

THE BAPTISM OF THE HOLY SPIRIT:

A STUDY OF THE MEANING OF RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

by

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ABSTRACT

This study is of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, a religious experience popularly known as speaking in tongues. Our concern is with its role as a transforming experience in the lives of those who witness to it. The baptism of the Holy Spirit, while deeply embedded in Christian tradition, has until recently been a relatively rare phenomenon. There is currently a marked increase in its occurrence.

The sample selected for the purpose of this study consists of ten respondents, of whom five are members of the Pentecostal assembly while five are associated with other established denominations but testify to the experience of the baptism. Most are people of professional status who are in their middle years. That this is so may in itself be indicative of the characteristics of the contemporary upsurge of the experience.

The interviews were tape recorded and transcribed. As little direction as possible was given by the interviewer in an effort to glean information that was a voluntary response on the part of the individual and free from the distortion of interpretation. The interviewee was introduced to the general concern of the study and asked to relate his experience and as much of his background as he felt was significant in pointing him toward his spiritual destiny. All information given was regarded as significant and was not

edited in transcription. The study begins with a review of certain theoretical observations which provide a framework for the work. Chapter II provides an overall introduction to past and present expressions of the phenomenon, to its theological origins and significance, to an attempted delineation and definition of the experience, and to a description of a typical charismatic service of worship that creates a public context for the experience. Chapter III introduces the respondents and traces their spiritual careers. These careers may be seen in terms of a number of paths, ranging in complexity, via which the people move from a point of entry to a point of spiritual destiny. At various places on the path the person encounters turning points or moments when he recognizes that he has changed. In this section we attempt to illustrate the paths chosen by our respondents by means of a map and to isolate the transitional moments and the basic motivating states common to all our respondents. Chapter IV deals with a more definitive analysis of specific motivating states in relation to overall influences, major continuing themes, transitional moments and the significance of the introduction to the experience. Finally, in Chapter V the relationships of the experience to the motivational factors that have been isolated are explored. Our concern here is to identify in what way the experience has served as a solution in the eyes of the respondent. In conclusion several observations are made on the basis of the present study

which might constitute proposals for future research.

The background factors leading up to the experience were found to be related to the individual's overall influences, to a sense of isolation in personal relationships, a general dissatisfaction with the circumstances of their lives, a marked spiritual concern and a dissatisfaction with how spiritual needs were being met through routine institutional means. The experience of the Holy Spirit resolves these dilemmas by (a) establishing the individual as a member of a spiritual and social community, (b) a total transformation of perspective and hence of the meaning of existing commitments, and (c) a sense of direct and immediate relationship with the Holy Spirit. The experience was seen by the participants as a 'healing' experience in that it offered an answer to their problems and dissatisfactions. The meaning of the baptism of the Holy Spirit was found to differ between those who had had a continuous association with the Pentecostal church and those who had not. For the latter group the experience constituted a radical moral transformation whereas in the case of the former the experience was a step in a continuing religious career.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I	Introduction	1
II	The Experience of Pentecost	12
	The Holy Spirit	12
	What It Is: New Testament Origins	16
	A Historical Review	19
	Birth and Growth of the Pentecostal Sect	24
	The Charismatic Renewal Movement	28
	The Local Movement	32
	Tentative Observations Regarding the Act	33
	Public Worship: A Descriptive Response	40
	Impressions of a Particular Service	41
	Summary Comments	47
III	The Mapping of Spiritual Careers	52
	Portraits of the Respondents	52
	The Map	79
	Points of Reference	80
	Types of Careers	86
IV	Analysis	92
	Introduction	92
	Overall Influences	93
	Table I	93
	Major Continuing Themes	100
	The Transitional Moments	111

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont.)

Chapter		Page
IV		
	Motivational States	118
	Concluding Remarks	133
V	The Meaning of the Experience	136
	The Moment	136
	How It Changes	137
VI	Conclusions	145

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study has to do with that religious experience which is known to those who have experienced it as the baptism of the Holy Spirit. The meaning of this experience is rooted in the Christian tradition and has biblical reference. The moment on the day of Pentecost when the apostles, gathered at Jerusalem following the events surrounding the death of Jesus Christ, were visited by the Holy Spirit and discovered themselves speaking in tongues is an original event that is scripturally recorded. This event is not merely reenacted symbolically but occurs again and again in its original form to those who have experienced the baptism of the Holy Spirit. What it means as an experience, as an event which transforms the lives of those who have participated in it, can only be learned from those who have had the experience. Only they can approximate a description of what is its significance.

My interest in the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and more particularly the accompanying sign of speaking in tongues, arose in part from a natural curiosity concerning unusual religious experience, a conviction that not nearly enough attention is being given by social theorists to the relevance of religious experience to the creation and direction of the individual, and from having the opportunity to

have close contact with several people who witnessed to having had the experience. It seemed to me that the grafting of this experience, which belonged to the gospel records and appeared to be part of a historically distant life style and a somewhat alien mode of religious practice, onto the lives of contemporaries presented itself as a problem worthy of attention. The more so in that the current spread of a movement which emphasizes the experience as a central feature is arousing increasing and cross-sectarian interest in the phenomenon among religiously informed and active circles.

The impression gained from my contact with those who had had the experience was that they felt that a radical transformation had been produced in their lives as a result of having participated in this unusual experience. The transformation did not appear to take the form of a change in external circumstances but rather allowed the individual to reinterpret those circumstances in the light of a new understanding. What he had experienced was a reality which could not be erased from his awareness. It had altered his perspective and transformed the moral quality of his life.

Luther P. Gerlach and Virginia Hine in an attempt to identify the necessary elements in the successful spread of a modern religious movement point out that the current Pentecostal movement is not limited to any particular psychological type or social class but draws on participants from a wide range of socio-economic, religious, educational and cultural

backgrounds. They suggest that therefore previous models used to explain movement genesis are inadequate and explanations must be sought elsewhere. One of the areas for exploration with regard to the potency of religious experience to change is that of commitment experiences as they relate to identity change. They acknowledge that this is an extremely difficult area to examine because of definitional and theoretical ambiguities. "The nature of commitment experiences and the processes by which the individual can be led into them has been subject to too much debate to be clearly understood."¹

A major statement concerning the process of identity formation has been contributed by Erik Erikson. Erikson views the process as developmental. While he does point out the life long nature of the integrative process he emphasizes the particularly critical character of late adolescence. At this time society permits a moratorium during which the individual has an opportunity of sifting through his past identifications and meanings and trying out alternative possible lines of development without making a final commitment. In Erikson's account the making of major life commitments is taken as indicative of the successful resolution of the identity crisis characteristic of adolescence.

Our sample of ten cases includes three different types of combinations of ideological integration, the life cycle, and the point of identity crisis. Three (identified

by the letters F. G. and I. in the interviews) have been members of the Pentecostal church from childhood, and do not appear to have experienced an identity crisis of a major kind at any period in their lives. For them the baptism of the Holy Spirit is an important step in a spiritual career already mapped out for them. Two (D. and H.) experienced conversion and the baptism of the Holy Spirit during the adolescent/early adulthood period which Erikson marks out as the period of major identity crisis. The remaining five (A., B., C., E. and J.) experienced the baptism of the Holy Spirit in their middle years, after major life commitments had been made and experienced it as a significant moral transformation in their lives. What must be stressed here is the continuing problematic character of the process of identity integration. In the case of the last group the world has not been given order prior to making their commitments but rather the commitments they have already made are given order by their experience of the Holy Spirit.

The two themes central to Erikson's view which are significant to our purpose are the importance placed on the 'epigenetic' foundation of the integrative process; that is, the emphasis on ego-integration as a result of a synthesis of biological potential and socio-cultural experience, and secondly, the role of ideology in giving cohesion to an integrated identity and providing the basis for other major commitments made by the individual.

The theme of the role of ideology, with particular reference to religion, in the integrative process also concerns Anthony Wallace, who points out that relatively little attention has been placed by anthropologists upon understanding religion from the point of view of providing solutions, rather than projecting problems. He suggests that the Jungian orientation, rejected by orthodox analysts largely because of its mystical and dogmatic tendencies, which views religion as a "cultural product and an experience which at once integrates the personality and unites the individual with society and its traditional values has had less influence than the mainstream of its central premise; that religious experience is positively therapeutic would justify."² Wallace notes the possible relevance of cognitive dissonance theory to religious experience in its proposal that where mutually contradictory cognitions are entertained, the individual must act to reduce dissonance. While there are numerous alternatives in dealing with problems of this sort, including the possibility of changing the real world in some respect so as to reorganize incoming information, the same effect may also be achieved by modifying "perceptions of self and of the real world in such a way that one horn of the dilemma is no longer recognized."³

Anton Boisen, a clergyman who underwent severe mental disturbance and who attributes his rehabilitation to an intense religious experience proposes that religious

experience provides a resolution of otherwise unsolvable conflicts. What it does is to move the individual out of the center of his debilitating dilemma and offers him a solution by effecting "a synthesis between the crisis experience and his subsequent life which enables him to grow in the direction of inner unification and social adaptation on a basis conceived as universal."⁴ In doing so it brings the person into "harmony with that which is supreme in his hierarchy of loyalties."⁵

The integrative effect of religious experience receives considerable attention from William James, who views conversion as "the process, gradual or sudden, by which a self hitherto divided, and consciously wrong, inferior and unhappy, becomes unified and consciously right, in consequence with its firmer hold upon religious realities."⁶ James sees transformation occurring in the individual as a result of alterations in emotional excitement; that is, when the center of man's 'personal energy', that group of ideas which demand his commitment is replaced by another. Change occurs "when one aim grows so stable as to expel definitively its previous rivals from the individual's life."⁷ According to James some people are 'healthy minded' or unambivalent and are not prone to transformation experiences whereas others, the 'sick souls' whose selves are divided, may be subject to such experiences which serve to bring them to a state of integration or unity.

What is distinctive about James' view is that he does not treat religious experience primarily as a solution to secular problems but rather emphasizes the relation of religious resolutions to basically religious problems. What happens in religious transformation, says James, is that religious motions which have formerly been kept on the periphery of the individual's consciousness now move into a position of central importance and so become what he calls the habitual center of the person's energy.

According to James, transformation usually does not occur as the result of a conscious decision. While information does play a role in precipitating change, new awareness is of greater significance. The center of change is largely at the level of the subconscious and it is often not until conscious control has been given up that the process of transformation can be completed. "In many cases relief persistently refuses to come until the person ceases to resist, or make an effort in the direction he desires to go."⁸ James sees the reason for the importance of self-surrender in the transformation process having to do with two major considerations on the minds of those who are undergoing the change; namely, the sense of present wrongness or 'sin' from which there is a wish to escape and a positive ideal towards which he yearns. In most cases the emphasis in the mind of the person is on the first with little awareness granted the second. There are two ways of

overcoming problems, suggests James; namely the conscious replacement of one set of commitments by another and by an act of self-surrender, or giving up, on the part of the person. It is only when this happens that change can take place. James notes the outcome of most conversion experiences as including a loss of worry or a willingness to be regardless of whether or not outer circumstances change or remain the same, a sense of perceiving new truths of which one has previously been unaware, a sense that the world has undergone a change and an ecstasy of happiness. Central to this is the feeling in the hour of conversion of a sense of higher control.

There is no way of discerning the authenticity of a transforming experience other than in terms of what it has meant to the person who has been changed. Since there are no adequate criteria for measuring the validity of the experience the ultimate test remains the new level of spirituality attained by the individual.

In review of the foregoing discussion the points which are particularly significant to our study include:

1. The importance of assuming an ideological stance in the integrative process of identity formation, especially as it related to the making of major life commitments (Erikson).
2. The view that religious experience opens up alternative perspectives of which the individual has been unaware to that moment.

3. The importance of the possibility of seeing religious experience in terms of a solution to rather than a projection of the individual's problems (Wallace).
4. The means of resolution being a change from within rather than change of external circumstances (Wallace and James).
5. The characteristic of religious experience in allowing the individual to rearrange his 'hierarchy of loyalties!' (Boisen).
6. The importance of the element of self-surrender to moral transformation brought on by religious experience.
7. The relationship of the weakening of one set of ideas to the strengthening of another. As the one weakens the other moves in to take its place.

As stated earlier, the problem with which we are concerned in this study has to do with the religious experience known as the baptism of the Holy Spirit or the Pentecostal experience. The significance of this event, at which time the individual feels himself overwhelmed with the awareness of the presence of the spirit of God, is marked by an accompanying sign in the form of speaking in tongues. In this religious experience the person is required to give up conscious control of his speech and surrender to a power greater than himself. The entire being is involved in the experience.

Those who have had the experience testify not only to the moment of the experience itself but to the accompanying change that has taken place in their lives. The baptism of the Holy Spirit has provided them with a solution, it has brought them salvation. It is hoped that in this study something may be learned from our respondents as to how and why they feel this change has come about and in what way they see the experience as a solution for them.

Notes

¹Luther P. Gerlach and Virginia H. Hine, "Five Factors Crucial To The Growth Of A Modern Religious Movement," Journal For The Scientific Study Of Religion, Vol. VII, No. 1, Spring 1968, 32.

²Anthony Wallace, Religion: An Anthropological View. (New York: Random House, 1959), p. 13.

³Ibid., p. 29.

⁴Anton T. Boisen, The Exploration Of The Inner World (New York: Harper and Brothers), p. ix.

⁵Ibid., p. ix.

⁶William James, The Varieties Of Religious Experience (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1935), p. 190.

⁷Ibid., p. 191.

⁸Ibid., p. 208.

CHAPTER II

THE EXPERIENCE OF PENTECOST: PAST AND PRESENT

Until recently little emphasis has been placed by participants in the Pentecostal movements on an intellectual understanding and definition of the concept of the Holy Spirit. A more theological orientation has been developing during the past several months as the movement is finding its way into the ecclesiastical circles of the Roman Catholic church. However, among lay participants verbal reference to the experience is usually couched in metaphorical rather than analytical terms. Credence is given to the experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit by consequential changes of perspective and behaviour. For the reader to comprehend something of the relevance of the experience to the individual it is imperative to attempt theological comment. (It should be noted that while the comments are deliberately made from a Pentecostal point of view they do not in fact authentically represent that position.)

The concept of spirit, rooted in the Hebrew term 'ruah', which denotes both wind and breath, had evolved during the course of Hebraic tradition to implying both a source of power and an intimate presence. Prophetic preparation had been made for the birth of a particular individual at some future point in time who would be the personification of the power and presence of the spirit. The Old Testament promises

that ". . . there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots and the Spirit of Yahweh shall rest on him."¹ For Christians the anticipated Messiah was Jesus of Nazareth. This being so for Christians it was in the person of Jesus Christ that the abstract concept of Spirit found its focus and realization.

The dynamic potency of the Spirit to Pentecostal understanding is effected by two fundamental tenets of faith held by followers of this persuasion: the identification of the historical Jesus with the prophesied Messiah as the son of God and a strong belief in the actual resurrection of the body of Jesus Christ from the dead. The significance of the first lies in the underlining of the ultimate authority of the source of power evidenced in the spirit of Christ. Messianic prophecies had been positive that the "Spirit of Yahweh" (God) would rest on the forthcoming Messiah. Christ, then, being the promised Messiah, was endowed with the Spirit of God; namely, the Holy Spirit. The identification of Jesus as the Messiah is verified by the supernatural fact of the physical resurrection of Christ from the dead. The records indicate that he was seen and recognized by a number of his followers days after his death had been confirmed and that the tomb in which his body had been placed was mysteriously empty on the third day after his burial. The source of power apparent in the being of Christ is thus not only authenticated but is given a sense of immediacy. Power and presence

are synthesized and operationalized.

Rooted in the above foundations of fundamental biblical understanding the theological convictions held by those of Pentecostal persuasion enhance an awareness of a spiritual presence which is at once totally intimate and of unquestionable authority. It is this combination that undergirds the dynamic potential of the Pentecostal experience for radical moral transformation. The reality of the Holy Spirit binds them in faith to the living Christ whose being requires nothing less than total commitment. The possibility of experiencing the Spirit of God warrants a total response. "Imagine God coming to me and letting me do this . . . the great consciousness of Jesus living in me was the overwhelming thing to me . . . since then I've found in scripture that Jesus said that when He would send the Comforter, the Holy Spirit, He would testify with me and you'd know it . . . It was so real I was almost amazed to find it in the Bible."² The Holy Spirit is experienced as a Personality, a transforming friendship, as communion with one's Creator, as an experience with God in His dynamic aspect.

Of central importance to Pentecostals in specifying the event of the Holy Spirit is Christ's recorded proclamation that unless "one be born of water and the Spirit he can not enter the kingdom of God."³ Furthermore it is recorded that Christ told His followers that it was expedient for Him to leave them for if He did not "the Spirit would not come.

But when He, the Spirit, did come, He would stay with them forever. He would guide and teach and strengthen and in His power they would do greater things even than Christ has done."⁴

Baptism is the descriptive term given to that moment when the person feels himself most fully aware of and responsive to the experience of direct contact with the Creator. It is a moment of oneness, of spiritual union, of unprecedented and irrational integration of self and greater than self. Pentecostals insist that they do not see the baptism of the Holy Spirit as an exclusive experience of the Spirit but rather regard it as being on a continuum along with other religious experiences of Christian origin. "The biblical imagery suggests that salvation is a well of water whereas the baptism of the Spirit is a river. So the imagery never allows you to do anything more than say it's more of the same thing only it's more dynamic . . . it opens the door more fully to the Spirit, because every born again Christian is indwelt by the Spirit."⁵

Although not recognized as an exclusive experience of the Spirit, Pentecostals do regard the occasion of the baptism of the Holy Spirit as a unique and definitive event, isolated in time and identified by the accompanying act of speaking in tongues; the glossolalic act. Significant in understanding the relation of the Holy Spirit to the experience of the individual is the notion of gift. The awareness

described by the baptism is acknowledged as being at least in part beyond human ability to command. The main prerequisite for receiving the gift of the Holy Spirit is the desire and conviction that it is possible to do so. "If prayer is the soul's sincere desire . . . that's what you've got when you're a candidate for the baptism of the Holy Spirit."⁶

Confessions of people who witness to the experience indicate that it is not tied to any particular psychological mood or physical state but rather that it appears to occur at random; it may happen both at times of heights and depths of ordinary human experience. The only apparent prerequisite is an intense will. As the symbol of water signifies entry into the community of Christian believers so tongues, according to Pentecostals, serves to indicate the moment of full spiritual awareness. It must be noted that there is some divergence of opinion as to the necessity of speaking in tongues as symbolic of the baptism of the Holy Spirit but it would seem that the most commonly held view among Pentecostals is that the act almost invariably accompanies the event.

What It Is: New Testament Origins

References to the phenomenon of speaking in tongues can be located throughout the New Testament but are particularly prominent in the Book of Acts and in Paul's Letters to the Corinthians. The central reference to tongues is found in the second chapter of the Book of Acts. In relating the

events that occurred on the day of Pentecost Luke, the author of Acts, comments:

And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there was a sound from heaven as of a mighty rushing wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared to them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were filled with the Holy Ghost, and they began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance.⁷

Throughout the history of the Christian church interpretation of the story of Pentecost has provoked controversy. Whatever the debate, it is generally understood that what happened on that historic occasion represents something unique, a sort of miracle of communication. An unnatural sense of oneness is believed to have overwhelmed all those present, superseding diversity of culture and conflict of perspective.

By the time Paul wrote his letters to the young churches, speaking in tongues had become problematic; instead of functioning as a unifying medium it had become a source of fragmentation and conflict. Paul, therefore, appears to be skeptical concerning the public use of tongues and suggests in his letters to the church in Corinth that controls be established to determine the acceptable use of tongues. While Paul acknowledged the validity of the phenomenon as a genuine spiritual expression, in fact declaring that he himself spoke in tongues, he nevertheless repeatedly emphasized the need for restraint.

With the exception of the initial inexplicable events of the day of Pentecost the Christian experience of glossolalia has historically been set within a framework of doctrine and morality. It has not been regarded as an isolated religious experience but has been enmeshed in the context of ideology.

If one reads the New Testament narrative with objectivity, he finds that it tells stories about men who received not only ethics but a new life which was given from beyond their ordinary capacities. When this divine power was given to man, his character improved, his love and faith and patience increased and he was also given greater wisdom and perception of spiritual things. Receiving this divine power was known as being filled with the Holy Spirit. It was further believed that the Spirit spoke directly through the man whom it had indwelt, who had been filled. It could speak aloud, intelligibly or unintelligibly . . . in the tongues of men and angels.⁸

Recorded evidence of ecstatic utterances are by no means limited to the glossolalic act as understood in the Christian tradition. What is unique about the Christian experience of speaking in tongues is, on the one hand, the definition given to the spiritual source of the phenomenon and, on the other, the ethical implications arising from the experience.

A Historical Review

Historical evidence suggests that outbursts of speaking in tongues were sporadic and relatively de-emphasized by the church between the first and seventeenth centuries. It appears that in the early church the phenomenon was well known and accepted as one of the gifts of the Spirit by intellectually sophisticated Christian theologians but that it rarely received mention. The suggestion has been made that this lack of emphasis was at least in part due to the struggle of the early church to gain acceptance from a hostile non-Christian society by presenting itself as a reasonable intellectual stance.

The basic fact that the church was hard pressed, first from without and later from within, and the church fathers were writing to gain acceptance from a hostile gentile world. As Paul points out, tongue speaking is not meant as a sales pitch for a resistant buyer, but for private worship and edification; when used in this way, it is a sign which can be seen. But since most people were already irrational enough about Christianity, describing glossolalia would have been enough to magnify this sign into wild rumour . . . Talking about tongues would have added fuel to the fire that flamed into irrational rejection of Christians as monsters, or, at least, queer people.⁹

One outstanding incidence of tongue speaking is recorded in the Martyrdom of Polycarp, a letter from the church in Smyrna, relating an account of the events leading up to the execution of their bishop in 155 A.D. It notes that the authorities allowed Bishop Polycarp an hour to pray before he was to be burned and that during this time he became so 'filled with the grace of God' that he "became carried away and could not be stopped for two hours."¹⁰ Other recorded episodes of tongue speaking include references to the Montanists, followers of Montanus, a priest who had been converted from a Phrygian mystery cult and who was supposed to have had an experience where he became "beside himself, and being suddenly in a sort of frenzy and ecstasy he raved, and began to babble and utter strange things, prophesying in a manner contrary to the custom of the church."¹¹

The abuse of this so-called gift became a problem to Irenaeus, Bishop of Gaul during the last quarter of the second century, who attacked a certain Marcus for the misuse of the gift. Marcus is said to have used the promise of the gift to seduce gullible women of means. His approach apparently was to encourage a woman who was skeptical of being able to receive the gift just to open her mouth, speak whatever occurred to her and she would find herself making prophetic utterances. Irenaeus comments:

She then, puffed up and elated by these words, and greatly excited in soul by the expectation that it

is herself who is to prophesy, her heart beating violently (from emotion), reaches the requisite pitch of audacity and idly as well as impudently utters some nonsense as it happened to occur to her, such as might be expected of those heated by an empty spirit . . . Henceforth she reckons herself a prophetess, and expresses her thanks to Marcus for having imparted to her of his own Charis.¹²

Perhaps the last allusion to tongues before the seventeenth century was undertaken by Tertullian, a North African lawyer who later in his life was converted to Montanism. During the fourth century Montanism faded and with it came the disappearance of men who had any first hand knowledge concerning the experience. Christian philosophers became increasingly skeptical. Origen, Chrysostom and Augustine all contributed to the denial of glossolalia as an authentic Christian expression. Suspicion regarding the phenomenon mounted until in the eleventh century it came to be regarded as evidence of diabolic possession. Commitment to a rational weltanschau inherent in the Aristotelian mode prevented theological thinkers as, for example, Thomas Aquinas, from integrating the occurrence of tongue speaking into a satisfactory conceptual framework.

Isolated instances continued to erupt but it was not until the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, that any mass outbreak was recorded. As a result of the revocation the Huguenots who were taking refuge in the Cevennes mountains of southern France turned to a contemplation of

the Scriptures. The belief sprang up among them that they were especially called by God. This intense conviction that they constituted the elite was accompanied by mystical manifestations. With an increase in their religious experience and enthusiasm came an increase in the fervour of the religious persecution which had victimized them until the little Huguenot tongue speaking peasants of the Cevennes underwent a metamorphosis changing them into the revolutionary Camisards. While the force of the persecution succeeded in extinguishing the movement, its fame had spread. The courage and faith of the Cevennols had captured the interest of the Europeans and the unusual expression of spirituality attributed to the movement became the focus of considerable discussion. In France itself reverberations were felt; the Jansenites, a Catholic holiness sect, revolted against what they considered to be a lack of spirituality and morality among the Jesuits and an outburst of tongues was recorded in their midst in 1731.

During the nineteenth century the phenomenon made its appearance in England among the Irvingites, followers of Edward Irving, a remarkable and charismatic Presbyterian clergyman who was a close friend of Thomas Carlyle. Irving became intrigued with rumours reaching him concerning a miraculous healing which was reputed to have occurred in Scotland. His curiosity led him to investigate the case personally and what he discovered so impressed him that he

he tried to induce his congregation to explore this new found spiritual dimension. Irving promoted speaking in tongues among members of his congregation but when he became aware of the magnitude of their response he attempted, without success, to impose limitations on its usage. Within a short period of time tongues had gained such prominence among his devotees that his public services of worship became chaotic and Irving was excommunicated by the denominational hierarchy.

About the same time tongues made their appearance among the Shakers and Mormons in the United States. Simultaneously an outbreak was recorded in Russia in 1855 and shortly thereafter in Armenia. Early Methodism also had a significant incidence and reports of unusual spiritual happenings increased with the impact of the Wesleyan revivals.

It is thought that it was perhaps John Wesley's favourable attitude towards tongues that laid the basis for the uprising of the Pentecostal sects. Holiness groups had risen within Methodism in response to the controversy that had been aroused by the ambiguities of interpretation of Wesley's doctrine of sanctification. Using the concept as one of the cornerstones of his theology, Wesley seems to have allowed for both 'progressive sanctification'; that is, a gradual growth toward perfection, and for 'entire sanctification' or the possibility of attaining immediate and total perfection of love. Those of his followers who stressed the latter

understanding of the doctrine organized revivals designed to lead people to the experience of entire sanctification. The movement grew to such an extent that it caused concern among Methodist leaders of the time and resulted in an open split between holiness and non-holiness factions just prior to the turn of the twentieth century.

Birth and Growth of the Pentecostal Sect

The Pentecostal sect, born shortly after the turn of the century, was related to, but distinct from the holiness movements which had found their origins in nineteenth century Methodism. The revivals signaling the onset of Pentecostalism were known as 'Foursquare Gospel' revivals; their fundamentals being entire sanctification, the baptism of the Holy Spirit, faith healing and the premillennial coming of Christ. The movement took shape around one Charles F. Parnham, a former Methodist clergyman and founder of the Bethel Bible College in Topeka, Kansas. The students in attendance at the College had been given the assignment of researching biblical reference to the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Upon conclusion of the study there was unanimous agreement among the students that the one evidence which could be repeatedly found with reference to the occurrence of the baptism was that of glossolalia. The group, on reaching this conclusion, turned to prayer and contemplation with the result that several of the students broke out in tongues. Parnham himself

had the experience and joined with his students in spreading the word by means of evangelistic campaigns. By 1903 the movement had spread from Kansas to Missouri and Texas and in 1905 Parnham opened a Bible school in Houston similar to the Topeka institution.

News of unusual spiritual occurrences at the Houston Bible School were reported by a member of a Baptist congregation in Los Angeles who had visited the institution. Curiosity aroused by the report prompted the congregation to extend an invitation to W. J. Seymour, an evangelist and former student at the school, to visit the congregation and preach on the subject of the Holy Spirit. Seymour himself had not received the gift of the baptism of the Holy Spirit but was convinced that it was an authentic Christian experience. During the course of his visit to the Baptist congregation he had the experience and began to speak in tongues. A substantial number of the members of the congregation consequently followed his example. The extraordinary subsequent events stimulated the interest of the surrounding community and the attention of the press was caught. The resultant free advertising contributed greatly to the sudden mushrooming of the movement to both national and international fame.

In contrast to the sporadic outbursts of the phenomenon recorded in Christian history prior to the twentieth century Pentecostalism in the present century has continued to flourish and spread. It must be underlined that the

movement has a wider concern than its emphasis on the baptism of the Holy Spirit as evidenced by the glossolalic act. It is, rather, a theology centering around this unique experience, couching it in both a moral and a metaphysical framework. While the main stream of Christianity has emphasized the view that Christian understanding and insight was brought about by a gradual process of education and maturation, the Holiness movements, and particularly the Pentecostal movement, have provided an alternative possibility. Their stress has been on a transformation from within. In their view this transformation most often takes the form of an event of revelation or religious insight. The awareness of such a transformation or conversion experience was regarded as a necessary prerequisite to participating fully in the Christian community. It was authenticated by a resultant striving toward moral perfection as based on an understanding of the Christian love ethic. Attainment of perfect love was seen as being possible only by means of the experience of 'grace'. The awareness of the experience of grace was institutionalized by the Holiness movements as the 'second blessing', in fact the Wesleyan interpretation of entire sanctification. Gradually the belief grew that a third experience was open to Christian believers in the form of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, an experience which carried the believer into an overwhelming perception of suprahuman love. Description

of this state defied rational expression and could only be communicated by means of ecstatic utterance.

Pentecostalism, with its emphasis on the experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, continued to spread throughout the first half of the present century and although pockets of Pentecostal enthusiasm erupted repeatedly in varying localities the fervour of the movement remained characteristically within the bounds of lower socio-economic class brackets. Pentecostal religiosity was considered intellectually unacceptable and their style of worship socially inferior. Gerlach and Hine point out that some twenty-five or thirty regional or national associations were encompassed by the Pentecostal sects, the largest being the Assemblies of God. These 'sects' are described in sociological literature as:

appealing to the socially or economically deprived (Pope, 1942; Johnson, 1961; Harper, 1963; Elinson, 1965); to the socially disorganized (Holt, 1940; Cohn, 1957; O'Dea, 1960; Talmon, 1962); and, possibly to the psychologically disadvantaged (Cutton, 1927; Alland, 1961).¹³

However during the last decade this trend has undergone dramatic change. While the established Pentecostal churches are experiencing an increase in membership that is said to outstrip all other denominations in both the United States and South America, the Charismatic Renewal Movement--another phenomenon--is gaining momentum in the routine [this term is unsatisfactory to the writer but has been used for lack of adequate alternatives] denominations.

The Charismatic Renewal Movement

This new movement, characterized by the experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, has broken out of its sectarian context and is spreading through the organized churches apparently undeterred by class barriers or intellectual disdain. Communal networks tied by a common understanding and experience of the charisma of the Holy Spirit are penetrating the divisions of denomination. New liaisons are coming into being. New polarities are being formed. Traditional patterns of circumscribing varying theological perspectives are disintegrating and new ones are emerging. While the lines of faith are being redrawn and formerly unlikely ecumenical groupings are created, divisions too are rearranged and accentuated.

The Charismatic Renewal Movement is by definition Christian renewal based on a return to the New Testament witness of the charisma, the grace, favour or gift of the Spirit of God as represented by Jesus Christ and promised to his followers. It is a spiritual renewal, having a concern for the unification of man with his Creator and thus initiating a transcendental transformation of being.

The function of the Spirit and the church is to make Christ, who lives at the right hand of the Father, a symbol for his unity with the God-head; to make Christ present also in the plural, so that the living action of Christ, the redeeming love of Christ, can procure throughout history

and can transform the world. This is the testimony, basically, of the Scripture. The Spirit is sent in the primitive group of believers, who are kind of frightened and scared about the whole thing and huddled to-gether in the upper room for fear of what society will think of them. And the Spirit descends on them, and receiving the Spirit they are transformed from a group of frightened people into a vibrant vital community which is no longer just a group of individuals but is now called the body of Christ; that is, an extension of the person of Christ's personality in history, made up of the members of His body, the people who believe in Him and are filled with His Spirit. Thus it can be said that the purpose of the Spirit is to act as the mystical body of Christ, as the soul of the church, to give it life, to give it power so that Jesus can work through the church and continue to appeal to and speak to all men.¹⁴

The Charismatic Revival, also known as Neo-Pentecostalism, gained sufficient proportions to begin making newspaper headlines in the 1950's. While its history is too contemporary to be sequentially organized and documented the main thrusts of the renewal movement can be isolated. Public attention was first drawn to the existence of the Charismatic Renewal Movement when Time magazine published an article on Father Dennis Bennett, at that time Rector of one of the largest Episcopal churches in the Diocese of Los Angeles. Bennett's interest in the phenomenon of tongues as an experience of revitalization had been stirred by his acquaintance with a couple, loosely connected with his congregation, who testified to having received the gift of speaking in tongues. Bennett, accompanied by a fellow clergyman as well as a number of interested lay people, began to meet regularly with this couple for study. Bennett recalls that his

ambivalence regarding the experience persisted even after his own initial experience.

He claims he did not, at the onset of his initiation into the glossolalic act, attach any particular significance to the event. He recalls, however, that suddenly

I realized what I was doing. It became clear, perfectly clear. I knew God the Holy Spirit whom I had never directly experienced in my life before was putting these words on my lips. He was guiding and I was letting Him. He was not taking over; I had let the words come and I could stop at any time . . . these words were being formed in a language I had never heard, saying and expressing to God the Father, through Christ, all the things I had always wanted to say to God but had never been able to say. I had not known how to say them in my own language. Somehow this language seemed more eloquent.¹⁵

The effect of Bennett's experience was that many of his congregation, with his encouragement, began to speak in tongues. Eventually tension mounted between the tongue speaking and non-tongue speaking factions within the congregation and Bennett submitted his resignation. Following an interim of retreat, during which time he reassessed his position, he received an appointment to St. Luke's Episcopal church on the outskirts of Seattle, a small decaying congregation where it appeared that he could do no harm. He resolved to say nothing about his experience until he was well established with his new flock but it was only a matter of weeks after his arrival that the Time article appeared and his identity was established. Curiosity on the part of the congregation

forced him to make a public statement. The immediate interest he evoked warranted the formation of a study group and within a few months several of the members also began to speak in tongues. Bennett has stated that since his appointment to St. Luke's ten years ago more than ten thousand individuals have been led through his ministry to receive the experience of the Holy Spirit.

Spiritual renewal, accompanied by glossolalia, has also made its appearance on various university campuses. One of the initial contemporary expressions of the phenomenon occurred at Yale university in the early sixties. More recent outpourings have been reported from Michigan State, Duquesne, and Notre Dame universities. Not all the current incidences of clusters of charismatic renewal can be recorded but mention must be made of the upsurge of the movement in the ranks of Roman Catholicism. In 1967 at Duquesne university two Catholic laymen came across documentation of recent experiences of the Holy Spirit. They were attracted to what they discovered and immediately began to meet with an Anglican charismatic study group in whose midst they received the gift of the baptism. The movement given birth in this group at Duquesne spread rapidly to include approximately thirty individuals. By March 1967 it had been carried to Notre Dame and by June of that year the community on that campus made up of those who shared the experience consisted of one hundred and fifty people. Meanwhile the number in Pittsburgh

had climbed to sixty and at Michigan State another fifty or so were involved. With the gathering of a wide representation of the Roman Catholic ecclesiastical community at summer school at Notre Dame that year the news of charismatic renewal was distributed across the country and by April of 1969 a Congress of Catholic Pentecostals took place at Notre Dame with at least three hundred persons, mostly members of religious or academic communities, in attendance.

The Local Movement

Comments regarding the expression of the movement in Vancouver are speculative. Perhaps the most characteristic statement that can be made is the reticulate nature of the movement which makes any attempt at definition or location virtually impossible. As elsewhere the participants represent a spectrum of denominational affiliation. An indication of the ecumenical scope of the movement can be illustrated by personal contact with Catholic, Anglican, Baptist, Lutheran, Mennonite, Salvation Army and United Church participants by the writer. The cohesion of the movement is attained by meetings of a proliferation of small prayer groups as well as by means of staging charismatic events which are attended by the entire participating community. While it is impossible to estimate the numerical strength of the movement it is noteworthy that in May 1969 the auditorium of John Oliver High School, with a seating capacity of fifteen hundred was filled for the occasion of a visiting charismatic convert.

The movement is stimulated by the able leadership and personalities of several individuals whose concern and conviction are persuasive. Mention must be made of untiring efforts by a local Pentecostal minister. She is supported in her efforts both by charismatic colleagues of other denominations and by the congregation she serves. Although this particular congregation adheres to the organized Pentecostal Assemblies it is unique in composition. 'Hidden' Pentecostals stream through the church and it is a rare occasion when the indigenous congregation is not sprinkled with ecumenical representation. It must be emphasized, however, that the movement is 'Spirit centered' rather than organizationally based and so the locus of the movement is not to be defined. Consequently when seeking to locate the movement one must look toward individuals rather than institutions.

Tentative Observations Regarding the Act

Glossolalia, a derivative of the Greek terms "glossa" meaning tongues and "lalia" which refers to the act of speech, takes two fundamentally distinguishable forms: prayer and proclamation. The first, primarily used for private purposes, is commonly referred to as 'speaking-in tongues' while the second, functioning as a social act, is known as 'the gift of tongues'. These distinctions are not always clearly articulated by the participants but are nevertheless significant to an understanding of the phenomenon under discussion.

The prime importance of the use of prayer is as a vehicle of communication with the Holy Spirit. Praise and intercession are seen as the essence of tongues prayer.

. . . the language, I was persuaded, was praise.
 . . . I found that I could express emotion--feeling--through it that I never could with conscious language. That I wasn't all tied up with my conscious man-told processes and that I was able to pour out in a very fluent tongue just a real feeling of praise for God, just a real joy in this experience.¹⁶

The act of speaking in tongues in the form of prayer assumes several identifiable variations of experience and expression. The predominant use is the initial event signifying the moment of baptism. Although the initial event may occur either in isolation or in community it usually finds expression within the context of a group. Describing the experience one commentator explains

. . . the group moved closer around me. It was almost as if they were forming a funnel with their bodies through which was concentrated the flow of the Spirit that was pulsing through the room. It flowed into me as I sat there, listening to the spirit-song around me. Now the tongues swelled to a crescendo, musical and lovely.¹⁷

Tongues are often manifest concurrently with the act of 'the laying on of hands', a characteristic peculiar to the Pentecostal movements. Emphasis is placed on the physical communication of the Spirit by means of placing hands on the individual who is the focus of attention. Either the

leader or some member of the group who is 'strong in the Spirit' puts his hands on either side of the head or on the shoulders of the subject and offers prayer for the particular needs of the person. The doctrine of the laying on of hands as recorded in the Book of Hebrews is a central component in the style of Pentecostalism.

Points of view differ as to whether speaking in tongues is the result of an act of will or whether it is a response to a force which is beyond the capacity of individual control. One authority insists that "the truth of the matter is that it is always an act of will, whether they know it or not . . . like you're not being compelled beyond your will. Paul says 'I will speak' . . . in other words I decided what it is I'm going to do, and the sooner people understand that the sooner they get liberty to relax into it all."¹⁸ Another commentator offers the following description:

With a sudden burst of will I thrust my hands into the air, turned my face full upward and at the top of my voice I shouted: 'Praise the Lord!' It was the floodgate opened. From deep inside me, deeper than I knew voice could go came a torrent of joyful sound. It was not beautiful like the tongues around me. I had the impression that it was ugly, explosive and grunting. I didn't care. It was healing, it was forgiveness, it was love too deep for words and it burst from me in wordless sound. After that one shattering act of will, my will was released, freed to soar into union with Him. No further conscious effort was required of me at all, not even choosing the syllables with which to express my joy. The syllables were already there formed for my use, more abundant than my earth-

bound lips and tongue could give shape to. It was not that I felt out of control of the situation: I had never felt more truly master of myself, more integrated and at peace with the warring factions inside myself. I could stop the tongues at any instant but who would? I wanted them never to stop. And so I prayed on, laughing and free.¹⁹

Deliberate preparation for the event may or may not have been made.

While all those who embark on the experience have had some previous knowledge concerning the content of the Christian faith the baptism of the Holy Spirit may not have been within their frame of reference. Consequently certain people enter into the experience with little or no anticipation and find themselves the object of their own and other people's surprise.

. . . this guy in our church not long ago; he came quite by accident. His wife had been on the fringes of the Charismatic Renewal and she got him to bring her to the meeting . . . He thought well, he wouldn't sit outside. But he wasn't the slightest bit interested . . . but anyway, we were getting on toward the end of our service and this man, sitting a little bit in front of me, got red all over and looked as though he were going to explode, and then he began to speak in very strange sort of sounds. They weren't coming out very clearly and it was a little bit odd . . . and then it came out, flowed just clearly out . . . I understand she'd been speaking about this all and he was quite open to the idea that whatever God was doing God was doing and so fine and dandy, but he wasn't about to get on the band wagon and she said he came in that night and she thought well, he wouldn't be ready for anything like this, and that night he had a very dramatic baptism, and we were all absolutely shocked because it came at a most--loud--you know--that's one of the most recent examples of somebody that didn't come in anticipation at all.²⁰

Following the first experience initiates may use tongues repeatedly or they may never again participate in the phenomenon.

. . . through it I've found prayer a real therapeutic experience, that any time I'm really uptight about anything or have a problem that I can't work through or anything I'll get off by myself and maybe for half an hour or an hour or something I'll pray in a tongue and I can express all the emotion I want through it . . . I can pray for half an hour or so and it'll go from involvement to intercession to adoration and finally peace and then suddenly it'll be as if someone had got up and said good-bye and left, and left you feeling as though that was a very pleasant and worthwhile visit and you feel like you've spent half an hour or so with a dear friend, no regrets on leaving at all, it was just over and I could stop like that.²¹

The initial experience may occur in private. It may come as a sudden overwhelming happening.

I went home and I just knelt down very briefly before I got into bed and prayed . . . and I lay down in bed and started to talk in tongues . . . and I went on and on and when I started talking in this language . . . then it was just like the Holy Spirit came through and cleansed me.²²

On the other hand it may be a gradual process of learning a skill.

I still hadn't said anything and I certainly hadn't spoken in tongues which I would like to have done . . . I decided it was now or never because I just couldn't take this anymore, wanting this and not having it. I tried it by myself and found out I could speak in tongues too if I tried. I wasn't sure for a few days and then I was sure

because people like me just do a bit to begin with, a few words, and as you use it it's better.²³

Tongues used in prayer may be sung in chorus; a style known as singing in the Spirit. The content of this form is always praise.

Soon the whole room was singing a complicated harmony without a 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 others subsided. Harmonies and counter-harmonies wove in and out of each other.²⁴

Variations of tongues for the purpose of prayer include: private prayer spoken in isolation, private prayer spoken in public, individual and unco-ordinated communal expression, inaudibly mouthed utterances, and lyrical common expression as in singing in the Spirit.

The 'gift of tongues' as distinct from 'speaking in tongues' takes the form of public proclamation; the essence of its content being a message from God to His people. A public tongues statement is believed to contain a comment which is significant to the life of the community. While any individual who has received the baptism of the Holy Spirit is eligible to receive the gift of tongues not everyone in fact becomes a recipient. The use of tongues for purposes of proclamation is an individual act. Expression assumes a preeminent position in the gathering and the speaker is accorded the attention of the entire group.

intent is to address the innermost concerns of either some individual present or the gathered assembly itself. Use of the public 'gift' is subject to certain restrictions. It is a reaffirmation of a Word already available to the congregation in order to effect personal spiritual recreation. It must not contain new concepts and is prophetic only in so far as it reveals the will of God for the particular occasion. Emphasis of content is limited to 'edification, exhortation, praise and comfort'.

The gift of tongues may assume one of two forms: known or unknown tongues. Proclamation in a known language which is unfamiliar to the speaker is not common although it is given credence by numerous recorded instances.

--- told of an example where he was pastor and the pastoral function is to see that nothing unseemly takes place; that in the middle of all this belief in New Testament occurrences you don't get off into extremes and irresponsible things, because after all you're dealing with people . . . Anyway this person spoke and he thought 'Oh boy, we've got guests this morning and listen to that'. But it turned out that what didn't sound like a language to him was in fact an African dialect and somebody was there who identified the language.²⁵

Most public tongues statements are made in an unknown language; that is, verbal patterns having no cognitive order. When the gift is expressed in this manner it is mandatory that it be accompanied by an interpretation, most often given by someone other than the person who has spoken in tongues. Interpretations are restricted in content and

fulfil their function when they are able to stimulate an awareness of the individual's most intimate and pressing concerns. "He comes in and he hears the secrets of his heart expounded."

Someone has been sitting all day long and they've had a problem and it's just driving them up the wall and they walk into the service and some simple little person they've never met before gives out a message and interpretation and it turns out to touch exactly on their problem.²⁶

The form of the interpretation usually consists of a metaphorical comment having biblical reference.

Public Worship: A Descriptive Response

Differences in the style of Pentecostal worship are determined both by the composition of the group and the particular occasion. Variations exist in forms of worship, ranging from old-line Pentecostals at the one extreme, whose worship is characteristically active, loud and informal, to the newer independent Neo-Pentecostal groupings, at the other, whose public expression is comparatively subdued and liturgical. Spontaneity being of key importance in Pentecostal worship, an unusual degree of intuition is required on the part of the leaders in assessing the atmosphere or Spirit of the group. Public worship is regarded as a communal response to the movement of the Holy Spirit but there are, nevertheless, certain structural limitations imposed in order to preserve and stimulate group identity. Worship

is not expressed as a response to pre-set liturgical dictates. Instead a liturgical pattern is spontaneously evolved from the existential act.

In attempting to describe the worship event musical metaphors come to the fore. A motif is provided by several set constituents: communal singing, prayer, testimony, scripture reading and sermon. Weaving around this basic theme is a fugal pattern of spontaneous vocal expression, at times in chorus and at other times as solo. While the beat changes with the thematic variations the rhythm remains continuous and is not allowed to interrupt the flow of the service by coming to a full halt until the very end. There is a rhythmic ebb and flow to the service, each climax serving to reinforce the previous one. Ornamentation is provided by spontaneously interjected ripples of utterances of praise arising from the congregation. The final climax is generally reserved till the end of the service and may burst into a plethora of Pentecostal experiences: conversions, healings, prayer and baptism.

Impressions of a Particular Service

The church, a simple, flat roofed structure, is identifiable only by an unpretentious sign erected in front of the building. As I enter I am greeted by a smell of fresh paint, a young man grinning a welcome and the sound of the unfamiliar combination of accordian, piano and electric organ

improvising on an old gospel hymn tune. The chorus is repeated time and again as the congregation drifts into the sanctuary. The pulpit is set in the center front of the chancel against a backdrop of a colourful painting depicting a pastoral scene. Immediately behind the pulpit are set several rows of seats facing the congregation. As the room fills I become aware of being in the midst of an unusually heterogeneous social gathering: old and young--even infants; intellectuals and the ignorant; healthy and disabled; professional and unskilled; upper and lower class, as well as representatives from a variety of other denominations. Eventually the choir, the preachers, and a few others who are participating in the leadership of the service file into the seats behind the pulpit. The music is interrupted by a voice singing 'praise the Lord, praise the Lord'. A tall young man steps into the pulpit and invites the congregation to

stand with me as we begin our service tonight--
praise the Lord--I think we ought to look to the
Lord right at the beginning and ask Him to be with
us in a mighty way. I'm looking forward to the
moving of God in the meeting tonight--praise His
wonderful name (echoes and amens) praise the name
of Jesus, praise the name of Jesus, praise God,
praise God! Brother --- will you lead us in
prayer?

An older man, dignified in appearance, offers up an impromptu invocation. His prayer is set to a background of interspersed phrases of praise rising at random from various

members of the congregation. The participants appear unselfconscious and totally absorbed in the act of worshipping. They seem not the slightest concerned as to whether or not they are displaying appropriate social behaviour. The prayer ends with a request that "everyone will be blessed of God this night, in Jesus name. Amen." The next song is enthusiastically introduced with an affirmation of its message,

I've believed the True Report, Hallelujah to the Lamb. You know it is a true report. The Lord Jesus is Risen from the grave and that is the hope we build our salvation on--is that Jesus is alive today and He's alive in our hearts. Many people have felt the power of the LIVING God in their lives and that has broken the chain of sin which nothing else could break--no other person could break--but the Lord Jesus Christ, the LIVING power of the LIVING God has done this. So tonight we've believed the true report--praise the name of Jesus.

The singing is interrupted by an invitation for the congregation to stand up so that they can participate with greater vigour. As the melody progresses the people begin to join in clapping out the rhythm. The song is followed by another outburst of praise utterances and an unannounced chorus of "The Wonder of It All, the Wonder of It All, Just to Think That Jesus Loves Me." A longer interjection of praise follows with the leader repeating the phrase "praise the name of Jesus" at least eighteen times. Another affirmation of the faith and a statement of gratitude for the opportunity to worship God. The song "I Will Sing of My Redeemer" is

announced; again preceded by an introduction underlining the significance of the message contained in the song. The chorus is repeated several times. Next the choir contributes a number which is melodically similar to the previous musical expressions, thus reinforcing the hypnotic effect of the repetitious melodies and rhythms. The mood of self abandoned communal participation created by the intertwining of affirmations and rhythms is now abruptly disrupted by a challenging invitation for anyone who had "a word for the Lord" to share it with the group. The response, though not immediately enthusiastic, gains momentum as more and more individuals begin to contribute. A middle aged man with a notable European accent is the first to testify. He is followed by the incoherent mutterings of a paraplegic sitting at the rear of the room in his wheelchair. His wife interprets his efforts saying, "He wants to thank the Lord . . ." Another ripple of praise, a few informal comments and an enthusiastic round of "Hallelujah, I want to Sing All About It . . . Praise God." More testimonies--an incident of faith healing--a close harmony trio by three teenaged girls entitled "Jesus Holds the Key." Then the minister, who has until this point participated silently, moves into the pulpit to take over the remainder of the service. Just as she is about to begin speaking a voice, obviously expressing the gift of tongues, interrupts. The minister immediately moves to one side, thereby indicating the preeminence of the tongues speaker.

The utterance seems to be an explosion of emotional intensity. The style of this particular episode is reminiscent of a complex German sentence, containing numerous clauses and stretching to paragraph length. It is unusually expressive, both in tone and intensity. Verbalization is free flowing and moderately rapid. A young man sitting in the choir loft immediately rises to his feet to interpret. His eyes closed, his hands clenched and keeping time to the rhythm of his own speech with the upper part of his body he repeats:

I am the resurrection and the life,
 Though ye were dead yet shall ye live.
 Yea I can quicken your spirits
 that ye may see spiritual truths,
 So that ye can hear my Spirit speak to your hearts,
 So that you can understand My word,
 I repeat, I am the resurrection and the life
 and I can give unto you My Spirit.
 For I have created you for My glory and for My
 That I may fill you with My joy honour
 and with My peace and with My freedom,
 saith the Lord.

A congregational response of "praise God, glory to God." A request that the congregation continue to look for the Spirit to move as they join in the singing of the hymn "He Arose, He Arose, Hallelujah Christ Arose." The hymn is followed by a fervent chorus of "Thou Art Worthy" and then an unannounced and spontaneous evolution into singing in the Spirit led by the minister, whose melodic expression moves with ease between ordinary English and tongues. The organ plays softly, providing a base for the otherwise free melodic line. The

congregation participates, each individual singing his own words or tongues and creating his own tune within the context of the simple harmonic pattern set by the leader. The effect is that of a free, simple, but contrapuntal intertwining of melody. The tonal range utilized is narrow, generally not exceeding intervals larger than fifths. Another proclamation in tongues is given; this time seemingly less intense and exuding a sense of assurance and integration. The syllabic structure and style of the utterance is quite distinct from the previous tongues speaker. Again an interpretation follows, the tone of that too being gentler than the first. The minister gives a comment of reinforcement, suggesting that if the message is meant for anyone in the congregation they are invited to respond to it. At this point the mood of spirituality is once again broken by a series of announcements concerning the events of the coming week. The temper of the meeting has slipped easily into a relaxed, somewhat amusing 'visit' dealing with the domestic essentials of the congregational life. The announcements are lengthy, chatty, informally and humourously presented. The offering is introduced by an instruction to a member of the congregation to lead in prayer. During the taking of the offering the piano, accordian and organ fill the interlude with an improvization on a hymn tune. Next a vocal solo followed by choruses of "He's Alive For Evermore" and "I've Got Something That the World Can't Give and the World

Can't Take It Away." Another outburst of tongues, quite different from either of the former expressions and accompanied by a lengthy interpretation. More congregational singing, this time subdued, and the sermon begins with very little preamble. The theme is resurrection. The scripture lesson is taken from the Book of Acts. The sermon is well organized and presented in a straight forward manner. It is in essence a restatement of the faith, emphasizing the identification of the historical Jesus as the Son of God and declaring the conviction that he was raised from the dead. A closing prayer, a hymn and an invitation for prayer requests. Several of the men leave their seats to arrange the chairs in an adjacent section of the sanctuary and close off folding wall thereby improvising a separate prayer room. Almost the entire congregation moves to the prayer room. As they return to the main part of the sanctuary they join those who have remained behind, and clusters of conversing people pause before leaving the sanctuary.²⁷

Summary Comments

It must be remembered that the Pentecostal experience is biblically based and not a sectarian accretion. What is ambiguous is the textual interpretation. Pentecostals tend to interpret and put stress on the events of Pentecost as significant factual occurrences and understand the biblical references to 'other tongues' as pointing to ecstatic utter-

ances signifying the event of the presence of the Holy Spirit. Other Christian theological perspectives lean toward a less literal understanding. Whatever the interpretation it is clear that the documentation concerning the origins of the experience can be biblically located and is therefore available to any individual within the Christian tradition. It is not contingent on the acceptance of a particular sectarian dogma. Historical outbursts of the phenomenon attest to its availability. It is an experience, an act, and is not encased in a special mode of belief.

Access to the Holy Spirit by means of this experience is direct and immediate. It breaks through the bounds of doctrine to touch the source in an experience. The baptism of the Holy Spirit is a channel to the power and presence of the Creator. The contemporary expression of this experience is not unique but can be traced throughout the history of the Christian church. What is historically unique is the magnitude of the current expression. It has become one of the most significant features in the creation of new patterns and structures in the institutional church and is the focus of much controversial speculation.

What makes this particular religious experience so attractive for study is twofold: the experience is commonly accompanied by an act which is immediately observable and it brings with it changes in perspective and behavioural patterns which authenticate it.

The act itself is both subjective, in that the person discovers himself giving extraordinary vocal expression to an experience he is undergoing, and objective, in that it is an audible physical act which is observable to the bystander. Its functions are thus both public and private, serving simultaneously to renew the individual and to reinforce the faith of the community.

The change in perspective with contingent behavioural changes make possible a review of the motivating factors leading to the experience. The person now views his life history from the point of view of the experience. All previous action is seen as leading up to and culminating in the event. All future experience is regarded as a reflection of it. The Pentecostal experience becomes a pivotal point from which the person traces the course of his history. He has attained his destiny.

Notes

¹Bible, King James Version, Isaiah II, vs. 1-2, p. 562.

²Interview, No. F.

³John L. Sherrill, They Speak With Other Tongues (New York: Pyramid Books, 1964), p. 107.

⁴Ibid., p. 107.

⁵Interview, No. H.

⁶Interview, No. H.

⁷Bible, King James Version, Acts II, vs. 1-4.

⁸Morton Kelsey, Tongue Speaking, an Experiment in Spiritual Experience (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1964), p. 15.

⁹Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 37.

¹¹Frank Stagg, E. Glenn Hinson, Wayne E. Oates, Glossolalia (New York: Abingdon Press, 1967), p. 47.

¹²Kelsey, p. 49.

¹³Gerlach and Hine, "Five Factors Crucial In The Growth and Spread of A Modern Religious Movement," in Journal For The Scientific Study Of Religion, Vol. VII, No. 1, Spring 1968, 24.

¹⁴Quotation taken from unpublished transcript of a tape recording of a lecture given at U.B.C. in January 1968 by Father Kevin Ranaghan of Notre Dame University, on the topic "Renewal of the Holy Spirit among Roman Catholics."

¹⁵Kelsey, p. 100.

¹⁶Interview, No. E.

¹⁷Sherrill, p. 122.

¹⁸Interview, No. H.

¹⁹Sherrill, p. 123.

²⁰Interview, No. H.

²¹Interview, No. E.

²²Interview, No. A.

²³Interview, No. B.

²⁴Sherrill, p. 118.

²⁵Interview, No. H.

²⁶Interview, No. H.

²⁷Quotations describing the service of worship are taken from a tape recording made by the writer at a local Pentecostal church.

CHAPTER III

THE MAPPING OF SPIRITUAL CAREERS

Portraits of the Respondents

No. A: A spinster in her mid-forties, a stenographer by profession and affiliated with the Lutheran church. She accompanied her family in emigrating from England in 1948 and is now residing with her parents and an unmarried sister.

A. recalls that when she was about nine or ten years of age she was asked by her father, who had recently been converted, whether she too would like to "give her heart to the Lord." She said that she would like to do so and made a commitment to that effect. Several incidents that she recalls having occurred shortly after this occasion assured her that her commitment must have been real or she would have behaved differently under the circumstances. When A. reached adolescence she entered a period during which she became very anxious concerning the validity of her childhood decision, feeling that she did in fact 'belong to the Lord' but not being able to recall the specific circumstances of the occasion of her commitment. She remembers wanting desperately to ask her father regarding the details of the moment but not having the courage to do so. When she did find the courage to question him his response did not satisfy

her curiosity. Her anxiety was finally quieted when she came across a book comparing the event of spiritual birth to that of physical birth. A.'s parents, who were of Welsh Methodist background, had experienced a conversion shortly after her birth. As a result of a controversy regarding the doctrine of the Holy Spirit amongst members of their congregation they became alienated and left the church. A. recollects that during this time her father took her away from the music teacher with whom she was studying, who happened to belong to the congregation in question and put her under the instruction of someone else. Her love for music at this point turned to intense dislike and her musical education was short-circuited. Regarding her home environment A. comments that it was 'the kind of home where children were seen but not heard'. She does not remember having any close friends and found it difficult to share matters of intimate concern with any other person.

At the time her family came to Canada A. had been employed for five years. She had been very happy while attending college and thoroughly enjoyed her chosen profession. She had no desire whatsoever to emigrate but felt she had no choice. "I mean, if my father came, we all came, this was the kind of home we were brought up in, you know." After the initial most trying year in eastern Canada the family moved to the prairies. A. had had a long standing ambition to attend Bible School and so, after working for a few years,

she enrolled in a Bible School sponsored by the Lutheran denomination. The two years spent there were among the most enjoyable of her life and as a result of this happy association A. decided to join the Lutheran church. Not knowing what to do with her life after completing Bible School she applied for overseas mission work. She was sure the Lord was 'calling' her to this work. Being so convinced of the authenticity of her call she was quite unprepared for the rejection of her application with no further explanation than that they had 'prayed about it and they felt it wasn't the Lord's will'. She accepted the decision of the authorities and, though hurt, did not pursue her plans any further.

Her parents had meanwhile moved west, leaving her with a younger brother who was at that time engaged to be married to a girl of Pentecostal background. A. next received an invitation to fill a position in the southern United States. Her year there was most worthwhile and when she was forced to return at the end of the year to help her sister care for her aging parents she left with great reluctance. Once in Vancouver A. settled into an orderly routine of working, teaching Sunday School and sharing the domestic responsibilities of the home. She recalls no interesting interludes during this period and feels that her life became increasingly sterile. Her most rewarding relationship was to the young pastor who was serving the congregation to which she belonged and his wife.

A. questioned the pastor concerning reports she had come across relating unusual spiritual occurrences taking place among adherents of the Charismatic Renewal Movement. She was amazed to find that both he and his wife had had the experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit and could speak in tongues. On discovering this she decided immediately that if they were participants in this experience she too wanted it. Shortly after this it was brought to her attention that an evangelist, a former Lutheran pastor who had been dismissed from his pastoral functions as a result of his open affirmation concerning the use of glossolalia, was to appear at a series of meetings. A. attended the entire series and twice responded to the altar call. Both times she was 'blessed' but did not receive the gift of speaking in tongues. She was however assured that she would in due course. The following week she prayed with the pastor and his wife that she too would receive the gift. Again she found it impossible to respond but was not concerned about it. That evening, after she had gone to bed, she suddenly began to speak and found that she could not stop, nor did she want to stop.

The following summer she attended camp meetings at which the previously mentioned evangelist was the theme speaker. There she received the evidence of healing, both of physical afflictions and of the 'memories'. A. insists emphatically that her entire outlook has been changed. Her

connections with the Lutheran church have been maintained but are interspersed with visits to Pentecostal gatherings.

No. B: A housewife in her mid-thirties, married to a lawyer and mother of three children. She was born, raised and resides in Vancouver. B.'s parents were of intellectual bent who had rejected the religious teachings of their parents. They were firmly convinced that intellectual integrity required opposition to religious beliefs. Nevertheless they sent their children to Sunday School in an effort to appease the grandparents. B. appeared to be highly intelligent and was given every opportunity to develop her intellectual potential. She was an extremely lonely child, always being intellectually ahead and chronologically behind her peers. She does not recall being close to any adults and while she belonged to a variety of girls' groups she remembers chiefly 'simply being very lonely'. Upon graduating from high school B. enrolled in a music school for training and then proceeded to university. Here she discovered a number of close friends and a happy and fulfilling experience. She points out that she did not identify with people of religious orientation and was disgusted with ordinary services of worship. Exponents of liberal theology, she felt, did not exploit the inherent myth and mysticism of the Christian faith. At the end of her third year she was married and was forced to leave university. This was a great disappointment to her as she

regretted leaving the friendships she had cultivated there. Her husband was a devoutly religious person as well as being highly intellectual. B. found this combination difficult to integrate and was convinced that she would be able to dissuade him from his religious interests. Realizing that in order to accomplish this goal she would have to be better versed regarding religious matters than she was she began to read extensively in the field of theology and to participate in theological discussions. Much to her surprise she found a great deal of pleasure in this endeavour. A close reading of Robinson's Honest to God convinced her that if God could be conceptualized as being in the depth of things then it might after all be possible to experience God rather than merely to absorb factual knowledge concerning Him. Her interest in mysticism led her to explore the fields of psychic phenomena and occult as a means of experiencing God. She became particularly intrigued with the writings of Edgar Cayce, whose work appeared to her to be a synthesis of mystical and religious insight. As a result of her study of Eastern religions she was captivated by the emphasis placed on meditation and set out to find a group with whom she could share her enthusiasm. At the same time she was teased by the concept of the 'laying on of hands' as practiced in Buddhist initiation procedures. She discussed these matters with a close friend and together they decided to initiate a group to deal with topics related to these interests. The

group was organized and an assortment of individuals participated. Meanwhile B. was searching for a worshipping community that would share her particular concerns. She joined a group led by a clairvoyant whom she had met but the association did not last long as "he didn't like people like me around because I knew too much."

Her next focus of attention was faith healing and she began to look for a group interested in this subject. Her skepticism regarding the institutional church and particularly the denomination with which she was associated increased. At the same time she was desperately in need of a community. "All I wanted was a group!" Meanwhile one of the participants of the initial group started by B. and her friend had made contact with her. Being strongly attracted to this person, who was of Pentecostal persuasion, B. decided that it was appropriate for her to attend her friend's church at least as a gesture of friendship. She had had no previous contact with Pentecostalism and knew very little about it. Her response on first attending was most favourable. She recalls that the aliveness was "something real and happy, somehow whatever inarticulate instinct I had felt that God was there." Since that time she has allied herself increasingly with the group and has had numerable spiritual experiences. It was a considerable time after her introduction to the Pentecostal group that B. received the gift of tongues. The experience for her was one of gradual learning rather

than a sudden dramatic experience. She sees the experience as having made a radical difference to her life and perspective. The small weekly prayer group in which she participates she finds most stimulating and fulfilling.

No. C: A housewife in her late twenties, mother of three children, born, raised and resides in Vancouver. She is a member of the United Church of Canada.

C. recalls that her childhood was probably 'happy' although her father was at home very little and she did not feel close to her mother. It was a nominally Christian home, the family attended worship services regularly, the children were sent to Sunday School and abstinence from the so-called 'worldly pleasures' was advocated. C. comments that her sister rejected the church as soon as she was permitted to do so. The fact that she herself did not she attributes to a 'natural religious bent'. She was a musically gifted child and was pushed to such an extent by her teacher that she began having health problems and was forced to drop her musical education for a period. When she resumed it again later she discovered that she had to relearn all that she had previously known. After graduating from high school she found part time employment and concentrated on furthering her musical career. She then entered Teacher Training at University and was married immediately after completing the course. She began teaching but found it most unenjoyable and was forced

to leave before the end of the term because of pregnancy.

C. feels now that she rushed into her marriage and that she would not have done so if she had been given any discouragement by either family or friends. She had three children in less than three years and during this period was hospitalized for severe depression.

While at university C. met a girl who was a committed Christian and who gave her reading material dealing with religious issues. C. says she remembers a time when she decided to make a conscious commitment to Christ but that she felt no change as a result of the decision. As her children grew older she began to look for a way out of her misery by becoming involved and concerned with other people. This concern led her into a relationship which she now sees as having been destructive, particularly for the other person involved. When this relationship terminated C. felt more isolated and unhappy than ever before. Meanwhile she had heard about a woman with whom she was casually acquainted who had undergone a radical transformation. Her sister-in-law had informed her that this woman had "found something that had really changed her and made her really great." C. promptly contacted the woman to ask her which church she attended and whether it would be possible for her to go. They made arrangements for C. to accompany the woman to the Pentecostal church. However due to vacation interferences the plans had to be postponed.

In the meantime C. sought out a girlhood friend with whom she had lost contact. She discovered that they were as close as they had been as adolescents but that the girl was now married to a man of Pentecostal background and she herself had become a convinced Pentecostal. Her friend asked her to read Sherrill's They Speak With Other Tongues. C. was intrigued with the book but felt the experience was not for her. Shortly after her visit to her friend C. and the woman mentioned previously attended the Pentecostal church. C. was impressed, recalling that "I just thought, for the first time in my life, these people are really worshipping--you know--worshipping a God as though every one of them think He's really there . . ." Following the service she went to the prayer room where she received the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Her experiences of the evening were so overwhelming that when she returned home she felt herself capable, for the first time, of loving her husband and breaking the behavioural pattern that had developed between them. Her husband was so alarmed by her reports that he immediately contacted the minister of the church with which they had been affiliated in order that he might try to reason with his wife. C. witnesses to the experience as having been life changing for her; her relationship with her husband is greatly improved, she now enjoys her children, she is capable of entering into 'healthy' relationships with others whereas before the relationships she had were 'sick' and she parti-

cipates in a group which she finds both meaningful and therapeutic. While she is unable to share her experiences with other members of the church she attends she has maintained her connections with the congregation and at this point does not feel drawn to become a formal Pentecostal. Her husband, noting the change in her, is most sympathetic although he does not identify with the experience.

No. D: In his early twenties, unemployed and until very recently identified with 'hippy' life style. He was born in Europe, emigrated to Canada with his family when he was five years old and came to Vancouver at the age of sixteen.

The only recollections mentioned by D. of the period prior to coming to Canada are episodes relating to disobedience and the consequences of these acts. He observes that perhaps the happiest time of his life were the few weeks spent on his uncle's farm upon arrival in Canada. "I remember the greatest times I ever had were just spreading the corn for the chickens." He recalls spending a considerable time in his early teens in fantasy about how to escape from his unhappy situation and twice made attempts, both of which were thwarted, to run away "to a place where there were no adults." The trip across Canada, when the family moved west, was a most memorable time. Upon arrival the family made several moves before they became established and D. was forced

to transfer schools a number of times. Eventually he got completely 'fed up' and dropped out of school in grade eleven. A succession of jobs followed but all ended in dissatisfaction for one reason or another. "I don't think I recognized it as frustration at the time but things just didn't seem to be going. There was still some kind of void that needed filling." A friend at the time suggested that D. try L.S.D. He did so and found his trips thoroughly enjoyable until the fourth one he 'freaked out', having some most unusual thoughts about himself, about his relation to this planet, about the universe and about God. The abstractions he experienced under the influence of acid were in part filled in by 'more grass roots types of feelings' when he turned to the use of marijuana and other related drugs. Along with a friend D. decided to go into the importing business. The success of their first venture encouraged them to make a second trip in search of their goods. This time, however, they ran into a number of obstacles and D. was forced to complete the trip alone, leaving his friend camping en route while he took his friend's car across the border to pick up the supplies. A series of uncalculated misfortunes detained him so that he was unable to return at the appointed time. When he did return he found a warrant for his arrest that had been sworn by his friend waiting for him. As a result he was jailed for a month, a period which he now sees as a beneficial experience. "It did me a lot of good. I was able to

do a lot of thinking." When he was released from prison he hitch-hiked back to Vancouver where he became thoroughly involved in the drug sub-culture, being in drug space for extended periods of time. He eventually became dissatisfied with this life style, realizing that there were as many problems among the 'heads' as there were in the 'straight' society which he had rejected. At this time he moved back to live with his parents but found his mother's relentless insistence that he go to church and read his Bible most irritating. About a month after returning to his parent's home he and his cousin dropped some acid. As a result of the discussion they had while they were high D. experienced an entire re-formulation of his religious perspective. The change in outlook in fact amounted to a reversal of the position he had formerly held. He came to some 'basic' realizations concerning reality and the place of the person of Christ in terms of this recognition. The new stance prompted him to investigate various churches, one of the first being the Pentecostal church his sister attended. There he made a public proclamation of faith and within a short time received the baptism of the Holy Spirit. The experience has made a fundamental difference to his view of reality and consequently to the shape of his life.

No. E: A theological student in his mid-forties, married and father of two children. He was born and raised on

the prairies in "what you could call a Christian home." His parents, though believers, did not attend church because of geographical distance. E. however had some Sunday School instruction and did not question the precepts of the faith until he was in his twenties, when he "consciously put all matters of religious concern" out of his mind. Most of his youth, with the exception of the time spent in the armed services during the war, was spent working on his father's farm, in logging camps or in mining. His dissatisfaction with the pattern of the life he was leading increased as time went on and he became most anxious about the prospect of having to live all his life in isolation, without family or purpose. He read considerably but does not recall any significantly close relationships. Several concerted efforts on his part to form an association with the opposite sex failed, intensifying his state of loneliness. On reading a book by Fulton Oursler E. came to see his way of life as condemned. He encountered what to him represented the wholesomeness of the Christian faith when two female Bible School students visited their home. His attraction caused him to approach them concerning the essence of Christianity and they advised him to read a book they had noticed in the bookshelves of his parent's home. He read the prescribed book at one sitting and immediately committed his life to God. His commitment was followed by a state of 'extreme euphoria' and a new moral outlook which he had occasion to put to the test during the

next few days. He decided to prepare himself for enrollment at the school represented by the girls who had so influenced him. He was married the summer prior to his final term at the school and was forced to drop out during that term as a result of a severe stomach ulcer. The following winter was spent as a lay minister with the intention of undertaking theological studies. His plans were somewhat delayed by an unsatisfactory experience in his field work. It was felt that it would be beneficial for him to try further field work before entering theology. Again he experienced difficulty but after a two year period he enrolled to take the prerequisite first year of Arts. His academic attempt was successful but the following summer he again had problems which led to his being advised by representatives of the church hierarchy that he would not be recommended as a candidate for the ministry. His disappointment was enormous and his domestic situation precarious as he had no means of supporting his family at this point. Fortunately he obtained work in a mine and somehow the family survived the winter. By this time he had disassociated himself with the particular denomination in question and had once again affiliated himself with a small evangelistic sect with whom he had previously had a very happy relationship. When the mine where he had been employed closed down he moved his family to another location where he again changed denominational ties. Not long after their move their infant daughter was hospital-

ized and seriously ill as the result of an accident. E. confesses that their situation by this time was desperate and their need for support enormous. The congregation with which they had established ties showed no indication of being aware of their needs. As a last resort E. contacted the minister of the denomination which had earlier rejected him. An immediate rapport between E. and this man led to his return to association with this denomination, becoming very active in the work of the local congregation. Meanwhile both E. and his wife were becoming convinced that their infant daughter was not receiving adequate care where she was and, after much soul searching, decided against doctor's orders to remove her and take her to Toronto for treatment. Coincidentally they discovered when they arrived there that an operation had recently been perfected which was being used in the east but had not yet been attempted in western Canada. The operation was performed and was successful. Because of the prolonged recovery period E. was forced to leave his wife behind while he returned to the west in search of another job. He managed to get a job as a carpenter but shortly after he started working he fell and broke his back. On recovering from the accident he had no choice but to find lighter work which would not harm his injured back. The community where he finally found employment happened to be in the same area where he had first been rejected as a candidate for the ministry. In the interim a change in pastoral

relations had taken place and two energetic young clergymen had moved to the vicinity. With their encouragement E. applied once again for admission to theology. This time he was successful and E. entered first year theology the following year. A turning point seemed to have been reached and E. notes an improvement in his circumstances. He was, however, still uneasy with his apparent lack of ability to communicate his faith. He was convinced that somewhere there was a missing link and his studies led him to believe it had something to do with the Holy Spirit. He was determined to seek the dimension he felt was lacking in his life "even if it meant going to the Pentecostals to get it." He noted that members of the Inter-Faith Ministry, an ecumenical travelling team representing the Charismatic Renewal Movement, were to address a series of meetings on campus. After attending several of the meetings and becoming convinced that what they were talking about was his missing link he went to one of their prayer meetings and requested that they pray that he would receive the Holy Spirit so that his ministry might be enriched. They did so, laying hands on him, and with some encouragement realized that he too could speak in tongues. The experience has stimulated a change in the pattern of his relationships; he is now able to communicate with ease, feels that his ministry has been given power and that he no longer has to push himself in order to be justified. His wife does not share in the experience with him.

him and they refrain from discussing it. He feels it unnecessary to encourage his fellow theological students to seek the experience since "Pentecost is on the other side of Calvary." The most significant dimension of change, he feels, is the therapeutic value derived from the use of tongues in his private prayer life.

No. F: In her late twenties, married but without children and a school teacher by profession. She was born and raised in rural British Columbia. Her mother was a strong Pentecostal believer and her father did not identify with any religious expression. F. recalls that the relationship between the parents was exceptionally close and that her father encouraged the children to participate in their mother's church activities in spite of his own lack of interest. F. had a happy childhood in all respects bar one: she suffered from a severe asthmatic condition which caused her a great deal of discomfort and frustration. Because of this condition she missed much of her early schooling and so did not form close peer relationships. However she was one of five siblings and felt close to all of them with a particular bond existing between herself and one younger brother who also had a sickly childhood.

She remembers when she was five years old becoming suddenly and intensely aware of the brevity of life on the occasion of her uncle's fiftieth birthday celebration. Her

new awareness caused her deep anxiety and she began to question her mother concerning matters of life and death. Shortly after this occasion she remembers her Sunday School teacher telling a story about "the preparations Jesus made for us" and she decided then and there to commit her life to Christ. She felt completely satisfied with the solutions provided by the Christian faith to her fears and problems and at the age of about ten she received the baptism of the Holy Spirit and spoke in tongues. From the ages of twelve to fifteen she was very concerned with her asthmatic condition since it restricted her activities and isolated her from her peers. At about fifteen she attended a summer camp where she received the gift of healing. Her condition began to recede and by now has left her completely, freeing her to function without any restrictions. When she finished high school she was employed as a telephone operator in her local town for approximately one and a half years. She then attended a Pentecostal Bible School where she met her husband. They had a prolonged courtship while both attended university and taught to pay back the debts they had accumulated. They are very happy in their marriage and share many interests, particularly with reference to their spiritual experiences. They associate almost exclusively with people of Christian orientation and are regular attenders of a Pentecostal congregation where both are members of the choir. The direction

of their involvements is unambivalent with all their energy being focused on their teaching careers and their church work.

No. G: A woman evangelist in her late forties, married but without children. She was born and raised in a small prairie city. Her father, a Presbyterian who was converted at a Pentecostal revival meeting, introduced her to the Pentecostal style of worship when she was seven years of age. He continued to encourage her as well as the other children in the family to become Christians. She responded favourably and feels that the religious experiences she had as a child were unusual for one so young. Her course has been a progression of Christian experiences and commitments and she has never lost interest in the faith. When she graduated she joined her slightly older sister in evangelistic work. Their evangelistic career began when they were invited to replace evangelists who could not meet their speaking commitments. From there on they received invitations to appear in several communities and so commenced a pattern that continued for approximately sixteen years. During the course of their travels they covered considerable territory including Canada, the United States, Great Britain, South America, the West Indies, parts of Europe and the Middle East. The longest time spent in any one place was in the interior of British Columbia where they 'pastored' a church for a period of five years. Episodes relating to

their evangelistic expeditions are too numerous to relate but through them all their spiritual lives continued to 'mature' and their faith remained strong. G. left the travelling ministry when she married a widowed gentleman. At the present she resides with him, her mother and a friend in Vancouver. She accompanies her friend in ministering to a rapidly growing Pentecostal congregation which they initiated a few years ago.

No. H: An unmarried woman minister in her mid-forties. She was born and raised in rural British Columbia and now resides with G. and her family. H. was adopted as an infant by an Indian family. When she was two years old her adoptive mother died, leaving her in the care of the father and the older sons of the family. While she spent extended periods with relatives and friends in the community she was for the most part raised by her adoptive brothers, assisted at interims by a series of housekeepers. Not too many childhood instances are recalled by H. but she does mention how desperately she needed to feel that she belonged, particularly after she discovered that she was adopted. She also recalls several episodes which she feels led her to ask basic questions about life and death. A sister of the father, who belonged to a Catholic order, took it upon herself to encourage some religious education for the child, sending literature and on one occasion coming to spend her vacation

with the family. H. remembers her disturbance when this aunt died. She recalls another significant event when two children were drowned in the river in front of their home and it was up to the boys of the family to drag the river for their bodies. The home environment left a great deal to be desired by present social standards.

When H. was thirteen two women evangelists held a series of meetings in the local school house. It was H.'s first exposure to the Christian message and she knew immediately that if what they were saying were true it was an appropriate description of her state and that she wanted the solutions offered by Christianity. She decided that if she were given an opportunity she would make a public profession of her new found faith. After she had done so at the last meeting she discovered that the news of her actions had reached her home ahead of her and she was strongly ridiculed by her brothers. The Children's Welfare were sent out during the next few weeks to investigate her situation with the result that she was removed from the home and sent, after a short interlude with her evangelist friends, to the orphanage in Vancouver. To her amazement she found that the myth of orphanages as propagated by 'Little Orphan Annie' was quite unfounded and that time she spent there did not devastate her. She was particularly aware of her new Christian authority which she tested whenever the opportunity arose. Later she was transferred to a foster home in the

interior of the province. The family was of fundamental Christian orientation. Within a year she was moved to another foster home and embarked on a series of attempts to establish her identity. To her surprise she received a reply not only affirming the relationship and giving her full details concerning her family but inviting her to be an attendant at her sister's forthcoming marriage. An exciting period of becoming acquainted with various members of her family followed.

The three girls, who had formed a vocal trio, decided to embark on an evangelistic tour which turned into a sixteen year journey. Their threesome was disrupted when the elder sister eventually accepted a marriage proposal, leaving G. and H. to continue on their own. This liaison, however, was also interrupted by G.'s decision to marry. H. then returned to Vancouver and followed her earlier ambitions of entering university where she completed an M.A. in English, at the same time undertaking a demanding and diversified campus and community ministry. She is at present known and respected in a wide range of denominations as an outstanding leader and theologian.

No. I: In her late twenties, married and mother of two small children. She was an only child, born and raised in interior British Columbia. She observes that while she loved her parents dearly she remembers her mother as a dominant type of person and her father as somewhat less forceful. Since her

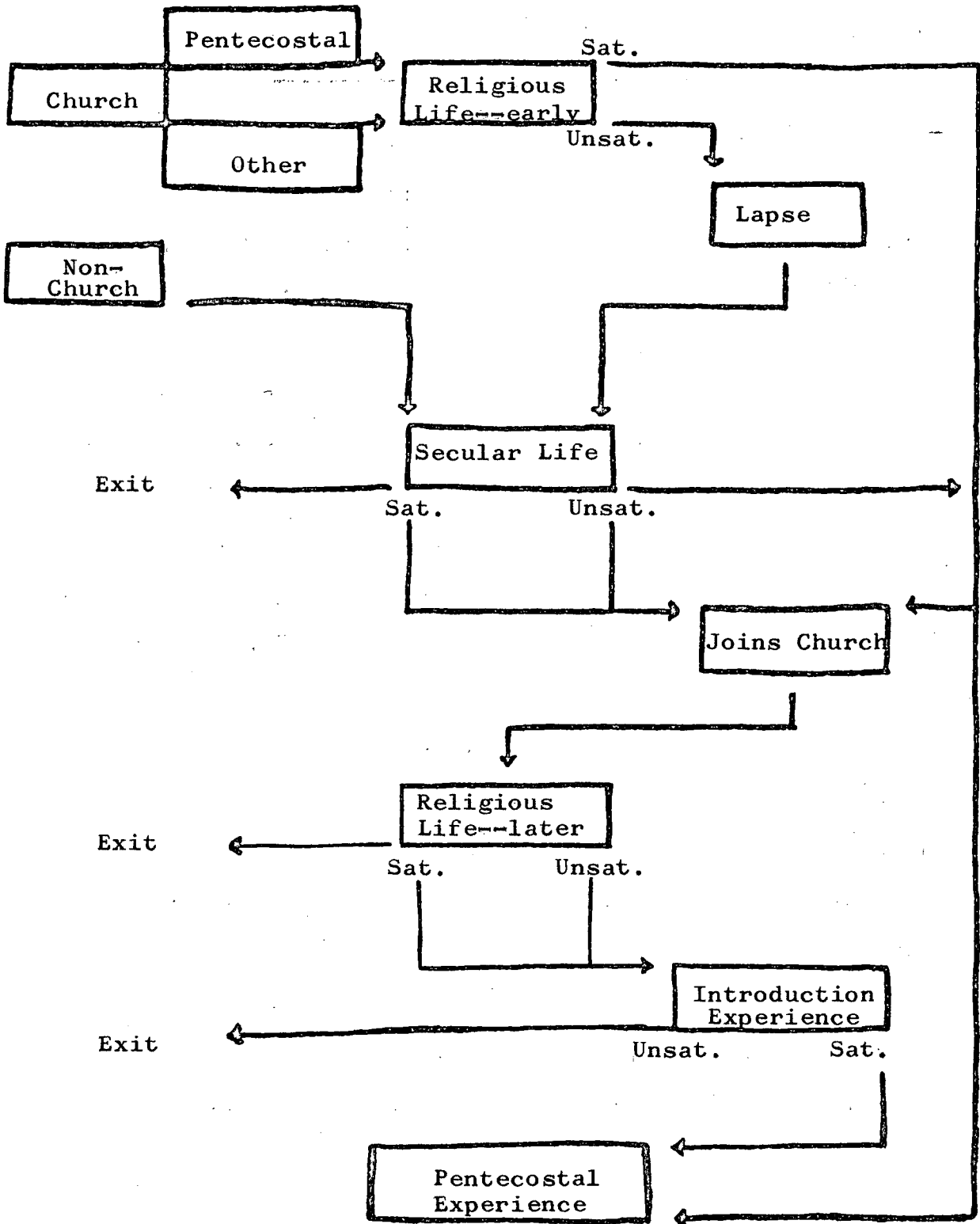
mother was of Lutheran background and her father a Roman Catholic a situation was created where they chose not to identify themselves with any particular denomination. In spite of this dissociation from organized religion I. comments that her mother instilled a deeply religious feeling in her as a young child. She was encouraged to attend Sunday School and enjoyed it although she was very uncomfortable with the close physical contact with other children which it required. Since her family moved several times when she was a child she did not establish any long standing friendships with her peers. She remained essentially alone throughout most of her childhood and feels that she was unusually reserved due to being an only child. Her association with religious groups continued under various denominational auspices throughout her teens. She remembers particularly clearly the influence of a Presbyterian deaconess who came to the area to work with teen aged girls. I. was troubled by her inability to make any public profession of faith although she was convinced that she had in fact committed her life to following Christ. She recalls intensely spiritual experiences which always occurred in private. Perhaps the most vivid of these experiences followed the death of her father when she was fifteen years old.

After graduating from high school I. spent a year at university preparing for a teaching career. Her mother accompanied her to the city and they continued to live

together. During this time I. rejected the values which she had previously accepted and directed her efforts towards her own pleasures. She feels that at this time she became totally self-centered and cared for no one else. In order to make a break with her mother she accepted a teaching position in a northern community where she met her future husband. Together they decided that their secular life style was less than satisfactory and they set out to look for an alternative pattern. In doing so they turned to the church and since her fiance was of Pentecostal background this is where they made their initial contact. I. was hesitant about Pentecostalism but on attending found herself immediately attracted to what she observed. The following summer they were married and moved to the coast where I. taught while her husband continued his studies. Once settled they again established contact with the local Pentecostal congregation and were immediately befriended by a young couple of the congregation who had interests similar to their own. When Father Dennis Bennett was invited to the area to speak their new friends insisted that they attend. I. was enormously impressed with Father Bennett's manner and through his ministry received the gift of the Holy Spirit and spoke in tongues. I. testifies to the meaning of this experience to her outlook and faith. She has had other significant spiritual experiences since this time, including the gift of healing, but looks back to this event as the moment of change for her.

No. J: In his early thirties, a teacher by profession and married to No. I. J. was raised in small northern logging communities. He was one of eight children. His mother was a strong Pentecostal and his father had no religious affiliation. The family was raised predominantly by the mother, the father having an alcohol problem and living at home only at intervals. The family moved continuously and was subject to constant economic fluctuation. J. observes that he was the oldest child and very close to his mother. By the age of twelve he was working part time to help support the family. At about this time he was stricken with polio and flown to the city for medical treatment. He was hospitalized for a period of nine months during which time he did not see his mother at all. The doctors referred to J. as the 'phoney' because whereas he entered the hospital with extensive paralysis he left with very little trace of any disability. It was never established whether his miraculous recovery was stimulated by determined participation in physiotherapy or whether it was a result of the two week continual prayer meeting held for him by the local Pentecostal congregation. At any rate J. made an unusual recovery and by the time he graduated from high school was honoured not only as the top scholar but as the most outstanding athlete. His father, it must be mentioned, was an avid athlete and encouraged J. to follow his example in this field.

When J. was about twelve he and his friend made 'a decision for Christ'. At fifteen he received the gift of the Holy Spirit and spoke in tongues. J. had always had reservations concerning the demonstrative nature of Pentecostal expression, but attributes his attraction to the experience mainly to his identification with his mother, who, in his estimation, was a profound Christian and did not express herself in an objectionable manner. By the time J. was eighteen he had become quite cynical and to all intents left the church. While at university he lived with an elderly Pentecostal couple whose religious verbosity repelled him. He did however attend the Pentecostal services, mostly because of his attraction to the young people in the congregation. By the time he began teaching he had stopped attending the services and was intent on having a good time. It was only after he met I. and with her began to reflect about the meaning of life that he was drawn to reconsider the Christian faith as a view of life to be taken seriously. Upon re-establishing his ties with the Pentecostal church he again began to practice his charismatic gift of tongues. J. is convinced that his life has been immeasurably enriched by this spiritual dimension. He enjoys his family, is happy in his Christian community and fulfilled in his career.



The Map

The map has emerged from a careful analysis of the interview material. The experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, when viewed as a spiritual destiny, provides a point of view from which the person interprets his past and determines his future. Consequently it becomes possible to chart the individual's spiritual career up to the moment of the experience. It is descriptive of how they view their histories in retrospect. The purpose of the map is to provide a framework that facilitates the discernment of individual characteristics that assume commonality and point to evolving patterns. The categories chosen to represent the rudimentary guidelines for the delineation of the career patterns have been selected on the basis of common features found in the life stories of the participants. The map describes the paths of all the respondents and portrays at least in part the expedition of any individual embarked on a spiritual quest in contemporary society.

Points of Reference

The points of reference selected as sign posts in plotting the spiritual careers of the respondents admittedly lean toward an emphasis of the religious aspects of the individual's career and de-emphasize the non-religious dimensions. However, since the primary concern of this enterprise, as is that of the respondent, is the relevance of the

spiritual to the evolution of the individual's life history such apparent disproportion is not only distinctive in terms of our sample but also functional for the purposes of the present undertaking. Information not directly concerned with the religious dimension is important only in so far as it enhances comprehension of the spiritual careers.

The features designated as the underlying points of reference in the attempt to chart the course of the spiritual journeys of the participants represent two fundamental concerns: motivational states and transitional points. Those motivational states seen as significant include early religious life, secular life, later religious life and an introduction to the Pentecostal experience. Transitional points refer to lapses, joining a church and the experience of the Holy Spirit (the Pentecostal experience). Transitions are largely determined by motivational factors. A predominantly satisfactory response on the part of the person to a particular motivational state indicates that it is likely to remain a continuing condition, whereas an expression of dissatisfaction suggests a potential thrust towards a different state. The direction of the movement is indicated by features mentioned by the respondent. Motivational states take into account these features specified by the individual which could be seen as propelling him from one point to another in terms of negative or positive response to the state in question. These pushes away from one state and pulls towards

another are given definition in terms of problems and attractions.

Points of transition refer to those periods when the individual comes to the awareness that a transitional process has taken place and the occasion celebrates that awareness by a word or deed. These are moments of the evidence of change, either in the form of a sudden transformation or the consciousness of having undergone a gradual metamorphosis. It must be stressed that the selection of criteria for establishing either motivational states or points of transition is determined exclusively on the basis of either explicit comment or implicit suggestion found in the data.

Individuals enter the map via one of two main points of entry: church and non-church. Those people who give no indication of having been subject to early religious influence, either by having had parents who have had some associations with organized religion or by having been encouraged to participate in some form of religious activity, are classified as non-church. Those, on the other hand, who mention early religious contacts and comment concerning religious associations on the part of their parents or other significant adults are seen as entering via the church. Further distinctions are made in the latter group between those who specify Pentecostal influences in their backgrounds and those who do not.

References to early religious life are simply meant to indicate religious experiences occurring in childhood which are recollected by the individual. These may take the form of isolated incidences or of routine patterns of associations. For example, No. F. comments that she feels she had a very unusual religious experience as a young child on the occasion of being introduced to the Pentecostal style of worship for the first time. No. C. had a more routine experience reflecting that "it was quite a happy childhood . . . Puritan ethic and all that . . . work hard, thrift, go to church on Sundays . . ."

These early religious experiences may be seen as being either satisfactory or unsatisfactory from the point of view of the respondent. No. F. indicated that she felt very positive about her early experience with religion in that her mother, whom she loved dearly, was a devout church member and encouraged her participation, whereas No. B. insists that she was sent to Sunday School merely as an effort to appease her grandparents who were not held in high regard by her parents and that it was not an enjoyable experience for her.

Secular life is meant to point to those domestic and social arrangements which do not pertain to spiritual careers in any direct manner but are nevertheless seen as relevant in describing the determining factors of the individual's life history. A satisfactory secular life experience would be

illustrated by No. B. who found the associations she formed while attending school the most enjoyable ones she had known. In contrast No. E. recalls the loneliness of his circumstances prior to his affiliation with the church.

Later religious life applies to the state of involvement in religious activities which are the consequence of an independent decision to become associated with the church or with some form of organized religion. Again a positive or negative response to the existing state may be engendered for a variety of reasons. Such persons as find their religious life satisfactory would tend to continue in this state without motivation to seek further religious experience or to return to a secular life style. Persons who find their religious life problematic are more likely to seek deeper spiritual expression or to dissociate themselves with religious identifications. A typical example of dissatisfaction with religious life is given by No. A. who feels impotent in her efforts to testify to the importance of the faith in her life.

Introduction to the Pentecostal experience is an essential prerequisite to participation in the actual experience. At some point the individual must be made aware that the phenomenon known as the baptism of the Holy Spirit exists and is being experienced by other people before he himself can become a candidate for the experience. The introduction becomes a motivating process as it evokes either attractions

or problems. Often, as in the case of No. H., it is identified with significant others and is an experience which initiates the person into the community to which he desires to belong. In other cases the individual is attracted by what he considers to be the authenticity of the experience as based on scriptural reference and is motivated to seek the experience independently. No. E. is representative of the latter, remarking that he had found reference to the baptism of the Spirit in his studies and had decided that this was the dimension that was lacking in his expression of faith.

Three points of transition have been chosen as basic to charting spiritual careers. The first is a lapse that can be observed in the lives of certain respondents whose early religious experience has been less than satisfactory. A lapse indicates a movement away from a religious emphasis toward secular involvement. Motivation effecting a lapse may be seen in terms of problematic elements in the former state or attractive aspects of the present secular state. Whatever the motivation, lapses imply a rejection of factors of past religious experience. No. E. is a case in point, indicating that when he was in his twenties he made a conscious decision to leave all matters of religious concern behind him, hoping in this way to be liberated from any external authority.

The second important point of transition has been designated as the act of joining the church. What is meant by this category is not necessarily the act of becoming an official member of an organized religious institution but some indication of association or identification with the community of believers. It serves to illustrate the religious intention of the individual.

Finally the Pentecostal experience provides the point of destiny for the map. The baptism of the Holy Spirit, as evidenced by the glossolalic act, is the moment sought for and attained by our respondents. History does not end with the experience but is shaped and redefined thereby.

The continual interplay between the points of transition and motivational states must be noted. Transitional moments become initiators of motivation and motivational states provide impetus for transitions.

Types of Careers

The paths followed by the participants in the sample are varied and range from a straight forward uninterrupted progression from the point of entry to the moment of destiny, to a disrupted complex labyrinth through which the individual stumbles. Since people are at once 'all men, some men and no man' the routes taken may be fundamentally similar while the determining factors are dissimilar.

The most direct route is the one beginning with a Pentecostal point of entry characterized by a satisfactory early religious experience and proceeding directly to the Pentecostal experience. This is the path taken by respondents F. and G. in our sample. Both have Pentecostal backgrounds, both had early positive associations with religious experience, both made conscious commitments at an early age and both proceed without disruption to a Pentecostal experience in childhood which has remained constant since that time.

The second most direct route begins with a Pentecostal point of entry as well but the early religious experiences contain unsatisfactory elements which point the individual towards a lapse. However secular life is found to be unsatisfactory and the person returns to a religiously motivated path, proceeding directly to the point of destination in the form of the Pentecostal experience. No. J. is the only traveller along this route represented in our sample. He stems from a background where his mother is a devout Pentecostal and his father has no religious ties. J. lapses, if not in terms of actual church associations at least as far as he adheres to the expectations and interests of the religious community.

A third alternative is the route beginning in a church other than Pentecostal but with forceful and positive religious experiences in early childhood. In this case the

individual does not sway from a path which is singularly religiously oriented. At some point, however, the religious life of the individual assumes unsatisfactory elements and the person is motivated to resolve the dissonant state. He is introduced to the Pentecostal experience and finds it attractive as a possible solution to his dissatisfaction. Eventually he comes to participate in the desired end. Our example here is No. A. whose origins were deeply imbedded in Methodism of holiness persuasion. Her early religious experiences remain vivid in her memory and although she shifts denominational allegiance she does not question the veracity of her religious trust. Nevertheless factors occur which detract from the complete satisfaction of her religious life. Consequently when she is introduced to the baptism of the Holy Spirit she is convinced that this expression holds the key to her religious fulfillment. She thereafter approaches the experience with single minded determination.

A fourth course is provided for those individuals who do not enter via a church background but are immediately initiated into a secularly oriented ethos. They eventually encounter dissatisfactions which propel them to move towards a different state. They are attracted to the possibility of a religious solution to their problems and associate themselves with a religious community. They are further attracted on introduction to the Pentecostal experience and since the direction of their search has already been set move

easily in that direction. Illustrations are provided by No. H. and D. Neither mention religious family backgrounds nor early religious life. Both encounter dissatisfactions in their secular states. Both undergo conversion experiences which are followed by an introduction to the Pentecostal experience and once convinced of its validity do not resist movement towards it.

A fifth possibility is offered by those whose entry is again via the church but whose early religious experiences are not sufficiently satisfactory to maintain their continued commitment. Their path is marked by a clearly defined lapse to a predominantly secular life which turns out to be unsatisfactory. Circumstances motivate them to return to the church but this transition too takes on unsatisfactory characteristics. Upon introduction to the Pentecostal experience these individuals are moved in that direction. The two members of our sample who proceed along these lines are No. C. and No. J. Both come from nominally Christian backgrounds, both have some early religious association from which they lapse. Both return to the church in hopes of finding resolutions to their dissatisfactions. Neither is satisfied by routine religious expression. No. J. proceeds more directly from this point on, due to her more intimate association with the experience since her return to the church has been directly to the Pentecostal persuasion, whereas C. returns through non-Pentecostal church channels. Another representative of

this route is No. E. He too enters as a non-Pentecostal participant, has early religious experiences, lapses, joins the church and eventually moves towards the experience. E.'s course deviates somewhat from the others in that he is short-circuited en route and as a result rotates between joining various religious groups and experiencing difficulties in his religious life. The pattern is eventually broken and E., in an effort to deal with his remaining problems, seeks out the baptism of the Holy Spirit as a possible solution.

A sixth route represented by our respondents begins with a non-church point of entry and has negative religious experiences in early childhood. Dissatisfaction results in movement towards a secular state which is predominantly satisfactory. Circumstances however stimulate a return to the church and a religious life which is highly satisfactory. Rather than becoming dissociated the individual becomes increasingly motivated to explore religious experience. His investigation eventually leads him to insights which causes him to look in the direction of spiritual solutions. When introduced to the Pentecostal experience this too becomes a spiritual territory worth exploring. No. B. is our case in point. Her parents were anti-religious but encouraged her participation for their own ends. Her early religious experiences were highly unsatisfactory and she received great satisfaction out of her secular activities in adolescence. Circumstances of her marriage forced her to reconsider her

perspective. She eventually joined the church but her negative response to organized religion persisted. At the same time her curiosity was aroused and she began to explore spiritual dimensions. Her search became intense and penetrated numerous religious manifestations, none of which she found entirely satisfactory. When she was introduced to the Pentecostal experience she was immediately impressed both with its spiritual potential and with the people who represented it. Her determination to attain the experience increased and persisted until it was accomplished.

These are the routes that depict the progression of the spiritual careers of the respondents. Other alternatives are equally conceivable. The proposed map should, however, be adequate to provide a blueprint for the essential points of reference common to all who are embarked on spiritual careers leading to the Pentecostal experience.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS

Introduction

The Key questions in understanding personality transformation, as pointed out by James, are the 'whys' and the 'hows'; the motives and the transitional processes. The only test in establishing the authenticity of the transformation is in terms of how the person himself perceives the change: how he sees the world as changed and how he sees himself as changed in relation to the world. In the light of the points of reference set out in the previous chapter it is to these concerns that we shall address ourselves in this section.

To begin with it is necessary to look at the overall influences suggested by the respondents that set the stage for the individual's entry into his spiritual career. Attention will be focused on the relationship of the family to the church and on the relationship between members of the family as representative of the primary overall influences. Next, the major continuing themes that can be isolated from the accounts of the respondents will be traced. Following this there will be an account of how the moves between the various states are accomplished and how the moments of transition are seen in terms of the map. Finally there will be an examination of the motivational states; that is, in what way the

individuals describe themselves as satisfied or dissatisfied and move or do not move to the next state.

1. Overall Influences

The key factors that undergird a person's spiritual course have to do with the relationship of the individual to his family and the relationship of the family to the church or other forms of religious expression. It is the correlative of these two sets of relationships that stimulates the direction of the person's spiritual career. While recognizing that there are innumerable variations in experience which will determine individual differences in the patterns of spiritual careers, the following four alternatives represented by the table may be seen as the most fundamental determinative influences.

TABLE 1

		<u>Family - Church Relationship</u>	
		Strong	Weak
<u>Character</u> <u>of</u> <u>Family Ties</u>	Close or Positive	1 A.F.G.	3
	Weak or Conflictual	2 C.E.J.I.	4 B.D.H.

As indicated by the table three of our respondents suggested close family ties and a strong relationship of the family to the church. Of these respondents, which included A., F. and G., two have Pentecostal backgrounds while the

third comes from a background of Methodist fundamentalism with a leaning towards holiness doctrine.

A., who represents the Methodist tradition, suggests a particularly strong bond with her father who was instrumental in challenging her to make a religious commitment when she was a young child. She both trusted and feared her father.

. . . but my father asked me . . . and I said I would (give my heart to the Lord). I knew that I belonged to the Lord, really deep down, but I couldn't remember the day or the hour--how I'd done it--so I started to worry and I thought, 'well, I could ask my father about it'--but then I thought, 'well that's silly because if I ask my father he'll say, "Well you should know, why ask me"' . . . so finally I did pluck up enough courage to ask my father if I'd given my heart to the Lord.

She also expresses warmth towards her mother who, while not nearly as dominant as her father, shared a similar religious perspective. Perhaps the most apparent indication of the closeness of the family ties is the fact that they emigrated to Canada as a family unit in spite of the maturity and professional independence of the children.

F. notes very close family ties which were accentuated for her by the isolation brought on by her asthmatic condition. Her mother, with whom F. identified strongly, was an active Pentecostal. Her father, while not associating himself with any religious organization, supported the mother's encouragement that the children do so. F. feels that

there was a warm relationship between her parents with the only point of disagreement being with reference to religious views. F. finds it difficult to understand her father's stance since from her perspective "he was so very much more Christian than many people I knew who professed to be Christians, but his confession, or his profession of Christianity was never an open thing and I found that rather disappointing."

G. too was introduced to the church by her father and was encouraged in her religious development by both parents. When G. was young both parents had had a conversion experience in the Pentecostal persuasion and so had strong ties with that group. G. has only affectionate memories of her parents who "never pressed us . . . they just encouraged us to pray and to seek God and to love Him and in this way there came a hunger in our hearts for God." G. further expresses a particularly close bond with her sister, two years her senior, who shared her religious interests.

Strong family-church relations and weak or conflictual internal family ties are represented by C., E., I. and J. Family ties may be weak as a result of either internal difficulties; i.e. problematic relationships, or external conditions; i.e. disruptions caused by mobility.

No. C. comments that she closely identified with her family.

I don't think mom was with it at all, you know we wouldn't have wanted to confide in her and we still wouldn't tell her half the things that go on--it would just shatter her nice little cozy world--and my dad worked shifts and he had just black and white ideas. There was never any idea of parental child discussions about something . . . dad thought I was really great but I didn't reciprocate this, I don't know why.

At the same time the family attended church regularly and lived by "the Puritan ethic and all that." She feels that she was unusually interested in religious matters and that this was perhaps just a natural inclination to "believe in the super-natural."

E. makes no reference to early family ties. He does mention that when he associated himself with the church after his initial conversion experience that the congregation accepted him and that it was the first time he had ever felt accepted. This would indicate that the family ties he felt were not strong. He does remark that he grew up in a Christian home.

I. insists that she loved her mother very much as a child but that she did not feel particularly close to her since she was a "loud, dominant person." She tended to confide in her father who was "the strong, silent type." She observes that she was always a reserved shy child and that she found it impossible to be intimate with her parents. I notes that whereas her mother was not a religious person she did manage to instill in her "a real feeling for God. I

remember being a very young child and her telling me that He was at my side and I remember touching my side and wanting to sense His presence and being really glad that He was there." The parents were not associated with the church at the time I. was a child but they encouraged her to attend. I. recalls that her mother was 'delighted' when a neighbour took it upon herself to see to it that I. was taken to Sunday School because "her aim was that I should go."

J. admits to a disrupted home background, resulting both from numerous moves and from a transient father. His father was "a very, very heavy drinker" who would leave the care of his eight children to his wife while he disappeared for extended periods. In spite of what J. now considers to be his father's irresponsible life-style, as a young child he admired him greatly, especially because he "was quite an athlete, encouraged us in athletics and athletics became one of my loves." J. was enormously fond of his mother and attributes his religious activities to his mother's example of faithfulness. His mother was a strong Pentecostal and a regular church attender, except when her shame concerning the family circumstances kept her away. Notwithstanding the ambiguities in the relationship of the family to the church the predominant characteristic was a strong bond with the institution.

The combination of weak family-church relations and close family ties is not represented in our sample.

Weak family-church relations and correspondingly weak or conflictual family ties are represented by B., D. and H.

B. expresses complex early relations to both family and church. She was not close to her family or, for that matter, to any adult. Her parents valued educational achievement and encouraged B.'s apparent intellectual aptitude. B. feels that her mother was envious of the opportunities available to her that she had not had. Both parents regarded religious convictions with disdain, believing that they could not be reconciled with intellectual integrity. At the same time B. was sent to Sunday School in order that the grandparents, "who were not highly thought of" and who were religious, might be pacified. B. did not enjoy her early religious contacts and shared her parent's derision for religious people.

D. makes no comment concerning the relationship of his family to the church during his childhood. He does point to several incidences that suggest conflictual relations within the family. He recalls three episodes of disobedience in his early childhood that stand out as significant in his memory. "I don't know why, disobediences always stand out in my mind more than obediences." His youth was also disrupted by a series of moves; from Europe to Canada, between various locations in eastern Canada, from eastern to western Canada and finally between various locations in Vancouver.

H. mentions numerous complex and unsatisfactory childhood relationships. Her own mother died in childbirth and her adoptive mother died when she was an infant. This left H. in the care of her foster father whom she regarded with both fear and affection, her foster brothers, a series of housekeepers, members of the community and a variety of friends and relatives. H. recalls that as a child she was "so blessed affectionate . . . every one of those blessed housekeepers, no matter how they drank or what they did, when they left I bawled and squalled like I was losing my closest friend." The pattern of her early life was even more disrupted when she was removed from the home and placed in a succession of foster homes. There was no relationship between the family H. lived with as a child and the church. However one sister of her foster father's, who was a Roman Catholic nun, took it upon herself to see to it that H. should at least receive a rudimentary education concerning the matters of the Christian faith.

In review, it may be emphasized that the relationships within the family as well as those between family and church are seen as the most important overall influences in giving direction to the Spiritual motivations of the individual. Of our respondents A., F. and G. indicated close family ties and strong relations of the family to the church. C., E. and I. and J. represented weak family ties and strong relations to the church. B., D. and H. suggested weak or

conflictual family ties and little or no relationship of the family to the church.

II. Major Continuing Themes

Certain features can be seen to appear repeatedly throughout the accounts of the respondents that suggest common patterns among individuals whose spiritual paths lead to the Pentecostal experience. Perhaps the most prevalent re-appearing theme is the expression of a sense of isolation; a feeling of not belonging, either in childhood or in later life. This sense of isolation was most often expressed as a feeling of relational disjunction. For any number of reasons the person felt that he was cut off from satisfying relationships with other people. It should be noted that the only respondents who do not indicate this awareness of relational disjunction are the three participants representing a Pentecostal background. All the rest communicate some modification of this theme.

No. A. notes that she feels she does not communicate well on any matter and is particularly reticent about sharing intimacies. She emphasizes again and again how difficult this is for her. "For years and years I would never talk to anybody, tell them anything about any of my problems . . . I kept everything to myself for years and years and years . . ."

No. C. mentions similar difficulties but with particular reference to relations within the family. She was not

close to her parents and was envious of her sister who was "the popular gorgeous type." The pattern was repeated in her marriage with the stress of her unsatisfactory communication with her husband becoming acute.

E. remembers the deep concern he felt about the possibility of life long loneliness. His worry was accentuated by several unsuccessful courtships and by the spectre of the lonely embittered old men with whom he worked in the logging camps. He points to a general sense of unacceptability and an inability to communicate with others about the things that are of most concern to him.

I. remarks that she basically was reserved, probably as the result of being an only child, and that she resisted both close physical and emotional contact with others. This characteristic reappears in different forms throughout her history. She recalls as a child experiencing intense discomfort in circumstances demanding close contact and disliked going to Sunday School because she "hated being mashed against a bunch of little kids." As she got older she found it impossible to share her faith with her parents and took pains to preserve her privacy. She could not bring herself to admit to the religious worker whom she so admired that she had made an act of commitment in spite of knowing how much this would mean to her friend. In talking about her experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit she confesses that what allowed her to respond was Father Dennis Bennett's

assurance that the "Holy Spirit is a sane, loving God who would never embarrass you or cause you to act in some way that wouldn't be in character for you . . ."

As already mentioned B. felt isolated as a child, without close relationships with either adults or peers. She found it difficult to identify with the groups in which she participated and when she was removed from her university friends, whom she had found socially fulfilling, she again experienced the sense of isolation she had known as a child. Her immense loneliness was continuous and underlined her search for a group where she could share her insights. At one point she comments "All I wanted was a group."

Another variation of this theme of a sense of isolation may be identified as a feeling of moral differentiation. A., F. and G. all make reference to the awareness that they felt morally separated from their peers and recall particular moments when this feeling was particularly recognizable. These moments of acute awareness are seen as serving to reinforce their own moral stance and to underline the boundaries that distinguished them from others who did not share their point of view. One such moment is recalled by A.

. . . I can remember I loved athletic things and this kind of thing, and when they had dances--it was a mixed college--I wanted so badly to go down there and dance. I'd been brought up to think that dancing was wrong, you see, and we shouldn't --and I was just--well I couldn't feel that it was wrong and I couldn't feel that it would hurt me at all and I just wanted to go down so badly, and

this music was just underneath where I was living in the hostel and it made it much worse of course . . . But I really wanted the Lord's will so finally I got down on my knees and I just prayed to God and I said 'Lord, you've got to give me a reason if I can't go down there . . . that was the answer that the Lord gave me and the desire went right away and I never wanted to go down there anymore.

F. comments that "I remember even having a great consciousness in my early school life that when other kids did terribly naughty things I just didn't want to do them because I'd rather please Jesus than be like that." G. had a similar experience, remarking "and you know neighbourhoods --you grow up with a lot of kids and you decide 'well, instead of going that direction I'm going in this other direction'."

Actual isolation, as distinct from a sense of isolation, is also a continuing theme. One form of actual isolation is displayed by F. and J., both of whom had physical disabilities at certain stages of their life. F. was excluded from peer relationships because of the restrictions placed on her by her asthmatic condition. She was forced to miss a considerable amount of school and could not participate in ordinary childhood activities. When she was able to attend school she recalls that "the frustration of getting back into school with the gang and the group again was very unhappy." J. was struck by poliomyelitis at the age of twelve and consequently hospitalized for a period of nine months. He describes his predicament,

So here I was, my mother's sort of pillar, and I was taken away on the emergency flight from the village to Vancouver and I didn't see her for nine months . . . I was suddenly frightened by the fact of being physically incapacitated because I didn't walk for six months . . . I had lost partial control of one arm; that is, the use of one arm, and also my legs were affected, obviously, and my spine.

In other cases where the isolation is both actual and perceived it may take the form of cultural dislocation. D., while not making explicit reference to his dislocation, suggests that the effects of his emigration and continual moves have been profound. He remarks that he has always seen himself as a 'traveler looking for a long ago home'. The most problematic example of dislocation and the ensuing struggle to attain an identity is found in No. H. She was of Scandanavian background and was adopted by a family of French-Indian origin with whom she could not identify. At the same time she felt rejected by the community at large and was aware of the criticism directed towards her adoptive family.

So the idea of having your own parents was terribly important to me and I suppose it's important to everybody. . . when I found that I didn't belong to --- that was upsetting to me. As a matter of fact, when I, at an earlier stage--when old Grandma E., who was one hundred percent Indian--when I found out she wasn't my grandma that was upsetting to me. I was so desperately needing somebody to be for real, you know, either grandma or something. I had a genuine sense of unworthiness as far as the community was concerned. The community wasn't all that wonderful but I did wonder where I came from as a person.

The second major recurring theme has to do with metaphysical needs: questions pertaining to death, the meaning of life and the quest for the supernatural in relation to the problems of existence. All the respondents, with the exception of A. and G. express an awareness of ontological problems. It is noteworthy that in both these cases the parents were strong believers.

J. and I. both voice their concerns in terms of 'life must mean more than this'. J. recalls that he and I., came to "a real understanding of each other and then we did a sort of resume, you know, in conversation, and it was just some feeling of the life we'd been leading up to that point . . . well, we though life meant more than that."

D. and E. conceptualize their weltangst in terms of queries regarding the purpose of life. D. describes vividly the occasion of his last "acid trip" when he and his cousin came to some very basic realizations agreeing that "Okay, we really are lost. We don't really know where we're going. The structure of what's around us is not really where it's at" E. worried that he faced a fate similar to the lonely old men in the logging camps. He read considerably in the area of philosophy and admits that he was always "rather looking for an answer if there was an answer and I wasn't too sure there was but I never really found it."

F. and H. both mention their fear of death as children. F. recalls that on the occasion of her uncle's

fiftieth birthday celebration she woke up at night with the overwhelming awareness of the brevity of life. Her anxiety persisted and she questioned her mother about related matters. Shortly after this event when her Sunday School teacher proposed an explanation by way of describing the preparations that Jesus was making to provide for life after death she responded by 'giving her life to Jesus'. H. remembers several traumatic experiences with death as a child. The questions that were raised in her mind as a result concerning the meaning of life received no satisfactory explanation.

A quest for the supernatural may be most clearly seen in the lives of C. and B. C. acknowledges that she was always interested in religion and sees this as stemming from what she feels was an unusual curiosity regarding religious matters. B. testifies to an extraordinary drive towards spiritual realization and comprehension. She explains that she was always interested in "a sort of sense of mystery in things and myth." Her fascination with mysticism is indicated by her exploration of occult and psychic phenomena. She became intrigued with the idea that if God could be seen as being in the depth of things "it might after all be possible to experience something."

The last apparent theme that emerges time and again is a sense of dissatisfaction with how spiritual needs are realized. The dissatisfaction is expressed both as something

that is lacking in the personal spiritual life of the individual or in the social structure which provides for public religious expression.

A., E. and I. all note their concern with their feelings of inadequacy in witnessing to their faith. This to them indicates not only a problem in communication with others but a possible weakness in their own realization of the faith. They all seem to feel that if their faith were stronger they should not be experiencing the difficulties they apparently are. A. was aware that she did not communicate well under any circumstances but she was particularly conscious of her weakness in witnessing to her faith. ". . . so it wasn't just hard for me to witness to Christ, it was hard for me to do anything that way . . . but I felt I should be a stronger witness, this was the one thing I lacked." E. says he was open to anything "that would give me a firmer grasp of the faith and that I could communicate it in some way or other which I seemed to have failed to do in any of my previous experience." I. found it impossible to make a public profession of faith. She remembers being asked by a religious worker for whom she had a great deal of respect whether she would commit her life to Christ. Her response was that "I would not give her a commitment. I was always this type of person; I didn't want to hurt anybody but I was too reserved, too timid to admit this type of thing."

Perhaps the most significant theme found in the individuals was a dissatisfaction with the routine church. All the respondents who approach the Pentecostal experience by that path suggest areas of dissatisfaction with the institutional church.

A. avoids making any specific critical comment regarding the church of which she is a member but in referring to the pastor and his wife comments that "I got on wonderfully with them and we had--the same as every other church--trouble and they'd had a hard time and I'd always felt that they were in the right and we weren't giving them a chance." She had had an earlier experience of disappointment that was determined by the church. She had felt that she was called to become a missionary but on submitting her application was refused without any direct explanation other than ". . . they felt, they had prayed about it, and they felt that it wasn't the Lord's will." This had been an enormous disappointment for her but she had accepted it as a direction from 'the Lord' and did not proceed further with her missionary ambitions.

B. was not attracted to the church either as a child or as an adult. She felt that the clergy of liberal orientation lacked spirituality and she found their attempts to interpret the Bible without what she considered its inherent mysticism most unstimulating.

The sort of Sunday School teachers we got were very liberal and very unmysterious and they were quite sure that anything the Bible said that was mysterious, obviously we know better now. It didn't happen, they just thought it did. I chiefly remember when I did get to church on Sunday night hearing sermons about the latest best seller, in a dull sort of way. I didn't think much of the whole thing.

She recalls one occasion of particular significance when a group of theologically inclined individuals had gethered for a discussion. Something about the evening made her ill: "a room full of people who didn't believe as much as I did and felt quite happy in that situation." She also remarks that she feels the minister of the church which she had attended for ten years didn't really care whether or not she belonged.

C. comments that she doesn't think that the Sunday School she attended as a child "did much to make it interesting or help incline anyone to want to go very badly but I just had the interest which Sunday School didn't manage to squelch. At a time of great stress C. turned to the church to look for solutions to her problems. The solution she felt was suggested was to become involved with other people. She did so and found that her problems were multiplied. When she found an answer in the baptism of the Holy Spirit her minister did not recognize it as an authentic experience and she found it impossible to share with the other members of the congregation.

E. had a succession of unsatisfactory experiences with the routine church when as a young lay minister his

relationship both to the congregations he served and to the church authorities became problematic. At the time he was rejected as a candidate for the ministry he left the routine church and once more associated himself with small fundamentalist groups with whom he had earlier had a satisfying relationship. However this association also eventually became dissatisfying and he again returned to the denomination where he had experienced the earlier rejection. This time he was accepted and allowed to continue with his plans to enter the ministry. He was still aware of problems and came to see them as his own. He no longer attributed his difficulties to the institution but to his person.

I. comments that she was repelled by the social rather than spiritual emphasis she encountered in her church. Her mother, who had never been a religious person and with whom I. did not identify, joined the church when I. was an adolescent. She observes that "my mother, getting right in line with the community spirit, joined the church and really found an outlet for her energies . . . so the church was just a social outlet for her really . . ."

In all cases what underlined the dissatisfaction with the routine church was the apparent lack of a spiritual emphasis, the lack of faith and the consequent emptiness of public expressions of worship. The foremost response when introduced to the charisma of those 'who worship in the Spirit' was an overwhelming awareness of the depth of meaning

with which these people approached the act of worship. This awareness is perhaps most eloquently verbalized by No. C. who exclaims

. . . I just thought for the first time in my life, these people are worshipping--you know, worshipping a God as though everyone of them really thinks He's there . . . this was a very unique experience because it was offered to God and nobody cared what the person next to them thought or what they were doing.

III. The Transitional Moments

Certain patterns emerge as the individual paths of the respondents are traced in terms of the suggested map. The simplest route is taken by those people whose spiritual origins were Pentecostal. F., G. and J. moved directly from a family to the Pentecostal experience without deflections en route. They express no specific motivational factors, in terms of problems or attractions, but move with ease from their point of entry to their point of spiritual destiny. For them it was a fulfillment of parental expectations. It cannot be regarded as an essentially transforming experience for them but rather as a reinforcement of their identity.

With reference to the discussion in Chapter I it is noteworthy that these respondents had the experience before making their major life commitments and it does not necessarily represent a resolution of a dissonant state. By William James' definition they would seem to belong among the 'healthy-minded' rather than among the 'sick souls',

whose ambivalence called for a resolution. They are the already committed. As such they cannot be treated as representative of individuals who have found a solution in the experience of the Holy Spirit which results in personality transformation.

1. Lapse: The clearest illustrations of a lapse may be observed in the lives of B., C., E. and I. All indicate movement away from earlier religious influences to secular involvement.

B. contrasts her early negative feelings about the church with later positive reactions to her secular crowd. For example, commenting about church attendance in adolescence she remarks "I didn't think much of the whole thing." On the other hand she recalls "I knew about twenty people, a gang of people who had originally been ---, although they said what they liked about --- was that you didn't have to believe anything to be one. This made them very happy . . . it was ideal from my point of view . . . At that time in university nobody I knew would have been caught dead with a religious person."

For C. the movement focused in her unhappy marriage and in her rejection of parental values. Her parents tended to judge people in accordance with what they considered to be worldly and C. was strongly opposed to their judgmental stance. C. describes her mother as 'not with it at all'. Her marital situation was so unsatisfactory that C. lost

interest in living for a period of several years.

E.'s movement away from earlier religious influences is most clearly recognized when, in his twenties, he decided to put away all matters of religious concern and for the first time he felt liberated from an external authority. The life style he assumed was secular. His employment was transient, he felt that he was spending his money irresponsibly and he developed a drinking problem.

I., who had been deeply spiritual as a child, drifted away from her faith while attending university. She began to smoke, drink, date as much as possible and states that her primary intention at that time was to enjoy herself without considering the feelings of others.

2. Joining the Church: Symbolizes the decision to become associated with a community of believers. Joining the church indicates either a reactivation of earlier religious interests or a commitment brought on by a conversion experience. Of our respondents, B., C. and I. are examples of those who rejoined the church while E., D. and H. point to a precipitating conversion experience. A., F., G., and J. retained their church associations at least until after they had received the baptism.

B. reassociated herself with the institution as a result of her marriage. At the same time she remained negative in her attitude towards it. C. looked to the church for solutions to her problems as a sort of last resort. She

had received both medical and psychiatric assistance but neither had been satisfactory. I. perceived her decision to return to the church as a search for a viable alternative to the secular life style she had assumed and which she had found highly unsatisfactory.

E. joined the church after he had committed his life to Christ. As the result of a conversation dealing with matters of the faith and the book that he was advised to read E. says he "asked God to take over the reins of my life to do with what He wanted" since he hadn't managed too successfully on his own up to that point. As a consequence of this act he made contact with a small evangelical congregation.

D. underwent a total reversal of perspective while on an L.S.D. trip. His immediate response to this about turn is to 'shop around for a church'. H. first heard the Christian message from two visiting evangelists and found their words so addressed her predicament that she immediately decided she wanted to be a believer and made a consequent confession of her faith. From that moment on she identified with the church and was totally committed to her new found salvation.

A. retained her church affiliation but made a shift in denominational identification. She moved from a Methodist background through a Lutheran association to the Pentecostal

experience. F., G. and J. remained committed within the persuasion of their background.

3. Introduction to the Pentecostal Experience: Without an introduction people cannot enter into the experience as it is known. The experience is contingent upon the awareness that it exists. An educational process is an essential prerequisite. The experience is institutionalized; it can be named, it can be shared with others, it has a history and it carries with it an ideology. If it could not be interpreted in the light of this institutionalization it would lose its potential for transformation. This is not to say that similar feelings and physical manifestations could not be experienced without the accompanying knowledge concerning them but it is to say that as such they would not suffice as a turning point. Because the passage from mainline church to the experience has not been formalized coaching becomes a crucial factor in the process. The process of introduction to the experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, especially the role of the coach or model, warrants focused study as Gerlach and Hine have pointed out. It cannot be over-emphasized that the introduction is the most significant feature in understanding the movement of charismatic renewal.

The process of education involved in the introduction includes three central features: the spread of information, a relationship with a person who acts as coach, and a sense of the ability to perform the act. The candidate has to

know about it, has to want it, and has to be convinced that he too can do it.

Of our sample, Nos. F., G. and J. move uninterrupted-ly to the experience. They are introduced to it at an early age by their parents. Their parents are warmly regarded and serve as excellent coaches and they have no reason to question their ability to be recipients of the experience as it is not an uncommon event in their religious community.

All the rest, with the possible exception of D., enter via another church. A. was introduced by her brother, who became a Pentecostal minister, but did not seriously consider it as a possibility for her until she read an article in Voice magazine commenting on the effects of the Charismatic Renewal Movement. She then discovered that her pastor and his wife spoke in tongues. Consequently she attended a series of evangelistic meetings featuring a speaker who was both a member of the denomination with which she was associated and had also had the experience. B. became friendly with a Pentecostal minister who gave her reading material and encouraged her along the way. She was finally convinced that she too could participate as a result of reading a book which "had a do-it-yourself chapter in the end." C. heard of a person who had undergone a noticeable change. She made contact with her. She was then given John Sherrill's They Speak With Other Tongues by a friend who had had the experience. Following this she was taken to the Pente-

costal church. E. knew he lacked something. On the basis of the theological education he had received he felt that his lack had something to do with the Holy Spirit. He attended several meetings sponsored by the Charismatic Renewal Movement. He asked for prayer. During the prayer he was told that he too could do it if he wanted. He believed and responded. H. went to live with foster parents who were strong Pentecostals. She was sceptical but read the New Testament to see whether the experience was scripturally validated. It was. She received the gift on the occasion of an evangelistic meeting in the local Pentecostal church. I. heard about it through her fiance who was of Pentecostal background. She was introduced to the community by him. While she became familiarized with the experience she did not respond quickly and it was not until a visiting cleric assured her that her person would not be invaded or that she would have to participate in anything that was foreign to her character that she felt able to relax into it.

What have been discussed as transitional moments are not intended necessarily to represent specific points in time. Rather they are meant to symbolize those times of recognition when the person acknowledges his state, either by word or act. They are indicators that a change has taken place.

III. Motivational States

Motivation is attributed to the person only from the point of view of how he perceives himself to be motivated. It will be identified on the basis of either explicit comment or implicit suggestion on the part of the respondent; that is, in terms of problems or attractions and in terms of negative or positive attitudes that are apparent in the responses. Satisfactory responses to a particular state are not seen as motivating forces in moving towards a different state. Unsatisfactory responses are seen to produce a change, either by changing the state itself or by moving to another.

1. Overall Influences

In terms of the overall influences as motivating states for the participants it is significant that F. and G. are satisfied with both their religious experiences and with their inter-family relationships. They are not motivated to move to another state but only to become more fulfilled in the present one. F. testifies that her faith provided all the solutions to any problems she had ever had and that her central objective is 'to seek Jesus'. G. too expresses complete satisfaction with her early experiences and feels that her childhood religious life was unusually meaningful. She attributes her religious unfolding to her parents who ". . . never pressed us either. They just encouraged us to pray and to seek God and to love Him and in

this way there came a hunger in our hearts for God . . ."

J., although he remained in the church until after his baptism experience, had a more problematic relationship to both church and family in early childhood. His parents were not close; his mother was faithful to both church and family while his father was true to neither. Yet J. was drawn to both parents and expresses a certain amount of ambivalence about his early religious experiences and about the people who represented the Pentecostal mode. In describing his experience of the Holy Spirit J. emphasizes the importance of his mother's example.

The other respondents all point out negative elements in their early experiences which can be seen as significant in propelling them towards a different state.

No. A. did not lapse to a secular state but moved from one religious state to another. She points out both her trust and fear of her father and her doubt concerning the validity of her early experience. She indicates repeatedly that she did not question her father's authority. When she eventually moved to join a different denomination she again met dissatisfaction in the form of a rejection to her application to serve the church full time. She found both her domestic and spiritual life barren in the years just prior to her experience. Her dissatisfaction was apparent.

B.'s antagonism to the church as a child was explicit and reinforced by her parents' negative attitude towards it. Her childhood was exceedingly lonely. The relationships she formed while at university fulfilled both her intellectual appetite and her social needs. Her associates enjoyed their secular awareness and B. was satisfied. B. was not satisfied in her childhood either by her religious experience or by her relationship to her family.

C. did not have a close relationship with her family nor with the church. Her parents were very active church members. C. however does feel she had a natural spiritual tendency as a child which the Sunday School did not manage to eliminate. She does not mention any particular attractions about the secular state and seems to have drifted in that direction because of a lack of stimuli she associated with her early experience.

D. remarks that the only significant events he can recall from his early childhood are incidences of disobedience. He specifies three examples. He was not close to his parents. The family moved repeatedly. Eventually his dissatisfaction became so intense that he made several attempts to run away. His orientation towards a secular state is further reinforced by his attraction to the drug sub-culture.

E. makes little mention of his family relationships but implies that they were quite unsatisfactory. His religious life too was not what he wanted and he made a

conscious decision to leave all matters of religious consideration behind him in an attempt to become liberated. The search for liberation from authority is what seems to draw E. towards the secular.

H. had no early religious influence but her secular relationships were highly unsatisfactory.

I. was spiritual and reserved as a child in contrast to her mother's sociability and lack of religious feeling. The relationships between members of the family were distant and the relationship of the family to the church was non-existent. I. found neither satisfying.

2. Movement from Secular State to Joining the Church

Since A., F., G. and J. remain on a predominantly religious course and do not lapse to a secular state we do not need to be concerned with them at this point. Their problems are perceived as essentially spiritual and must be treated as such.

Those moving from secular state to church are B., C., D., E., H. and I. B. alone is representative of a possible movement from one state to another in spite of her satisfaction with a former state. The secular state she had known was one of great satisfaction and had resolved both her earlier loneliness and rejection of the church. However while in this frame of mind she was married to a man whose authority and intellect she respected. Her husband had strong religious convictions which B. rejected and from

which she thought he could be swayed. Her intentions to do so were not to be as easily realized as she had expected. She joined the church chiefly because of her husband's interest and in spite of her continued negative feelings towards it. She began to read theological literature in order to be sufficiently knowledgeable to enter into debate with her husband. In doing so she found herself becoming increasingly interested in religious speculations and as a result was drawn into an intense and complex spiritual quest in line with her former interest in mysticism. In time she became fully absorbed in her quest and lost all interest in regaining secular satisfactions.

D., E. and I emphasize both their dissatisfaction with their secular state and their unfulfilled spiritual quest. I. had been involved in a strong but not wholly satisfactory quest throughout her childhood and adolescence. She was unable at that time to make the public profession of faith she perceived as a spiritual test. At the same time she reacted against the social emphasis of the routine church and implies that she questioned her mother's motives for joining the church. However the secular state she assumed became less meaningful with time. It offered no solutions and she decided that she must look for alternatives to make life more meaningful for her. In line with her previous interests she focused on religion as a possible solution to her emptiness.

D. expresses deep concern with the meaning of life and remembers thinking that there must be more to it than just "going to school and working for the rest of your life for some kind of security that can fall apart every time the gold standard dropped a twenty-seventh of a point." D. eventually turned to drugs as a possible salvation. He comments on his quest:

I had always thought that I was a traveler, a wanderer in space at this time and before this, searching for a long ago home, a place I once knew that I had lost and that must be regained at all costs. I don't really know where it is or where it's at. And so we got to the peak of our acid trip and I'd been through this many times and it always left me with a kind of puzzled thing in my mind, not quite knowing what had happened but knowing that it was so close to what I was looking for and hoping maybe that I would find it on the next trip.

He began to notice that the problems facing the sub-culture with which he identified were the same as those in the rest of society and that they were not receiving any more ideal treatment than they would receive in it. On his last L.S.D. trip D. underwent a complete reversal of his former perspective. Whereas before he had not been able to conceptualize God as a separate entity he now "realized that I was so much a separate creation, a separate entity, that I was really precious in the sight of God . . . that for every good thing God has to offer Satan has a counterfeit . . . for instance, God offers the baptism of the Holy Spirit. This is kind of God's turn on. Satan counterfeits it in L.S.D., hashesh

and marijuana . . ." As a result of this transformation D. decided to shop around for a church.

E. points to the main problem of his secular life being his feeling of isolation and his sense of purposelessness. He was afraid of becoming one of the lonely old men he observed in the logging camps, he was disturbed by his failure to enter into satisfactory relationships with the opposite sex, and he was perturbed about his inability to communicate effectively. The total result was a sense of worthlessness and failure. In the course of his reading he happened across a book which convinced him of the reality of the historical Jesus. He therefore felt he owed it to himself to find out more about the Christian faith. He turned to the Bible, which he read without understanding but which convinced him further that his way of life was 'condemned'. The girls from the Bible school who visited his parents' home at this time represented to him all that Christianity was about and he determined to approach them for spiritual guidance. At their suggestion he read Peace With God by Billy Graham and immediately gave his life to God to "do with as He pleased." His conversion prompted him to associate himself with a small congregation where, for the first time in his life, he felt accepted just the way he was.

C. and H. illustrate similarities in that they place significantly more stress on their dissatisfaction with their secular states than on any positive spiritual quest.

C. was caught in an unhappy marriage. She had felt that if she refused her husband's proposal she would never again have another chance. Further, her family and friends all approved of the match and encouraged it. She worked for a few months after her marriage but found it exhausting. ". . . just the strain of it was driving me crazy so I kept buying nerve tonic and things." She discovered that she was pregnant shortly after she had begun to work and within a period of three years she had three children. The strain of the children coupled with the unhappy marital situation was deeply disturbing. "I thought my kids were a drag and I hated everything." During these years C. had no close relationships. "Well, they were friends, but one is not able to have a healthy relationship with anyone I think when one is loaded down with guilt and depressions and feelings of inadequacy. This is a block to what friendship is supposed to be." In the course of looking for possible solutions she turned to the routine church. She became very active, thinking that the way out of her dilemma was through total involvement with other people. Eventually she came to see that this was a trap rather than a solution for her, multiplying instead of reducing her problems.

It is hardly possible to specify any particular problem as singularly significant in the case of H. Her entire existence was problematic. Perhaps the one unproblematic aspect of her childhood was the affection she received

from her adoptive father and brothers. The most pervasive dissatisfaction for H. was her inability to come to grips with who she was. ". . . the idea of having your own parents was terribly important to me . . . I had a genuine sense of unworthiness as far as the community was concerned . . . as I look back on that part of my childhood, it was the kind of thing that made me wish to grow up and always be grown up-- the wish that you never had to be a child."

3. Movement From Church To Pentecostal Experience

In viewing the movement of individuals from a routine church where the experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit is not recognized to a participation in the experience both negative and positive motivational factors must again be kept in mind. Negative factors point to a dissatisfaction with some aspect of the religious institution in question. Some need on the part of the person is not being met adequately. Positive features can be seen in the form of attractions. The individual must feel that this experience holds a response to a felt need. As pointed out earlier an introduction to the experience is an essential prerequisite. A successful introduction must consist of an awareness, a desire and a confidence.

Again F., G. and J. do not concern us since they are born Pentecostals. D. moves directly from his secular state to a Pentecostal church since that "was where my little sister was baptized." His immediate baptism indicates how highly motivated he was.

Perhaps the most straight forward path from church to experience is illustrated by H. She expressed no particular dissatisfaction with the church but circumstances determined that she live with a Pentecostal foster family, who introduced her to the experience. She questioned its orthodoxy but studied the Bible and found it to be an authentically recorded phenomenon. On the authority of the scriptures she accepted it as valid. There was a close bond between herself and the family, in fact they occasionally expressed the desire to adopt her. Because of her inherent analytical orientation she did not relax into it with ease but in time found that she too could speak in tongues. She received the baptism through the ministry of a visiting evangelist.

C.'s dissatisfaction with the church stemmed from the fact that she did not find any solutions to her problems through it. Just as she previously regarded Sunday School as a detriment rather than an encouragement to her faith so she now felt that the solutions the church did offer her served to intensify her dilemma rather than eliminate it. She saw the church to which she belonged as encouraging doubt instead of faith. It provided an antithesis to spirituality. Worship lacked meaning. The forms were empty. She herself was desperate in her misery and tried all conceivable solutions to her plight. While in this extremity she was told of a woman who had undergone a radical transformation.

She did not know the source of the change but contacted the woman in order to find out what it was that changed her. It was arranged that they attend the Pentecostal church. In the meantime C. sought out a childhood friend who had since married a Pentecostal. The friend testified to her own change as a result of the experience and asked C. to read a book dealing with the subject. C. did so but was not convinced that it was for her. Shortly after the visit she attended the Pentecostal church as previously arranged. Immediately she was overwhelmed by the atmosphere of sincerity noticeable among the worshippers. She responded to the call to go to the prayer room after the service and as hands were laid on her received the baptism and spoke in tongues.

E. had a succession of interrupted relationships with the church, including both satisfactory and unsatisfactory experiences. He became quite negative towards a particular denomination when they rejected him as a potential clergyman. He left the church as a result and joined various churches of evangelical orientation. Here too he experienced dissatisfaction and so in a time of great need returned for help to the denomination by which he was rejected. This time he received satisfaction, both to his immediate needs and in terms of being reinstated as a candidate for the ministry. Still he perceived a lack--"a missing link"--but ~~not~~ attributed this lack to his own person rather than to the institution. As earlier the problem was focused on his apparent

inability to relate. His need for acceptance persisted and he felt the need to justify himself by dogmatically spreading the 'good news'. He did not see a solution to his problem in the church of his choice, nor did he expect he should. On the basis of his reading he centered on the Holy Spirit as having something to do with his inadequacies. He determined to find 'the missing link' even if it meant "going to the Pentecostals to get it." He was informed of the work of the Charismatic Renewal Movement and when he discovered that representatives of the movement were to hold a series of meetings in the area decided to attend. He did so and at a prayer meeting invited their prayers that he might have a fruitful ministry. He did not expect to receive the gift of speaking in tongues but during the course of the prayer the leaders, who had laid hands on him, assured him that this gift was also for him and that he too could have it if he so wished. He did and found that he could speak in tongues.

A., like E., has experienced a rejection by the church in that her application to go into mission work was not accepted. She was not given any explanation about the rejection other than that it had been considered and they had prayed about it and decided it was not God's will. She accepted the decision and made no further attempt to follow her missionary ambitions. Life went on but eventually became barren, both domestically and spiritually. She remained

active in the church as a devoted Sunday School teacher but did not receive any great satisfaction from her continued efforts. Her religious obligations became wearing. A solution to her dissatisfaction was sought for solely within the framework of the church. Other alternatives did not enter her frame of reference. Her only brother had married into the Pentecostal persuasion and had himself become a Pentecostal missionary. Through him she had been introduced to the experience but at the time of the introduction did not consider the possibility that it held any answers for her. Later, in the midst of her increasing dissatisfaction, she happened across an article in Voice magazine commenting on the work of the Charismatic Renewal Movement. Her interest was aroused and she questioned her pastor concerning the baptism of the Holy Spirit. To her surprise she discovered that both he and his wife had received the gift and spoke in tongues. She was very fond of the couple and mentions that they were being given a hard time by the congregation. As soon as she made this discovery she knew that "if they had it I wanted it too." Not long after this she noticed an announcement in the church bulletin concerning the coming visit of a clergyman representing the denomination in which she participated as guest evangelist at a series of Charismatic meetings. This clergyman had fallen out of favour with denomination authorities as a result of his charismatic experience and emphasis. She attended every session and

twice went to the front in response to the altar call. She was greatly blessed but still did not receive the gift of speaking in tongues. When she finally asked why she couldn't have this gift she was assured that she would receive it but that it would come in God's good time. All that was required of her was that she relax in the confidence that she would receive it. The following week she visited the pastor and his wife who insisted on praying for her. She participated but was not at all anxious, feeling that she would receive the gift when she was intended to. That evening after she was in bed she suddenly began to speak with tongues.

B.'s movement from church to the baptism experience is complicated and difficult. Her negative stance towards the church has already been dealt with at some length. Neither her social nor her spiritual needs received response in the routine church. She felt the church was spiritually void and socially cold. She was repelled by the apparent lack of spirituality on the part of her associates who were theologically oriented and who, in her estimation, did not believe as much as she did. Her search was intense and prolonged, centering around the twofold objectives of finding spiritual truths and a fulfilling community. She moved from psychic phenomena to occult to eastern religions to Edgar Cayce to healing groups and finally, by accident, to Pentecostalism. She met and was attracted to a Pentecostal woman evangelist who was a participant in one of the study groups

B. attended. A friendly relationship developed between the two women and eventually B. felt that she ought to visit the congregation her friend served as minister as a token of respect. She went and was instantly attracted by the atmosphere of warmth and spirituality. She began to attend with some regularity. Her friend supplied her with literature relevant to the experience. At the suggestion of her friend she invited a mutual friend to accompany her to a Pentecostal meeting. The other woman responded so well that on her second visit she received the gift. This both frustrated and stimulated B. She was now more determined than ever to get it. She finally became convinced that perhaps it was not for her and that she had already received as much blessing as some people ever claim. At this point she was given a book with instructions as to how to go about receiving the gift on your own. B. tried it and found she could do it. Little by little she acquired skill in speaking in tongues and is now a most fluent speaker. Not only is she able to use it for prayer but she has the additional gift of tongues for public proclamation which not everyone is given.

Concluding Remarks

The foregoing discussion prompts several observations. The distinctions between the modes of spiritual careers appear to be at least in part contingent on the overall influences on the individual. For instance, those people repre-

senting strong family relationships as well as strong family-church ties remained on course and progressed steadily towards their point of spiritual destiny. Those with weak or conflictual family relationships and strong family-church ties lapsed and returned to the church while those indicating weak family relationships and weak family-church ties were characterized by a transformation which directed them onto their spiritual course.

A further comparison can be drawn between the latter two groups. Both point to a diffuse or acute crisis or state of anxiety in their lives which precipitates their interest. There seems to be a suggestion that the way in which they arrive on course differs. The difference could be described in terms of the distinction made by William James between volitional and self-surrender types of conversion experiences. On the tenuous basis of this minute sample it could be speculated that those individuals who represent weak family relationships and strong family-church ties tend towards a volitional return to the church. Even in the case of radical conversion experiences they are a result of intent. These people are pulled onto a spiritual course when their secular lives become dissonant. They look for solutions via religious sources. Their progression towards their spiritual course is marked by a series of jerks and stops similar to James' description of the characteristics of volitional conversion. On the other hand, those who had their origins in

weak family relations as well as weak family-church ties move much more rapidly towards their religious experiences once they become aware of them as potential solutions to their concerns. Often they 'happen' across an introduction and in response surrender wholly to their new found salvation.

The predominant common crises demonstrated by our respondents were related to problems of perceived or actual isolation, cultural dislocation and a sense of moral differentiation. The latter is characteristic of those people who remain continually on course. In short, some sense of estrangement, either from self or others, may be observed.

Metaphysical needs are repeatedly verbalized along with a sense of dissatisfaction as to how these needs are being realized. This apparent dissatisfaction is expressed in both personal and institutional terms; that is, a lack is experienced either with reference to the individual himself or with the routine church.

While basic motivational patterns may be ascertained, as illustrated by the major continuing themes, the processes are highly individualistic and relate to a particular problem or crisis facing the individual. The person is motivated towards a resolution of his unsatisfactory state. All of our respondents find a satisfactory solution in the experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. In what way this is accomplished becomes our next focus for attention.

CHAPTER V

THE MEANING OF THE EXPERIENCE TO THE RESPONDENT

The Moment

Only the description of the one who has been there and had the experience can adequately describe just how it felt.

. . . it was an odd experience for me--I certainly had nothing to compare it with and yet the language I was persuaded was praise and it was a real 'turned on' experience . . . I was able to pour out in a very fluent tongue just a real feeling of praise for God and just a real joy in this experience. (No. E.)

It was a real experience. And I went on talking and I thought I was making it up. I thought I was just trying to copy these people I'd heard but then I went on and on and I knew I couldn't be copying them and then I thought I couldn't talk in English. You know I went to talk in English and I just went on talking in tongues . . . it was just such a wonderful experience . . . just like the Holy Spirit came through me and cleansed me. (No. A.)

. . . it was like a current of electricity, I could really feel it--just a sudden warmth, you know, going through you and I opened my mouth and started to pray and I hardly said anything . . . but I said a few words anyway and then I felt really--you know those hymns about 'The burdens of your sins rolled away?' this is exactly how I felt . . . to feel yourself really forgiven from the bottom of your toes up is really something and that's how I felt. (No. C.)

It just was a tremendous sense of God's presence . . . I do not recall ever changing to another language. I recall speaking in the other language and thinking 'How marvelous, imagine God coming to me and letting me do this!' (No. F.)

They say everybody has a prayer language and once you have it I guess that's it and mine seemed to be a very primitive--to me--an African type of dialect--very primitive and sloppy. This bothered me greatly . . . with the experience there is an enveloping of God's love around me and peace, a very penetrating peace and I can reach this and reach this sort of trembling of the mouth . . . when I do speak in tongues it's still a very sloppy language--saliva all over the place. (No. I.)

. . . I really did feel, and again I'm concerned with the physical--I mean I like to see a well-formed body, I like to see an athlete perform and so on--I really did feel lifted right from the floor and they talk about it being spine tingling --I don't know that it was spine tingling but this --or whether the hair stood up on the back of my head--but there was a peculiar sensation in my body, throughout my muscles and so on, and after having had polio I was sort of muscle conscious, and I did begin to speak with other tongues and not particularly loudly but in a definite way . . . I sort of let myself go and some other force took hold of my tongue. I know my mouth really did dry out--I felt very dry after the experience . . . but it was an uplifting experience. What really impressed me about it was that it wasn't just for the moment--I mean--I felt--I guess you could say ecstatic--I really think I was ecstatic. (No. J.)

How It Changes

Each person experiences the change brought on by the experience of the baptism of the Spirit in a unique way. How he sees himself in relation to his world is different in some way from what it was before. Some former dissatisfaction has been resolved. This dissatisfaction is now interpreted by the person in the light of his experience so that it is viewed from a different perspective.

A.'s sense of isolation was articulated repeatedly during the interview and was perceived by her as relating

to her inability to communicate, particularly with reference to matters of intimate concern and her faith. She felt cut off from other people as a result of this lack. In addition she felt spiritually barren. Life was uninteresting and her continued efforts in church work had become tedious. In describing what she feels the difference in her life is she comments:

. . . it's a real miracle when you do speak in another tongue so it was something tangible, and it sort of increases your faith automatically and . . . I could hardly wait every night to go to bed and pray in tongues after this. And since this experience, many things have happened that have changed many things I thought before. For one thing I have a much greater love for people than I ever had before . . . and now I just don't see people from the outside at all . . . like my brother said I don't worry in the same way either, I just trust God for opportunities; I don't go worrying whether I should tell--speak to this person or that person . . . my outlook on healing has changed . . .

A. has had her faith strengthened, has lost some of her timidity in approaching others, can share her intimacies in prayer and her spiritual life has become rich, both in her private devotions and in her public association with others in the Charismatic movement who have had a similar experience.

B. too felt isolated, both spiritually and socially, in childhood and adulthood. Her intellectual bent and mystical orientation come together in an intense spiritual quest. She wanted to experience the spiritual in a 'real way'. In other words, she strived to empirically verify her spiritual

experiences. This became apparent in her intellectual devouring of psychic phenomena, her simultaneous interest in occult and healing. She sees herself as formerly being continuously depressed. Since her experience she has left her psychic interests, finding that these involved . . . "didn't know Jesus the way I'd gotten to gradually." She finds an unusual amount of satisfaction in the relationships formed between members of a small prayer group in which she participates. Also she finds that she is no longer depressed; "ever since I've received the baptism of the Holy Spirit there's this sort of ball of joy in you. All I can remember all my life is being depressed and unhappy until the joy started to come . . ." Perhaps the most important change for B. is that she has been released from her unremitting spiritual quest.

That what it does is change you. You don't have to work your way to heaven but the Holy Spirit will renew you. It's the gift of life promised in the New Testament and I've seen it happen to me.

B. had formerly been very gratified by her secular experiences and associations. Now she has lost all interest in secular matters:

What's happened to me since this is that most of the things I used to really like have gone dead on me. I used to enjoy Art films, I used to have a great appreciation for classical music, for good art, for parties, for anything. And frankly what I like to do now mostly is go to church and worship . . . Art films and things of this sort seem to me evil . . .

B. is no longer isolated, her quest has eased, she can have a spiritual experience and she has lost her interest in secular gratification.

C.'s difficulties were focused in her insolvable marital circumstances. Not only did she have problems in relating but she was encompassed by guilt and depression. She found no help anywhere and her problem was only aggravated by the supposed solution she found in her involvement in the routine church. She could see no other alternatives. The most significant insight she received as a result of her Pentecostal experience was her sense of total forgiveness, "from the bottom of the toes up . . ." An immediate change took place in the pattern of her relationship to her husband. For the first time she says "I didn't argue and I didn't cry and I didn't run away and that was probably a real miraculous thing as far as I was concerned--that it wasn't something I had purpose to do." The key to C. was that she was able to get her mind off herself; she could surrender to something that moved her rather than that she controlled.

You know, before when I had said 'now, I am a Christian and I'm going to be loving and I'm going to be kind and you know, it just doesn't work. The harder I tried to do those things the more I would fail, and besides, if you're trying to do those things all on your own strength you get all worn out--you get headaches and you feel pulled in a dozen different directions and--anyway that's been the change for me--has been a love that is not of me.

D. realizes his isolation in the form of cultural dislocation stemming from the many geographical changes in his youth. His relationship with his parents was not close and he rejected the values of society. At the same time he was concerned with the meaning of his existence in relation to creation. On the basis of insights gained under the influence of drugs he rejected the notion of God. Similarly his conversion took place while he was in 'drug space'. His transformation was characterized by a reversal in his conceptualizing of the world. He has come to see that the sub-culture with which he identified has no more answers to the problems than the rest of society. Further the answers cannot be found in society. Regarding his new insights he comments:

And we began to see exactly where Jesus Christ was at when he said 'I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life and no man comes unto the Father but by me'. We took it that he was basically saying 'Okay, you're here, you don't know why you're here and you don't really understand it but trust me that I can take you out and take you back to the Father'. This was pretty well the way we took it. . . and we began to see some other things too; that for every good thing that God has to offer, Satan has a counterfeit, the Satan, the power, the ruler of this planet. For instance, God offers the baptism of the Holy Spirit. This is kind of like God's turn on. Satan counterfeits in L.S.D., hashish, marijuana. You see, these things are a spiritual door. They open a door in your mind into the spiritual world of Satan which is really a very beautiful, beautiful world but it goes only so far and then it comes down to the hard core of the matter and Satan demands a commitment, just like Christ does, and this commitment is to admit that you're really only in a dream. That everything is

not really real and that you really don't exist anywhere . . . as far as I can see Christianity doesn't make any bones about existence as such, about existence on this planet. It doesn't play games with you; it says, it puts it right on the line and says things aren't any good . . . I found some things in the scriptures. For instance, did you ever hear any hippies talk about a white light trip? Well, when a hippie has a white light trip he comes into the presence of a great white light, like he knows that inside this light is the thing he has been looking for; is eternal life and no matter how hard he tries to get into it, by going around it and over it and everything else he just can't do it . . . the baptism of the Holy Spirit is God's white light trip.

D. no longer feels like a stranger. Through Christ he has been 'taken back to the father'. He has been reconciled with his parents' values. The baptism of the Holy Spirit has brought him to the door of truth. He has discovered his place in the universe.

E. points to the sense of unacceptability that has followed him all his life as well as a failure to communicate. After his initial conversion he was subject to a number of disappointments relating to his participation in the routine church. He was, however, reconciled to the church prior to his experience of the Holy Spirit. The two things he notes as most significant results of his experience are the therapeutic effects of his prayer life and his release from the need to push himself. With reference to prayer he comments, "I can get off by myself for half an hour or so and pray in tongue and I can express all the emotion I want through it . . . and then suddenly it'll be as if someone had got up

and said good-bye and left you feeling as though that were a very pleasant and worthwhile visit and you feel like you've spent half an hour or so with a dear friend." He adds "the lingering sense of having to prove myself, to push my way in to get myself accepted by my own worth was gone from that point on and I was free like I hadn't been previously."

Both his needs have been realized: he has been accepted and he has a friend with whom he can share his concerns.

His social relations have been improved and he has had several definite affirmations regarding his ability to communicate.

No. H. does not comment specifically about the effects of the baptism of the spirit in her life. For her it appears to have been another notch in the ladder of religious experiences following her conversion. Her radical transformation was tied to an earlier religious experience and the baptism of the Holy Spirit is a proof of the authenticity of her faith. H.'s identity is totally grounded in her religious stance.

I. expressed her isolation as a resistance to both physical and emotional contact with other people. She experienced herself as a very private and self-centered person. She responded negatively to the social emphasis of the routine church to which she belonged. She felt that she was committed to Christ but her self consciousness made it impossible for her to make a public profession to that effect.

Her experience of the Holy Spirit has served to free her from her self consciousness. In the act of participating in it she was able to make a public profession of faith. Her faith has been greatly increased, both in her own eyes and in terms of others.

For F., G. and J. the experience has served to reinforce their earlier affirmations. It is in line with other similar experiences. Their orientation is expressed by G.

Well actually, what people call the baptism is really on a continuum with conversion. It's not something different, of a different kind. It's just a continuum; it's the same, only more, and the best concept is maintaining a living, a relationship with a living person. Christ the Lord is a living Lord and so you got the same problems precisely and the same benefits as maintaining a good friendship with somebody . . . a lot of people think the Pentecostals are saying 'you speak in tongues and That's It, as though it was a thing, but it's just a little symbol of something else that's happening.

It is obvious that in each of the cases described some aspect of the experience is specifically relevant to a particular problem characterizing the individual, with the exception, that is, of the three respondents of Pentecostal background. In those cases the experience validates their earlier experiences.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

It must be remembered that the conclusions that are proposed are based exclusively on the minute sample used in this study and should be seen merely as indicators and not as generalizations. The proposals made here could be restated in the form of hypotheses in future research. A much more rigorous methodological approach would have to be employed before they could be viewed as verifiable generalizations. This attempt might be seen as a next step. In the meantime, on the basis of the present study, I would propose that:

I. The current Pentecostal movement draws on people who

1. have already made their major life commitments.

Five of our ten respondents were brought to the experience via Charismatic Renewal influences. All of these people had already made their major life commitments. The others who were brought directly into the Pentecostal church had participated in the experience prior to making major commitments. Of this group only one person is a recent convert.

2. express an identifiable lack in terms of their social relationships. All of our respondents who came to the experience from backgrounds other than Pentecostal point to a sense of separation from other people. Their isolation

takes a variety of forms but in each instance there is evidence of social distance.

3. express a dissatisfaction with some aspect of the way they view themselves. Again all those who were not brought in via a Pentecostal path suggest a sense of dissatisfaction with their self image.

4. express a dissatisfaction with their environmental circumstances. Some indication of either an immediate crisis or a continuing dis-ease with things as they are can be seen in the lives of all who entered via non-Pentecostal channels.

5. express a dissatisfaction with how their spiritual needs are being met through routine institutional means. There is evidence that all those who move towards the experience have a distinct dissatisfaction with the organized church as a vehicle for realizing spiritual goals.

6. have had previous religious contacts. The movement does not draw on people with no previous religious knowledge. It is not a matter of introducing an alien concept to the individual but rather of underlining notions he already holds.

7. already move in religiously active circles. Rather than bringing into the center of the person's consciousness ideas that have in the past been on the periphery, the movement attracts individuals whose spiritual concerns are already in a central position and intensifies them.

II. The experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit introduces the individual to a supportive community.

1. There is a clear cut distinction between those who have had the experience and those who have not. This marked delineation cuts across previous religious and social definitions and redraws the boundaries of spiritual community.

2. This community provides a matrix for the individual where he can share his experience with others of like mind and so be supported in his new perspective. At the same time the community serves to separate the individual from those who do not share his outlook. In this way the reality of his experience is re-inforced.

III. The baptism of the Holy Spirit is a 'healing' experience.

All our respondents felt that through this experience their deepest needs were met. For those who were straight-through Pentecostals the experience was seen as a culmination of earlier satisfactory religious experiences. It provided a focal point for their uninterrupted process of religious integration. Those who arrived from non-Pentecostal sources pointed to the event as a dramatic solution to their various needs. In this sense our study would support the views of Wallace, Boisen and James in stressing the 'healing' potential of religious experience.

IV. The transformation brought about by means of the experience is authentic.

If we see the criteria for what constitutes an authentic transformation as contingent on the understanding of the individual concerning the change he feels within himself and the change in the way he sees his world then on the basis of this study we would conclude that the experience is without doubt change producing.

V. The experience has distinctive features.

1. What is unique about the baptism of the Holy Spirit is that in it spiritual experience is realized empirically. The individual can test his experience by the fact that he has spoken in tongues. This is his evidence that he has been filled with the Holy Spirit. The experience is immediately convincing as an objective event.

2. The event gives access to a source of ultimate authority. The individual has been visited by the spirit of God. He no longer feels himself constrained by his immediate social and personal circumstances. His boundaries have been broken and he is propelled to a point of view from where he sees his world in a different light. He reinterprets and re-evaluates his secular commitments in the light of this experience.

VI. The dynamic characteristics of the event are in line with the conceptualized characteristics of the Holy Spirit.

The life giving potential of the experience seems to be rooted in the awareness of ultimate authority and intimate presence. The respondents attribute their new found ability to 'live victoriously' to a power greater than themselves. At the same time their sense of isolation is lessened by the continuing awareness of the comforting spiritual presence by whom they are known. The Holy Spirit, the breath and power given form in the person of Jesus Christ is always with them in spirit.

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