of 812 surveys completed by people who considered themselves a part of the Jesus People movement of the 1960s and 1970s. With the technical assistance of “webmaster” Dave Hollandsworth the survey, a joint collaboration between David Di Sabatino (author of *The Jesus People Movement: An Annotated Bibliography and General Resource*) and myself was hosted on the website “Remembering the Jesus Movement” (<http://oneway.org/jesusmovement/index.html>) from November 1997 through the end of April 2004. The site draws people who have “surfing in” via search engines and through a direct link with a larger site catering to fans of the “classic” beginnings of Contemporary Christian Music, “A Decade of Jesus Music, 1969-1979” (<http://one-way.org/jesusmusic/index.html>). I have assembled the statistical information below; percentile breakdowns are provided (in a few cases a raw number count) and in many instances I have provided explanatory and interpretive notes. While the following does not pretend to be a “final word” as a statistical picture of the Jesus People movement, it nonetheless provides the first major “retro” statistical tool for interpreting the characteristics, beliefs, scope and nature of the movement.

Basic Statistical Information:

-Gender:

Males:	68.1%
Females:	30.2%
Undetermined:	1.7%

Three of the surveys tabulated represent “shared” husband/wife surveys. One thing that is immediately striking about this survey’s data is--given the traditional proclivity for female religious involvement--the large percentage of male respondents. This could be the result of a combination of factors—perhaps a product of a male predisposition to be more computer-savvy; a higher likelihood of males to have access to job-related computer equipment and internet connections; or, perhaps, the simple fact that males may have more free time on their hands. However its thrust also reflects a general recollection and perception about the Jesus People movement in that it seemed to be the case that male participation in the movement was particularly strong in overall terms of percentage as compared to many traditional Christian settings. The fact that so many males had apparently sought out information about the Jesus People on the web and decided to spend their time filling out a rather long survey also bespeaks the possibility that involvement with the movement may have played a particularly important role in the religious and life biographies of “male Jesus People.”

Educational Level of Jesus People Survey Respondents:

Out of the 812 surveys tabulated, the educational attainment of these former members of the Jesus People were, on the whole, at, or slightly above, national levels in terms of those who have earned at least an associate’s degree, technical school degree, or two full years of higher education. In all, 70.2% of respondents claimed to have achieved an associate’s degree or the equivalent of at least two full years of college education. 48% of respondents claimed to have earned a bachelor’s degree. Meanwhile 11.3% claimed to have earned a graduate degree.

Christian Vocation

As would be expected, a movement such as the Jesus People would have been expected to inspire a fair portion of its number to undertake pastoral, evangelistic or other church-oriented work as their chosen career path. Among the respondents of this survey, a total of 16.1% indicated that they had indeed become pastors, missionaries, evangelists, or were employed in some sort of full-time church, or parachurch-related, careers.

-Geographic Distribution of Jesus People Movement Involvement (812 responses):

California:	255	[33.4% of North American respondents]
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Pacific Northwest:	(50)	[6.6%]
British Columbia:	4.5	
Oregon:	21	
Washington:	24.5	
Southwestern U.S.:	(79.5)	[10.4%]
Arizona:	12	
New Mexico:	2.5	
Oklahoma:	10	
Texas	55	
Great Lakes Region:	(130.5)	[17.1%]
Illinois:	27.5	
Indiana:	18.5	
Michigan:	18	
Minnesota:	10.5	
Ohio:	30.5	
Ontario:	14	
Wisconsin:	11.5	
Great Interior/ Rocky Mtn. Region:	(48.5)	[6.4%]
Colorado:	9	
Idaho:	2	
Iowa:	6.5	
Kansas:	10	
Missouri:	9.5	
Montana:	1	
Nebraska:	6	
Nevada:	2.5	
South Dakota:	2	
Southeastern U.S.:	(97)	[12.7%]
Alabama:	4	
Arkansas:	1.5	
Florida:	25.5	
Georgia:	9	
Kentucky:	5	
Louisiana:	6	
Mississippi:	2	
North Carolina:	10.5	
South Carolina:	4	
Tennessee:	9	
Virginia:	20.5	
Mid-Atlantic States:	(68)	[8.9%]
Delaware:	1	
District of Columbia:	2	
Maryland:	7.5	
New Jersey:	20.5	
New York:	14	
Pennsylvania:	21.5	
West Virginia:	1.5	
New England:	(12)	[1.6%]
Connecticut:	1	
Maine:	1	
Massachusetts:	6	
Vermont:	4	

Other U.S.:	(18)	[2.3%]
Alaska:	3	
Hawaii	3.5	
U.S. Military Overseas:	9	
Puerto Rico:	2	
Panama Canal Zone:	.5	
Other Canada:	(5)	[0.6% of all respondents]
Alberta:	3	
Nova Scotia:	1	
Saskatchewan:	1	
International:	(17.5)	[2.2% of all respondents]
Australia:	(6)	
New South Wales:	2	
Queensland:	4	
England:	4	
Israel:	1	
Italy:	1	
Mexico:	.5	
New Zealand:	2	
South Africa	2	
Sweden:	1	
Unknown/Unclear:	31	[3.8% of all respondents]

The responses here reflect the area in which people lived when they were involved in the Jesus People movement—not where they now reside. In a few cases the respondents were involved in one or more states, provinces, or countries (this was especially true of those who were involved in the Shiloh Youth Centers—that organization not only became national in scope by the late '70s, but had a policy of shifting members from one location to another—the legendary/infamous “Shiloh Shuffle”). In these sorts of cases, geographical location was split between the two major locations which their responses indicated that most of their time was spent, hence the appearance of a few “.5” designations in the list (in the case of the Shiloh people location was assigned on the basis of where they first became involved in the movement and/or where they seemed to have spent the bulk of their time).

In examining the geographic segment of the responses they indicate that the Jesus People movement was certainly a national movement—46 of 50 states are represented (those with no respondents: North Dakota, Rhode Island, Utah, Wyoming), as well as the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Panama Canal Zone. The survey data also reveals that the impact of the movement did not end at the borders of the United States—survey-takers also represented five Canadian provinces and seven foreign countries.

Nonetheless, the survey data clearly indicates the major role that California played as the cradle of the Jesus People movement and the unique way in which it fit in with the overall California ethos: just over a third of those from North America taking the survey indicated that all, or a portion of, their direct experience with the Jesus movement had taken place in California.. It must be noted, however, that overstressing the indigenous “California-ness” of the movement is problematic: California was at that time the 2nd most populous state in the Union--it is now the 1st--and was always receiving influxes of new arrivals and--particularly during this period--attracting numbers of young runaways and fortune seekers from other states. The problem this creates for any kind of “California Paradigm” is this: what does one do with a runaway from Arkansas who wound their way to Huntington Beach and became involved with Calvary Chapel in Costa Mesa? Or, does an 18 year-old who moved in from, say Michigan, at age 15 count as “Californian”? In that light, it is important to note that the wide distribution of involvement and identification with the Jesus People give strong indication of the fact that it indeed became a widespread movement. Not counting the

responses which either did not answer that question or portion of the survey, 63% of the respondents were involved with the movement outside of the state of California (that number probably would almost surely have been close to 67% if specific information for the “unknowns” and “unclears” were available—my guess from internal answers and current locations of almost all of these non-responses is that they probably were not from California).

The survey also confirms various contemporary observations about the regional strengths of the movement in the early and mid-1970s. First of all, the survey echoed the relatively light presence the movement exerted in the Northeastern part of the United States (defined here as New England + New York and New Jersey), a recent historical confirmation of something which has been traditionally true about evangelical forms of religion for the last century. Altogether, a little over 6% of the responses came from that area of the country (a region that accounted for nearly 20% of the overall U.S. population in 1970), with only 1.6% of all responses showing Jesus People involvement from the six New England states, and no respondents coming from Rhode Island.

Secondly, the survey reaffirms an observation made by Billy Graham at the height of the publicity explosion surrounding the Jesus People in 1971—the movement seemed to have less of an impact in the South, traditionally the most religious and overwhelmingly evangelical section of the country. This may have resulted from a combination of factors such as the inherently conservative nature of the region which inhibited the growth of the counterculture, as well as the fact that a Bible-believing, street-preaching, enthusiastic style of evangelicalism was hardly anything new or novel. At any rate, respondents to the survey whose participation in the Jesus People movement occurred in the Southeastern portion of the United States (i.e. ten of the eleven states that formed the Confederate States of America plus Kentucky) represented only 12.7% of all North American survey respondents. When one notes that Virginia and Florida (two of the more “Northernized” states of the old Confederacy in the wake of post-World War II “Sunbelt” development) accounted for almost half of these Southern responses, the results are even more striking. Overall, the Jesus People movement was greeted with relatively less enthusiasm by this region’s youth and may have been viewed with more suspicion and seen as less “needed” by conservative church leaders than in other parts of the United States.

A third regional observation that this survey appears to affirm is that the Jesus People movement did seem to resonate quite well in the Southwest which, while having much in common with their “culturally Southern” cousins in the Southeast also tend to be more culturally diverse as well as a bit more on the flexible and innovative side--more like their counterparts in Southern California. These states have also been more uniformly transformed by postwar Sunbelt prosperity than the Southeast. The combined respondents to the survey representing Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona made up 10.4% of those North American respondents who reported the location of their experiences with the Jesus People.

Finally, a fourth observation which the survey seems to confirm is that the movement seemed to make significant inroads in the Midwestern United States and in Ontario, Canada. Indeed, a “Great Lakes” region consisting of six states (IL, IN, MI, MN, OH, and WI) plus Ontario accounts for over 17% of North American respondents. Why would this area of the continent have been more responsive to the Jesus People movement? One factor might have been that the counterculture had a fairly strong presence in many of the major cities of the region. Another may have been that there existed something of a uniquely Midwestern religio-cultural balance in that while there were enough evangelical Christians to provide a significant source of interested youth and their church sponsors, the area was sufficiently diverse that an injection of the “Old-time Gospel”—even in hippie garb—would not have been culturally “old hat” in a way that it may have been in the South.

[Note: the surveys indicating non-North American involvement and identification with the movement were included for statistical purposes because the content of their answers demonstrated a conscious awareness of the larger movement and its American context and origins.].

General Questions

1.) Considered themselves a hippie prior to involvement with JP:

-Yes:	38.9%
-No:	39.3%
-Not sure:	9.5%
-No answer:	12.3%

The responses here and of the next four questions would seem to support the fact that participation and self-identification with the Jesus People was divided between youth who came from two larger camps—the counterculture, and the evangelical subculture.

2.) Use of alcohol prior to involvement with JP:

-Regular:	24.8%
-Occasional:	29.6%
-Rarely/Never:	43.2%
-No answer:	2.4%

3.) Use of marijuana prior to involvement with JP:

-Regular:	29.8%
-Occasional:	17.2%
-Rarely/Never:	50%
-No answer:	3%

4.) Use of LSD prior to involvement with JP:

-Regular:	10.5%
-Occasional:	16.3%
-Rarely/Never:	67.6%
-No answer:	5.6.%

5.) Sexual activity prior to involvement with JP:

-Regular:	19.7%
-Occasional:	25.5%
-Rarely/Never:	50%
-No answer:	4.8%

6.) Listener to rock music prior to involvement with JP:

-Regular:	78.2%
-Occasional:	12.9%
-Rarely/Never:	6.4%
-No answer:	2.5%

While the previous five questions sketched out two divergent camps of “pre-Jesus People” individuals associated either with the counterculture or the traditional taboos of the evangelical subculture, the responses to this question highlight the near-universal importance of the medium of rock n’ roll music within the larger youth culture, and bespeak the key role that Jesus Music must have played as a common denominator within the movement.

7.) Interest in other religion prior to involvement with JP:

-Yes (Christian):	11%
-Yes (non-Christian):	32.4%
-No:	33.4%
-No answer:	23.2%

This question very broadly addressed the disposition of the individual towards an unspecified “other religion” and could have been construed by some respondents to refer to an openness to their own evangelical background or to their Roman Catholic and mainline Protestant backgrounds—“other” manifestations of Christianity which, by contrast, seemed foreign to the teaching and ethos of the JP movement and evangelicalism. Whatever the case, the response makes it clear that many of the respondents had no particular interest in religion of any kind prior to their involvement with the JP.

8.) Political identity prior to involvement with JP:

-Liberal:	42%
-Moderate:	27.2%
-Conservative:	22.4%
-No answer:	8.4%

Granted that this and the next question are largely in the realm of the “eye of the (self) beholder,” nonetheless, the responses would seem to be an interesting indicator of the respondents’ perceptions of where they stood—and stand—in light of the commonly bandied-about political categorizations of recent American politics. The possible importance of the Jesus People movement in moving many young people into the ranks of conservative American politics looms as an important dimension of the rise of the so-called “Religious Right.”

9.) Political identity today:

-Liberal:	10.3%
-Moderate:	25.2%
-Conservative:	57%
-No answer:	7.5%

10.) Did drugs contribute to your conversion experience?

-Yes:	14.3%
-Not sure:	4.9%
-No:	79.2%
-No answer:	1.6 %

This question was intended to gauge whether drug-taking had been directly related to the spiritual state leading to the respondent’s conversion. In retrospect it is clear that the question may have been construed as whether or not drug abuse had led to such personal turmoil and problems that it had set the person on a quest for help. In either case it is clear that drugs and drug-related problems were a not unusual, but hardly overwhelming, scenario in the personal routes that led people into the JP.

11.) Did the JP movement alter your attitude toward premarital sex?

-Yes:	62.8%
-Not sure:	3.8%
-No:	28.6 %:
-No answer:	4.8%

In light of the fact that a fair number of respondents’ profiles indicate a background within the larger evangelical subculture and its concomitant teachings against sexual immorality, the numbers here are surprising—they seem to indicate that even a sizeable number of these evangelical young people perceived themselves as having been more open to the possibility of sexual activity before their involvement with the Jesus People movement. In that regard it is highly reasonable to suspect that the Jesus movement was a significant factor in combatting the spread of the free and easy ethic of sexual pleasure that was passed from the counterculture to the larger American youth culture. Indeed, one wonders how complete the triumph of the “sexual revolution” may have been in the 1970s had it not been for the rise of the Jesus People.

12.) Did the JP movement alter your attitude toward drug use?

-Yes:	61.8%
-Not sure:	3%
-No:	29.4%
-No answer:	5.8%

Like the responses to #12 above, this question highlights the fact that involvement in the JP represented a major impedance to the spread of recreational pharmaceutical usage among American youth.

13.) Did you attend a local church during your involvement in the JP movement?

-Yes:	84.6%
-No:	12.6%
-Not sure:	1.1%
-No answer:	1.7%

The responses to this question pose a major challenge to the dominant image of the nature and structure of the Jesus People as they were portrayed in the popular and academic literature associated with the 1971-1972 publicity explosion surrounding the movement. Rather than isolated within communes and counterculture-oriented fellowships, this response suggests that for the vast majority of JP—and not just the kids from evangelical backgrounds who were adapting the Jesus People style—it was a natural reflex to become involved in the larger mix of church and community by their attendance and involvement with the services and programs of local churches. It would also seem to be an indicator of how the movement could have seemed to have “disappeared” in the late ‘70s—many of the Jesus People were by then well-integrated within the larger evangelical culture by virtue of their primary involvement with local congregations.

14.) Did you participate in, or see, the “Baptism of the Holy Spirit” in your JP involvement?

-Participated:	76.6%
-Saw:	17.2%
-No answer:	6.2%

This, and the next eight, questions explore the presence and extent of Pentecostal-style manifestations of the “Gifts of the Spirit” in the life of the Jesus People. The answers below show the degree to which an emotional and demonstrative style were a major characteristic of the movement; the manner in which it easily fed into, and related with, the burgeoning charismatic movement; and the broadening experience the Jesus People movement must have been for many of the evangelical “church kids” who became involved with “God’s Forever Family.”

15.) Did you participate in, or see, “Speaking in Tongues” in your JP involvement?

-Participated:	72.2%
-Saw:	23.2%
-No answer:	4.6%

16.) Did you participate in, or see, “Slaying in the Spirit” in your JP involvement?

-Participated:	38.3%
-Saw:	46.3%
-No answer:	15.4%

17.) Did you participate in, or see, “Prophecy” in your JP involvement?

-Participated:	42.5%
-Saw:	45.3%
-No answer:	12.2%

Prophecy as understood here would be perceived as a pronouncement or message from the Lord, given through an individual with future ramifications which could be meant for an individual, the group, or—occasionally—even be intended with larger, universal applications.

18.) Did you participate in, or see, a “Word of Knowledge” in your JP involvement?

-Participated:	45.3%
-Saw:	40.9%
-No answer:	13.8%

A “Word of Knowledge” was a Spirit-led pronouncement which usually was perceived as providing specific guidance or discernment concerning present decisions and circumstances and could apply to either an individual or a larger group. The technical differentiation between a “Word of Knowledge” and “Prophecy” was always something of a fuzzy matter.

19.) Did you participate in, or see, “Healing” in your JP involvement?

-Participated:	49.5%
-Saw:	32.5%
-No answer:	18%

20.) Did you participate in, or see, “Other Miracles” in your JP involvement?

-Participated:	36.1%
-Saw:	32.5%
-No answer:	31.4%

These would include anything else perceived to have been extraordinary or of supernatural origin not covered by any of the previous questions. Probably the major type of miracle that most Jesus People would have been familiar with would be the unexpected and seemingly miraculous supplying of some physical, financial, or circumstantial need—i.e., a pot of stew with enough food to feed 10 people that somehow fed 50, money for a security deposit on a coffeehouse that was suddenly supplied by some unforeseen benevolent third party, or the donation of a new van to a ministry shortly after the workers had prayed about the need for a vehicle.

21.) Did you participate in, or see, “Demon Possession/Exorcisms” in your JP involvement?

-Participated:	30.4%
-Saw:	30.6%
-No answer:	39%

The Jesus People had a very real sense of supernatural warfare. Their penchant for utilizing exorcism was the result of both Pentecostal influences and the concurrent impact of the era’s upsurge in occult interest. It is not hard to imagine that this may well have also been affected by the prominence in popular culture at the time of films like *Rosemary’s Baby* and *The Exorcist*.

22.) Did you participate in, or see, “Singing in the Spirit” in your JP involvement?

-Participated:	59.9%
-Saw:	22.1%
-No answer:	18%

“Singing in the Spirit” was a phenomenon also known among Pentecostal and Charismatic groups whereby a group assembled in worship might begin to—apparently--spontaneously harmonize together, or in unison begin singing words to a new song. Often the occurrence was deemed a particular surprise as the individuals involved had no particular musical training or ability outside of the instance of “Singing in the Spirit”

23.) Did you have contact with the Children of God group during your JP involvement?

-Yes:	40.1%
-No:	47%
-Not sure:	9.5%
-No answer:	3.4%

The Children of God (COG), led by the charismatic recluse David “Moses” Berg, was one of the most publicized groups associated with the Jesus People movement but proved to be a controlling, authoritarian cult. While at the peak there were only a few thousand members they did travel in bands and targeted other Jesus People groups for takeovers—something which proved increasingly difficult as the movement matured and the COG’s true colours became known. The data here demonstrates the broad awareness of the group in the larger movement and the fact that they did, indeed, get around.

24.) Were there other groups that you considered cults during your JP involvement?

-Yes:	58.7%
-No:	17.2%
-Not sure:	12.8%
-No answer:	11.3%

The rise of new religions and competing sects made for a dynamic 1970s religious marketplace with young people being the dominant target group. The resultant sense of competition and the need to engage in apologetic combat with rival truth claims and maintain boundaries against theological error was a prominent component of life in the Jesus People movement. Among the most frequently mentioned groups respondents viewed as “cults” during their “Jesus People years” were Sun Young Moon’s Unification Church (“Moonies”), devotees of Transcendental Meditation, and the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON). Also frequently mentioned were groups long-considered cults within the evangelical community such as the Jehovah’s Witnesses and the Mormons. Being similar to the Jesus People in style and culture did not make other groups immune to cult charges. Many respondents pointed to groups which were often perceived as “Jesus People” groups in the media but which developed a reputation as “cults” among evangelicals such as the Way International, the Local Church, and the Alamo Foundation. Even more “mainstream” Jesus People groups generally accepted by the evangelical community—Shiloh, Jesus People USA, Scott Ross’ “Love Inn” group--were occasionally targeted by some respondents as having been perceived as cult-like at the time.

25.) Did you attend any Jesus Music Festivals during your JP involvement?

-Yes:	56.4%
-No:	32.6%
-Not sure:	7.3%
-No answer:	3.7%

The importance of “Jesus Music” festivals as a gathering place was evidenced in the response to this question.

26.) Were women given positions of authority during your JP involvement?

-Yes:	42.3%
-No:	23.2%
-Not sure:	29.3%
-No answer:	5.2%

This question represents another one of those “eye of the beholder” type questions which is complicated further by the mists of time. Unfortunately, in most conventional approaches to North American Christianity the role of women’s participation is often reduced to a one-dimensional obsession with the ordination of women and the appointment of female pastors. This slant of course underplays and/or discounts the other ways in which women can participate, wield power and be

perceived as holding positions of authority. The Jesus People were known as being “patriarchal” for their adherence to conservative evangelical interpretations of Biblical guidelines for male-female, husband-wife relationships. The data here seems to indicate that in many cases these guidelines were not necessarily followed down the line or that women were at least perceived to have authority and influence despite what might be construed from a “flat” reading of Biblical texts or group policies and pronouncements.

27.) Were minorities included in your experience during the JP movement?

- Yes: 69.6%
- No: 14.6%
- No answer: 15.8%

The Jesus People movement was, overwhelmingly a movement made up of North Americans of European descent. However, there was some participation by African-Americans, Hispanics, Native-Americans, and Asian-Americans (and on a “minority” level, the movement was conspicuous in its inclusion of “Messianic Jews”). This question attempted to get a better handle on attitudes toward minorities as well as their inclusion and participation in the movement. Overwhelmingly it would seem to indicate—coming at the tail end of the civil rights movement and during a time of heightened racial tension and expanding ethnic consciousness—that a number of Jesus People groups did prove attractive to minorities and that they must have felt a sense of welcome therein. Overall, the data points to a very open and progressive outlook in this regard as compared to many of their older “Establishment” evangelical counterparts during this time. Many of those who answered “No” went out of their way to indicate that they thought that there would have been no problem with minority participation in their groups, or made a point to note that they lived in areas (rural Ohio, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, for example) where minorities were relatively non-existent.

28.) Were you convinced that Jesus’ return was imminent during your involvement with the JP movement?

- Yes: 79.2%
- No: 9.8%
- Not sure: 7%
- No answer: 4%

The apocalyptic nature of the Jesus People movement and the influence of books like Hal Lindsey’s *The Late, Great Planet Earth* was well-documented. The data here reflects this and also demonstrates that they indeed believed that Christ’s return was a matter of “any day now.”

29.) Did you believe in the “Rapture” during your involvement in the JP movement?

- Yes: 89.9%
- No: 4.2%
- Not sure: 2.6%
- No answer: 3.3%

Again, this question shows that most of the Jesus People had adapted some form of premillennial dispensationalism in line with writings like those of Lindsey.

30.) Do you still believe in the “Rapture”?

- Yes: 66.3%
- No: 16.3%
- Not sure: 14%
- No answer: 3.4%

Over the years there has been slippage in the overwhelming belief in the “Rapture” and dispensational interpretations of the Bible among former Jesus People. Still, the number who retain a belief in this interpretation of the Scriptures is quite high—a number of respondents indicated that they now believe that the Second Coming is all the more at hand.

31.) Did you believe that spiritual gifts are for today?

-Yes:	86.1%
-No:	2.9%
-Not sure:	6.4%
-No answer:	4.6%

This question indicates that one key element of dispensational thinking had been thrown out the window by the Jesus People—the teaching that “spiritual gifts” (i.e. speaking in tongues, etc.) had only been meant for the early church and that for the “present dispensation” such gifts had ceased. This adaptation of premillennialism is very similar to the official doctrinal position of the Assemblies of God denomination.

32.) Did you believe that the creation of Israel in 1948 was prophetically significant during your involvement in the JP?

-Yes:	86.1%
-No:	4.4%
-Not sure:	5.7%
-No answer:	3.8%

This and the next question also represent keys in dispensational interpretations of Bible prophecy and are also indicative of larger evangelical support for Israel.

33.) Did you believe that the ‘67 Arab-Israeli War was prophetically significant during your involvement in the JP?

-Yes:	61.1%
-No:	13.7%
-Not sure:	20.7%
-No answer:	4.5%

Perhaps surprisingly, given that it was rather recent history at the time and involved Israel’s achieving control over the entire city of Jerusalem, not as many were sure that this event had prophetic significance. Nonetheless, it does demonstrate a high degree of potential political support for future Israeli claims to a “Greater Israel,” occupation of Palestinian and other Arab lands and pro-Israeli policies of the American government.

34.) Did you believe that “tongues” were the initial evidence of the “Baptism of the Holy Spirit” during your JP involvement?

-Yes:	52.8%
-No:	37.2%
-Not sure:	6.3%
-No answer:	3.7%

A formal tenet of most brands of traditional Pentecostal theology, the responses to this question probably indicate the perspective that many youth from non-Pentecostal evangelical backgrounds brought with them into the movement and perhaps a greater degree of flexibility in the Jesus People than in most old-line Pentecostal groups.

35.) Do you still believe that “tongues” are the initial evidence of the “Baptism of the Holy Spirit”?

-Yes:	24.1%
-No:	50%
-Not sure:	10.7%
-No answer:	15.2%

It would appear that the years have brought a significant change in this regard, indicative of involvement and interaction with a wider variety of Christian groups.

36.) Do you still consider yourself a Christian?

-Yes:	94.1%
-No:	1.5%
-Not sure:	.6%
-No answer:	3.8%

Although participation in this survey would seem to skew toward those who still felt that Christian faith was important to them, the numbers nonetheless provide important evidence that involvement with the Jesus People movement had a major impact and that it apparently tended to strengthen adherence to Christianity. By contrast, it would also seem to discredit any notion that involvement eventually led to a mass exodus of disillusioned youth who subsequently discarded their faith, therefore accounting for the movement’s ultimate disappearance. If such had been the case, one might suppose that many more embittered ex-Jesus People might have found their way to the survey.

37.) What is your current religious affiliation (choose as many as apply from list, or “other”)
[number of responses out of 812]

-”Christian” as first choice:	509 (62.7%)
-”Evangelical” as first or second choice:	328 (40.4%)
-”Pentecostal,” “Charismatic” or Pentecostal Denomination as first or second choice:	191 (23.5%)

This question tried to give some shape to where the Jesus People are today in terms of their affiliation. Overwhelmingly, most simply saw “Christian” as their baseline, first sense of identification. This is in keeping with general evangelical self-identification but also may indicate a lingering reductionist, roots-consciousness among those who were in the movement. Perhaps the surprising element of this response—given the troubles which many scholars have in trying to pin down and estimate the “evangelical” population because of the lack of popular awareness of that label among “evangelicals”—is that many of the respondents actually saw the term “evangelical” as a major identifying term for describing how they saw themselves. Additionally, given the fact that so many of the respondents had Pentecostal and Charismatic experiences it is perhaps surprising that a specifically Pentecostal or Charismatic involvement and self-identification had not arisen among a large number of the respondents in the intervening years.

38.) Do you still listen to “Jesus Music” that was current during your involvement in the JP movement?

-Yes:	66.1%
-No:	27%
-Not sure:	.9%
-No answer:	6%

Although old dogs are known not to learn new tricks, it is rather surprising given the rise of new technologies (most of the “old” music is still available only in lp record and cassette form) and a flood of music created since the days of the Jesus People (the rise of Contemporary Christian Music), that many of the people answering the survey were still inclined—either out of actual enthusiasm for the music or the artists, or out of nostalgia—to pull out their Jesus Music. Again, this accents the important role that music played as a bonding agent in the movement.

Addendum: Survey Respondents’ “Favorites” and “Most Influentials”

As part of our survey we asked those who had taken part in the Jesus People movement to name those they considered most influential or their personal “favorites” in five specific categories: 1.) most influential/favorite artists/musical groups; 2.) most influential/favorite songs; 3.) most influential/favorite record albums; 4.) most influential leaders/speakers; and, 5.) most influential/favorite authors or books. We encouraged respondents to follow their hearts in these questions and not to think just in national terms, but to honestly name local leaders, speakers, or

bands if they had been most influential in their lives, or if they had been their favorites. The responses to these questions were both very interesting and very complex to tabulate. A fair percentage of our respondents either did not answer these questions at all or simply remarked “too many to list” for such things as “favorite” song or author. Others listed one or two responses to these questions, while some people would take the time to list 5, 10, or 20 favorite Jesus Music bands, authors, or speakers. As with the question above about people’s current denominational affiliation, I thought it most likely in the case of multiple responses that the first responses were more likely to be the most influential or their absolute favorites. So, I accepted up to three responses for each question and kept running tabs of who and what garnered “votes”. In the end we had a wide variety of responses--many leaders and bands, for example, received only one, two, or three mentions. Many were mentioned time and time again but were listed at various spots outside of the “top three” criteria which we were using to gauge “most influential” and “favorite.” Overall, when all was said and done, however, I believe we ended up with fairly clear indications of those artists, songs, albums, leaders, and authors who were broadly influential for the Jesus People movement. Below are the results with the number of votes received noted in parentheses):

Most Influential/Favorite “Jesus Music” Musicians, Groups:

- 1.) Love Song (340)
- 2.) Larry Norman (226)
- 3.) 2nd Chapter of Acts (153)
- 4.) Keith Green (108)
- 5.) Barry McGuire (96)
- 6.) Phil Keaggy (81)
- 7.) Randy Stonehill (75)
- 8.) Chuck Girard (70)
- 9.) Andrae Crouch (53)
- 10.) Children of the Day (52)
- 11.) The Way (51)
- 12.) Mustard Seed Faith (49)
- 13.) Honeytree (48)
- 14.) Resurrection/Rez Band (29)
- 15.) Randy Matthews (27)
- 16.) Daniel Amos (20)
- 17.) Debby Kerner/Ernie Rettino (19)
- 18.) Petra (17)
- 19.) The Road Home (13)
- 20.) tie--Pat Terry (12)
Paul Clark (12)

Other Artists with 8-11 “first three” mentions: John Fischer, John Michael Talbot, Don Francisco, Karen Lafferty, Lamb, Dallas Holm, Country Faith, Sweet Comfort Band, and Evie.

Artists with 5-7 “first three” mentions: Oden Fong, Parable, Darrell Mansfield, Malcolm & Alwyn, the Imperials, the Archers, Michael Omartian, the Talbot Brothers, Terry Talbot, Blessed Hope, Hope, and Glass Harp.

NOTE: Within this segment of the survey, there was a decided “Calvary Chapel Effect”—not surprising, given the size and importance of Calvary Chapel-Costa Mesa in the early movement and the important role that Southern California played within the larger movement. In this particular category there was a resulting tendency for the major groups at Calvary Chapel (#1, #10, #11, #12, #17, #19) to show up as a cluster in the survey responses from those who had been a part of the Calvary Chapel scene or those whose Jesus People experience had been in the Orange County/Los Angeles area. In terms of overall voting, #2 “vote-getter” Larry Norman seemed to have a more broadly national following. However, Love Song won its convincing show in the #1 spot by virtue of both an overwhelming regard amongst those in the Calvary Chapel orbit and Southern California, and by having a strong national impact and following (for more on this see below).

Favorite “Jesus Music” Songs:

- 1.) “I Wish We’d All Been Ready”--Larry Norman (55)
- 2.) “Little Country Church”--Love Song (35)
- 3.) “Come to the Water (For Those Tears I Died)”--Children of the Day (31)
- 4.) “Easter Song”--2nd Chapter (23)
- 5.) “Love Song”--Love Song (22)
- 6.) “Welcome Back”--Love Song (20)
- 7.) tie—“Two Hands”--Love Song (17)
 “Why Should the Devil Have all the Good Music?”--Larry Norman (17)
- 9.) tie—“We Are One in the Spirit” (14)
 “Little Pilgrim”--Love Song (14)
- 11.) tie—“Your Love Broke Through”--Phil Keaggy/Keith Green (13)
 “Sometimes Alleluia”--Chuck Girard (13)
- 13.) “I Am a Servant”--Larry Norman/Honeytree (10)
- 14.) “Why Don’t You Look Into Jesus?”--Larry Norman (9)
- 15.) tie—“Front Seat, Back Seat”--Love Song (8)
 “The Outlaw”--Larry Norman (8)
 “Pass It On” (8)
- 18.) “One Way”--Larry Norman (7)
- 19.) tie—“Which Way the Wind Blows”--2nd Chapter (6)
 “Seek Ye First”--Karen Lafferty (6)

Songs just out of the running: “Alleluia,” “Amazing Grace,” “Asleep in the Light” by Keith Green, “Lay Your Burden Down,” by Chuck Girard, “Sweet, Sweet Song of Salvation,” by Larry Norman, “Clean Before My Lord,” by Honeytree, “Hand to the Plow” by Paul Clark, “What a Day,” by Phil Keaggy, “Keep Me Running,” by Randy Stonehill, and “Sail on Sailor,” by Mustard Seed Faith.

NOTE: This particular question received the most widely varied set of responses, including the most instances of responses like “too many to mention” and “all of it.”

Most Influential “Jesus Music” Albums:

- 1.) Love Song--Love Song (152)
- 2.) tie--The Everlastin’ Living Jesus Music Concert/Maranatha # 1 (41)
 Only Visiting This Planet--Larry Norman (41)
- 4.) Upon This Rock--Larry Norman (27)
- 5.) ...With Footnotes--2nd Chapter of Acts (22)
- 6.) No Compromise--Keith Green (19)
- 7.) “All Maranatha albums”--(18)
- 8.) “All Keith Green’s albums”--(16)
- 9.) tie--What a Day--Phil Keaggy (14)
 Sail on Sailor--Mustard Seed Faith (14)
- 11.) “All Larry Norman albums”--(12)
- 12.) “All Love Song albums”--(11)
- 13.) Final Touch--Love Song (10)
- 14.) tie--Chuck Girard--Chuck Girard (9)
 How the West Was One--2nd Chapter/Keaggy (9)
 “All 2nd Chapter albums”--(9)
 To the Bride--McGuire/2nd Chapter (9)
- 18.) tie--Street Level--Larry Norman (8)
 For Him Who Has Ears to Hear--Keith Green (8)
- 20.) In Another Land--Larry Norman (7)

Albums just out of the running: “Bootleg” by Larry Norman, “Seeds,” by Barry McGuire, “Shotgun Angel” by Daniel Amos, “Jesus Christ Superstar,” “Live at Carnegie Hall,” by Andrae Crouch & the Disciples, and “Welcome to Paradise” by Randy Stonehill.

NOTE: For those who are familiar with “conventional wisdom” about the seminal music of the Jesus movement and the formative days of what would become “Contemporary Christian Music,”

the overwhelming showing by the first Love Song album is something of a surprise—even given the “Calvary Chapel effect” in this survey. The results would seem to indicate that the appearance of Love Song’s “Love Song” album was for North American evangelical youth the musical equivalent in the early ‘70s of what Bill Haley’s song “Rock Around the Clock” was for the larger youth culture in the mid-1950s.

Most Influential Speakers/Leaders

- 1.) Chuck Smith (219)
- 2.) David Wilkerson (51)
- 3.) Lonnie Frisbee (44)
- 4.) Billy Graham (43)
- 5.) Greg Laurie (36)
- 6.) Tie--Derek Prince (29)
Keith Green (29)
- 8.) Bob Mumford (27)
- 9.) Tom Stipe (26)
- 10.) Larry Norman (22)
- 11.) Winkey Pratney (19)
- 12.) Josh McDowell (18)
- 13.) tie—Arthur Blessitt (17)
John Higgins (17)
Hal Lindsey (17)
- 16.) tie—Kathryn Kuhlman (13)
Mike McIntosh (13)
- 18.) tie-- Bill Bright (11)
Glenn Kaiser (11)
Walter Martin (11)
Mario Murillo (11)
Duane Pederson (11)

Other speakers/leaders with 8-10 “first three” mentions: Nicky Cruz, Ken Gulliksen, Scott Ross, L.E. Romaine, Mike Warnke. Speakers/leaders with 5 or more mentions: Loren Cunningham, Bill Gothard, Kenneth Hagin, Jack Hayford, Roy Hicks, Jr., Dawson McAllister, Pat Robertson, Larry Tomczak, Corrie Ten Boom, Ralph Wilkerson.

NOTE: The “Calvary Chapel effect” is fairly obvious in this particular category (Calvary Chapel figures at #1, #3, #5, #9, and tied for #16, along with two others in the 8-10 mentions group). Nonetheless the ministry and impact of #1--Calvary Chapel founder Chuck Smith—went beyond a mere clustering of regional votes. Smith was obviously an important figure in the Jesus People movement not only in Orange County, California but, throughout North America via widely-distributed cassette tapes of his sermons and Bible studies, and—to a lesser extent--his writings.

Most Influential Authors/Books

Not surprisingly, the Bible was overwhelmingly the first response of the people who took our survey—but this was expected. This list takes into account the other authors and titles (including various new paraphrases/formats of the Bible that appeared in the ‘70s) that were mentioned most frequently among initial responses.

- 1.) Hal Lindsey (136)
- 2.) David Wilkerson (78)
- 3.) C.S. Lewis (75)
- 4.) Watchman Nee (46)
- 5.) Francis Schaeffer (43)
- 6.) Josh McDowell (41)
- 7.) Chuck Smith (23)
- 8.) tie—Bob Mumford (18)
The Living Bible (18)

- 10.) Billy Graham (16)
- 11.) tie—Nicky Cruz (13)
 - Derek Prince (13)
 - John L. Sherrill (13)
 - Corrie Ten Boom (13)
- 15.) tie—Dennis and Rita Bennett (11)
 - Hannah Hurnard (11)
 - A.W. Tozer (11)
- 18.) tie--Arthur Blessitt (10)
 - Merlin Carrothers (10)
- 20.) Pat Boone (8)

Other authors/titles with 5 or more “first three” mentions: Brother Andrew, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Bill Bright, John Bunyan, Charles G. Finney, *The Good News Bible*, Tim LaHaye, *Letters to Street Christians*, Andrew Murray, Pat Robertson, Ray Steadman, John Stott, Mel Tari, Winkey Pratney.

Top Ten Most Frequently Mentioned Titles

- 1.) *The Late, Great Planet Earth*—Hal Lindsey (Hands down winner....)
- 2.) *The Cross and the Switchblade*—David Wilkerson
- 3.) *Mere Christianity*—C.S. Lewis
- 4.) *Evidence That Demands a Verdict*—Josh McDowell
- 5.) *The Living Bible*
- 6.) *The God Who is There*—Francis Schaeffer
- 7.) tie—*Run, Baby, Run*—Nicky Cruz
 - They Speak With Other Tongues*—John L. Sherrill
 - The Hiding Place*—Corrie Ten Boom
- 10.) tie--*Nine O' Clock in the Morning*—Dennis and Rita Bennett
 - Hinds' Feet on High Places*—Hannah Hurnard

Appendix B

Guide to a Select Sampling of 'Jesus Music', 1969-1979 CD

- 1.) "Sweet, Sweet Song of Salvation"—Larry Norman (1969)
- 2.) "Soul Session at His Place"—Arthur Blessitt & the Eternal Rush (1970)
- 3.) "A Love Song"—Love Song (1971)
- 4.) "Little Country Church"—Love Song (1971)
- 5.) "The Ballad of the Lukewarm"—Country Faith (1972)
- 6.) "Reap What You Sow"—Agape (1972)
- 7.) "Seek Ye First"—Karen Lafferty & the Maranatha Singers (1973)
- 8.) "Why Don't You Look Into Jesus?"—Larry Norman (1973)
- 9.) "Daughter of Zion"—All-Saved Freak Band (1973)
- 10.) "Why Should the Devil Have All the Good Music?"—Larry Norman (1973)
- 11.) "Ba-ruch Ha-shem"—Lamb (1973)
- 12.) "Walkin' in the Light"—Petra (1974)
- 13.) "The Easter Song"—2nd Chapter of Acts (1974)
- 14.) "What a Day"—Phil Keaggy (1974)
- 15.) "Rock 'n' Roll Preacher"—Chuck Girard (1974)
- 16.) "Keep Me Running"—Randy Stonehill (1976)
- 17.) "You Put This Love in My Heart"—Keith Green (1977)
- 18.) "Emmanuel"—DeGarmo & Key (1977)
- 19.) "Father's Eyes"—Amy Grant (1979)

(Note: not intended for copying, sale or broadcast)

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Gene Cotton	Ken Pitts
Sue Palosaari Cowper	Ed Plowman
Dave and Diana Fodgerud	Ron Rendleman
Oden Fong	Charlie Rizzo
Sharon Gallagher	Martin Meyer "Moishe" Rosen
Linda Gebaroff	Scott Ross
David Gill	John Salvesen
Fr. Peter Gilquist	Andy Smith
Bob Hartman	Chuck Smith
Billy Ray Hearn	Sam Smith
Richard Hogue	Bob Sperlazzo
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