1980


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CHARISMATIC COMMUNICATION AND FAITH HEALERS: A CRITICAL STUDY OF RHETORICAL BEHAVIOR

The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical Col. PH.D. 1980

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CHARISMATIC COMMUNICATION AND FAITH HEALERS:
A CRITICAL STUDY OF RHETORICAL BEHAVIOR

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in The Department of Speech

by
Todd Vernon Lewis
B.A., Biola College, 1972
M.A., The Ohio State University, 1974
August 1980
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ABSTRACT

Lewis, Todd Vernon, B.A., Biola College, 1972  
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Major: Speech; Minor: Sociology  
Charismatic Communication and Faith Healers:  
A Critical Study of Rhetorical Behavior  
Dissertation directed by Professor Harold Mixon  
Pages in Dissertation, 344. Words in Abstract, 175.

Faith healing evangelists attract devoted followers who perceive these religious leaders as possessors of charisma. Charisma is a concept that is often applied to any leader/communicator whose eloquence, persuasion, transcendence, and personal aura set him or her apart from the average person. In this dissertation charisma is operationally defined, linked to a process of communication, and applied to the rhetorical behavior of three prominent faith healing evangelists: Aimee Semple McPherson (1890-1944), A. A. Allen (1911-1970), and Kathryn Kuhlman (1907-1976).

A survey of selected theories of charisma provides elements for a synergistic "charismatic-communication-influence-process-model." The newly formed model amalgamates charisma research from such academic disciplines as sociology, psychology, political science, philosophy, and speech communication. Situational crises characteristics
that create the charismatic milieu reveal the necessary bond between charismatic leader and devoted follower.

The three case studies of McPherson, Allen, and Kuhlman exemplify the power of charismatic rhetorical techniques as well as charismatic perception. These three evangelists signify an influential group of communicators. Their rhetorical behavior represents the communicative impact of charisma.
CHAPTER ONE

CHARISMATIC COMMUNICATION AND FAITH HEALERS:
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

One August night and the leaves hanging down
And the grass on the ground
Smelling sweet.

Move up the road, to the outside of town
And the sound
Of that good gospel beat.

Sits a ragged tent--
Where there ain't no trees.
And that gospel group
Tellin' you and me . . .

It's "Love," Brother Love, say Brother Love's
Travelin' Salvation Show!
Pack up the babies
And grab the old ladies
And everyone goes
'Cuz everyone knows,
'Bout Brother Love's Show.

The room gets suddenly still.
And when you almost bet
You could hear yourself sweat
He walks in.

Eyes black as coal
And when he lifts his face
Every ear in the place
Is on him.

Startin' soft and slow
Like a small earthquake.
And when he lets go
Half the valley shakes . . .
"Take my hand in yours.
Walk with me this day.
In my heart I know,
I will never stray."

Pack up the babies
And grab the old ladies
And everyone goes
'Cuz everyone knows
'Bout Brother Love's Show.

These lyrics from a 1969 rock and roll single hit song evoke mental scenes of a strange, but fascinating American phenomenon: the faith-healing, revivalist preacher. Such religious communicators trace their cultural roots in America back to the rural camp meeting revivals of the middle to late eighteenth century. Life on the American frontier during this time was isolated and fraught with dangers, fears, and an accompanying lack of moral restraint. Camp meetings called isolated people together for protracted religious outdoor services and a combination of factors led to emotional outbursts and irrationally exuberant behavior. Religious fervor resulted in emotional excesses.

A few converts to this emotional brand of Christianity brought the emotional fervor of the isolated camp to the city. Preachers like Charles G. Finney carried on an extensive itinerant revival ministry to cities as well as rural locales. With the gravitation of populations to

2Sydney E. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the
urban areas, a new style of religious revivalist communication developed. Preachers like Dwight L. Moody, Billy Sunday, and Billy Graham developed organizations bent on preaching and converting the "lost" in the urban areas. This shift to urban evangelism did not, however, signal the demise of the rural revivalist. Finding a sympathetic audience susceptible to feelings of deprivation, isolation, and emotionalism, many religious communicators fanned the flames of religious fervor in areas like the Deep South and the Midwest. As the twentieth century dawned, rural farmers, workers, and immigrants began to migrate west and settle in urban and rural areas. Along with migrants came the revivalist preachers seeking new audiences for their message.

Many of these contemporary religious revivalists claimed supernatural abilities, given them by God Himself, to heal the sick and infirmed. A ministry known as faith-healing linked the emotional fervor of the ancient salvation message of Christianity with the exhibition of purported "supernatural" acts. "Miracles" were claimed by thousands who believed the preacher was in part responsible for their healings.


The multitude of devoted followers and desperate potential followers perceived the faith-healing evangelist with awe and respect. An investigation into the rhetorical behavior of select faith-healing evangelists reveals that a bond exists between the faith healer and his or her audience. This unique bond in the communicative speaker/audience relationship is defined as "charismatic communication."

From time to time in history, there has appeared a phenomenon with the unique ingredients of mob psychology. . . . Commonly, the provocative agent is identified as being some specific individual, whose unique personality is supposedly the true source of the process; but at other times, the individual is seen as only a standard-bearer for a new and exciting ideology. . . . The media of communication—once bards, now TV cameras and commentators—may lend a lustre and dimension to the whole happening; a strange hypnoid state begins to infiltrate the most vulnerable minds. . . . The disease takes full hold, and many parts of society succumb to a strange and crippling affliction: charisma.5

Charisma is a concept that is often applied in a general sense to any leader/communicator whose eloquence, persuasion, transcendence, and personal aura set him or her apart from the average person. The term is useless, however, in its explanatory benefits if it is not operationally defined. This dissertation intends to give to charisma an operational definition, link it to a process of communication, analyze its influence, and apply the findings

to the faith-healing evangelist as an example of the charismatic communicator.

Selected theories of charisma, based on the research of philosophers, sociologists, and psychologists and mentioned in chapter two of this dissertation, suggest elements that demand interpretation and evaluation by scholars in rhetorical theory. While philosophers, sociologists, and psychologists should be concerned with the definitive limits of charisma, rhetorical theorists need to seek an answer to the question, "How is charisma communicated to an audience?" It is a significant question which when answered will provide essential information for understanding manipulation and control of vast audiences. Though the immediate application of these findings is a religious context, the results may prove profitable in explaining the charismatic communication influence process in political and social settings as well.

**Statement of the Problem**

This study attempts to answer the following questions: (1) What are the ingredients of charisma? (2) How is charisma communicated to an audience? (3) What conditions appear to account for the emergence and decline of charismatic communication? (4) What are the relationships of charisma, speaker effectiveness, and audience perception? (5) Does the proposed "charismatic communication theory" prove insightful when applied to specific social context
charismatic situations (e.g., religious contexts)? (6) What are the characteristics (personality, intellectual capacity, manner of dress, dogma, speaking traits, etc.) of faith-healing evangelists who are considered by their followers to possess charisma?

Answers to these questions will come from an examination of the ingredients of charisma, a creation of a model of charismatic communication, and an application of the principles inherent in the model to the rhetorical behavior of selected faith-healing evangelists and their audiences.

This examination limits itself to the rhetorical behavior of primarily three faith-healing evangelists: Aimee Semple McPherson (1890-1944), A. A. Allen (1911-1970), and Kathryn Kuhlman (1907-1976). Other faith-healers, living and deceased, are mentioned in the dissertation, but these three rhetorical figures are highlighted as case studies of the charismatic communication process.

McPherson, Allen, and Kuhlman represent significant faith-healing evangelists of the twentieth century. Each person influenced millions of faith followers as well as skeptics. Devoted followers gave millions of dollars in contributions to the ministries of these three evangelists. Each evangelist impacted his audience by means of sermonic address as well as by the use of radio and television speaking. Of the estimated 200 to 400 faith-healing evangelists preaching throughout the United States, very few
reach a successful stature which is defined as including national recognition, radio and television coverage, contributions in yearly excess of $1 million, and highly organized evangelistic organizations. The three individuals chronicled in this study meet those criteria. Some faith-healing evangelists rose to national prominence and notoriety, but departed from identification with an active, highly visible healing ministry (e.g., Oral Roberts and O. L. Jaggars). The three case studies in this dissertation represent faith-healing evangelists who continually emphasized faith-healing as the primary focus of their ministries.

Each person has typical beliefs and characteristics that make him or her representative of faith-healing evangelists. Each person believed that miracle healings could occur today just as they did in biblical times. An evangelist who exhibited the gift of healing had an obligation to use that gift to restore believers to health. Each evangelist believed that Christianity was an experiential belief system. Emotional outbursts represented depth of religious adherence.

Though typical in beliefs and characteristics, each evangelist had unique qualities that justify investigation. McPherson was the first major woman faith healer to reach national prominence in the early twentieth century. After ten to twenty years of itinerant travels on a national revival circuit, McPherson settled in Los Angeles,
California, established a permanent church structure and a new Protestant-Pentecostal denomination, and incorporated a unique presentational format into the faith-healing service. Allen represented the highly successful faith-healing evangelist who never left the itinerant tent revival circuit. Drawing his support from primarily lower socio-economic income groups, Allen built an evangelistic empire that gained its national notoriety from a ministry in rural, less-urbanized areas. In the late 1950s and 1960s, Allen's radio and television programs brought the rural tent revival into the homes of thousands around the nation. Kuhlman began her ministry in rural areas as did Allen, but her national prominence happened as a direct result of her books and exposure on national radio and television. Unlike the other two evangelists, Kuhlman drew a wider cross-section of socio-economic and religious groups to her meetings.

All of the above persons are deceased. Data discovered in research chronicles the beginning, the peak, and conclusion of each evangelist's career in the healing ministry. The case studies cited in this study represent typical and significant examples of the charismatic communication process.

One final potential problem needs attention. In this dissertation, the term charismatic is used in two distinct ways. A necessary distinction is made between (1) the rhetorical use and intent of "charisma" and (2) the Pentecostal-religious intent of "charismatic." Pentecostal
converts are often referred to as being "charismatic" because they are said to exhibit gifts of "charismata" or "grace gifts." These overt forms of "charismata" are almost always linked to a "speaking in tongues" religious experience. Anyone in the Pentecostal milieu who has had such an experience is called a "charismatic" (i.e., one who has experienced this "supernatural" emotional-euphoric moment). "Charismatic communication" as used in the title of this dissertation does not refer to such experience. The rhetorical intent of charismatic communication emphasizes special attributes and perceptual influences of a leader/communicator in a crisis milieu and the accompanying feedback from a specific audience, attracted to such a leader by bonds of awe, reverence, and loyalty.

Contributory Studies

James L. Winckler's 1971 master's thesis attempts to clarify and objectify the definition of charisma. His "theory" (my term is substituted for his term "model," since it does not meet the Hawes criteria for a model described in chapter three of this dissertation) is not broad enough in scope to understand the concept of charisma, but does highlight five important aspects of the charisma concept: Leadership power, Audience compliance, Vacuum in the "central zone of society," Charisma as a "gift of grace," and Charisma as anti-bureaucratic philosophy. Perhaps Winckler's greatest contribution is the distinction between
charisma and ethos. Charisma explains the attractiveness and personal magnetism of a leader in greater scope than does the concept of ethos. Thus, a leader may have a high degree of personal ethos, yet fail to be perceived as having charisma. Winckler concludes his thesis with a suggestion that his five factors "be expanded to include specific communication methods." That is precisely what this dissertation attempts to fulfill.

The concept of charisma is given rhetorical significance by George Boss in his 1971 master's thesis. He states that "to have utility as a concept, charisma must become tangible." Boss seeks to concretize a previously vague concept by suggesting attributes found in a charismatic leader/communicator. Boss' discussion of charismatic attributes has been integrated into the proposed model found in this dissertation in chapter three. Though occasionally references are made to "charismatic" leader figures, Boss does not systematically apply his attributes to leader figures to determine if they fulfill the charismatic requirements. He rather categorically suggests that if any one of his nine proposed attributes (e.g., "the gift of


grace," high status, mission or goal-minded, crisis mentality, shared history, and success-oriented) are absent, no charismatic personality will be observed. This dissertation seeks to expand Boss' attributional approach to charisma, describe charisma's influence process, and analyze the charisma of specific types of leaders.

Eugene Elser's 1972 doctoral dissertation at Ohio State University was the study that prompted the research in the present dissertation. Elser makes use of an heuristic paradigm of charismatic communication created from concepts in sociology, prophetic mystical religion, existential philosophy, and rhetorical theory. Elser's theory provides insight into charismatic character in communication. His application of charisma theory to George Fox, the famous Quaker preacher, is the first attempt at forming a critical rhetorical methodology based on charisma. His theory is not transformed into a rhetorical process model and lacks the inclusion of recent psychoanalytic data about charisma.

An historical approach toward the explication of charisma is used by Reginald Overstreet in his 1974 master's thesis. He separates the concept of charisma from its

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vague journalistic usage and objectifies its meaning historically. His philological approach to the term charisma is also helpful in understanding its relationship and conceptual uniqueness from the rhetorical concept of ethos. Charisma is described as a broad concept, with a clear Christian religious heritage, that includes the narrower concepts of high ethos and source credibility. Thus, ethos is a "subset" of charisma; ethos explains only a limited portion of the speaker attractiveness in a charismatic-rhetorical situation. Overstreet suggests that charisma can be a useful rhetorical concept but not without precise contextual and cultural definitions of the term. His thesis stresses that any specific definition of the concept of charisma must retain elements of its religious beginnings, especially as regards the "special calling" to leadership.

Three other dissertations need to be mentioned because they illustrate the multivariate applications of charismatic theory. Roberta Keane's 1974 dissertation fuses the two previously delineated definitions of charisma (religious and socio-political-rhetorical) and sociologically describes a Catholic-Pentecostal community. Relational factors between leaders and devotees illustrate the sociological bond of charisma. Further evidence for

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the interdisciplinary applicability of charismatic theory is demonstrated in George A. Schlichte's 1976 dissertation. Written in the Department of Business Administration at the University of Massachusetts, Schlichte's dissertation hypothesizes that the legitimacy of any organization is a direct consequence of the institutionalization of charisma. His attempts to "operationalize" the definition of charisma are applied by means of empirical tests to divergent groups (theology students, "McGovern for President" volunteers, non-McGovern workers). The third dissertation reflects the thinking of political scientists. Shawky Saad Zeidan compared the charismatic political/religious appeal of former Egyptian president, Gamel Abdul Nasser, and the prophet, Muhammed. Zeidan builds a model of charisma, but does not mention in the model specific rhetorical structure. One rhetorical element mentioned in the Zeidan model ("Extraordinary personality . . . capable of persuading others to believe") has been included in this current rhetorical model.

Two master's theses and one doctoral dissertation written in the field of speech communication critically

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evaluate the rhetoric of Aimee Semple McPherson. These examinations summarize, evaluate, and provide examples of communication techniques which offer insight into Aimee Semple McPherson's style of charismatic communication. Personal research has not revealed any other theses or dissertations that analyze the rhetorical behavior of A. A. Allen or Kathryn Kuhlman, the other evangelists cited as examples for this study.

Methodology and Breakdown of the Study

This research study stresses case study analysis of the rhetorical behavior of primarily three faith-healing evangelists who are deemed to have charisma. Elser's 1972 paradigm of charismatic communication is not entirely adequate for critical application. Recent research in charisma studies needs to be augmented to Elser's theory and a conceptualized process model needs to be created. This is necessary because Elser's paradigm does not include or make reference to recent research in psychoanalytic theories of charisma. In addition, most other theories fail to delineate the rhetorical impact and dimensions of charisma.

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Chapter two of this dissertation consists of a review of selected theories and constructs of charisma. Various components from these theories are amalgamated into a new "Charismatic-Communication-Influence-Process-Model" described in chapter three of this dissertation. A sample of the communication influence process model includes the speaker's list of possible traits (e.g., message, personality, and delivery characteristics), feedback analyses, and explication of the charismatic influence process. The elements of the model are not prescriptively specific for every charismatic situation. The situation determines the mixture which eventually results in the charismatic "recipe." Variables in cultural settings and environmental crises create unique exhibitions of charismatic phenomena. Chapter four provides the example of the psychological and sociological characteristics of the faith-healer's audience and how the environmental stress and contextual crises affect the charismatic communication influence process. Charismatic impact, influence, and charm are increased substantially with the presence of each identifiable characteristic. The analytical process of this study consists of isolating those major ingredients, discovering other ingredients of charisma, defining those terms, and forging the ingredients into a workable, applicable, and useful rhetorical model.

The model is used to analyze the charismatic behavior of three major faith-healing evangelists.
Chapter five describes the charismatic appeal of Sister Aimee Semple McPherson, an early twentieth century evangelist. Chapter six analyzes the charisma of Rev. A. A. Allen, a rural tent-revivalist of the 1950s and 1960s. Chapter seven discusses the charismatic impact of Kathryn Kuhlman, a contemporary woman preacher known to millions primarily by means of television. Chapter eight consists of summaries and conclusions of the rhetorical research. Following the final chapter, the appendices include sample sermons preached by Aimee Semple McPherson, A. A. Allen, and Kathryn Kuhlman. References to these sermons as rhetorical examples are mentioned in the analytical chapters.

**Type of Data and Method of Analysis**

The major source of data for this dissertation comes from the "Pentecostal Collection" at Oral Roberts University in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Housed on the fourth floor of the university's library, the collection contains approximately 8000 books, 400 current Pentecostal/Charismatic periodicals, 1000 tapes and cassettes, and a vertical file of tracts, pamphlets, brochures, leaflets, newsletters, and news articles. This collection is now one of the largest and most comprehensive research centers of Pentecostal/Charismatic materials in existence.\(^\text{14}\) Information pertaining to

\(^{14}\)Seven bibliographies of the Pentecostal Center's holdings are available (e.g., Oral Roberts University,
the activities, writings, and verbal behavior of the three faith-healing evangelists highlighted in this dissertation was found and utilized at the ORU library. Primary source material pertaining to the preaching career of Aimee Semple McPherson has been gathered from local Southern California university libraries, as well as from Angelus Temple (headquarters of the International Church of the Four-Square Gospel) in Los Angeles, California. Staff workers for the Kathryn Kuhlman Foundation in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, volunteered helpful information regarding the late Miss Kuhlman. Additional primary data has come from watching faith-healing evangelists on television and attending healing services in various locales. Secondary types of data used in this dissertation include biographies, critical journal articles, dissertations, theses, newspaper accounts, films, tapes, cassettes, recordings, and personal interviews.

A final comment is also necessary regarding the nature of the evidence cited in this dissertation. Many pieces of evidence cited lack objectivity. The journalistic critics and devotees tend to oversimplify their observations. Some of the journalistic evidence may be "hear-say" evidence. The testimonies and accounts of the converts lack objectivity as well.

While admitting the evidential weakness of some cited testimonies, this present study offers an analysis of speaker and audience mutual dependency in the charismatic communication influence process. Empirical evidence for "miracles" and "faith cures" is not necessary to justify the present study. The devoted followers of faith-healing evangelists believe that miracles happen and make their claims based on such a belief. For such devotees, belief creates the empirical evidence required to justify individual values and behaviors. Their belief creates reality.

Significance and Justification of the Study

An examination of charismatic communication is important for the contemporary communication scholar because of its historicity and current pervasiveness. Schiffer suggests

. . . that charisma lives on and continues to play, as it has in the past, that subtly seductive and at times infantalizing role in today's democratic processes. The concept has undergone major variations since it was noted and defined by Weber, but the emotional elements of charisma are still very much the same; they are as dynamically alive in the mass psyche of today as in that of yesteryear, as latent and ready to be activated as they were thirty, three hundred, or three thousand years ago.\(^\text{15}\)

Though the model described in chapter three includes more than rhetorical factors, the main factors leading to perception of charisma seem rooted in verbal and non-verbal rhetoric. Most social, political, and religious charismatic

\(^{15}\)Schiffer, Charisma, p. 7.
leaders arouse audiences by means of rhetoric to heights of enthusiasm and emotion. The contributions of rhetoric frequently help generate and maintain charismatic appeal.

The augmentation of recent charisma research into a workable model of charismatic communication is valuable to scholars in the field of speech communication because it focuses attention upon the psychological motivations of communicators designated by their audiences as charismatic. Such a model of communication is useful for speech communication scholars because it attempts to provide a means to evaluate the influence, motivations, and compensating rhetorical behavior of charismatic communicators. Existing rhetorical models, while adding some insight to charismatic communication, do not adequately analyze the phenomena.

Most previous studies that have analyzed charismatic behavior have centered on political figures. However, an


increasingly influential group of leaders have been largely ignored in charisma studies. This group includes religious evangelists who have traveled to most major American cities and rural areas fostering their own special combination of Pentecostal fervor, salvation, and healing. Many contemporary faith-healers are becoming widely known through television broadcasts. In major American television markets three or four faith-healers (on different channels) may be competing for the total share of television viewers during a single hour on Sunday mornings or evenings. In his best-selling book, The Preachers, James Morris admonishes scholars in many academic disciplines to "study a movement that for too long has been ignored or dismissed, one that now threatens to become part of the new religious and political 'mainstream' of America."  

As is indicated in chapter three, a charismatic leader/communicator cannot be viewed as such apart from a specific audience and context. Charisma is not an innate quality that surfaces regardless of political or social climate. There is a sense, however, in which the charismatic figure helps charismatic awareness in the context. The faith-healing evangelist is a classic example. Carefully orchestrated revival-healing services stress

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20 Willner, Charismatic Leadership, p. 45.
the release of emotions, the generation of guilt, the hopelessness of natural or human remedies, and the "miraculous" exhibition of the supernatural. Such manipulations of the context can artificially induce the need for a charismatic figure. Whether or not the circumstances are contrived is irrelevant. A bond forms between audience and healer: "The tentload of believers seem hypnotized, as Allen's voice becomes a net around their minds."21 "I could sense a bond forming between Miss Kuhlman and the audience--some invisible line of communication beyond the words which Miss Kuhlman spoke."22 "Her smile is blinding. Charisma pours from her in almost visible rays. So powerful is her magnetism that the congregation leaps to its feet as one person and bursts into tremendous applause, a tumult of adulation."23 Not every observer uses the same words or phrases to describe the phenomena, but it is clear that the descriptions are consistent with the concept of charisma. Like the "earthquake" response to the fictional "Brother Love," each of the real-life faith-healers described in this study had similar reactions from devoted followers. Each of


these faith-healing evangelists had that magical, mystical "stuff"—a hypnotic, unseen bond, a magnetic personal attractiveness analyzable with the concept of charisma.
CHAPTER TWO

A REVIEW AND SELECTED SURVEY OF THEORIES AND CONSTRUCTS OF CHARISMA

The term charisma is widely used to express the ethos or attractiveness of a public authority figure. People know of the term, have heard it applied to a favorite political figure, and have realized that it does not apply to all authority figures. One either has charisma or one does not. Scholars in several academic disciplines have been stimulated to study the usefulness of charisma as a concept for scientific, critical, and empirical study. A review of literature would be insufficient which did not include a compendium of many of the major views concerning the phenomenon of charisma.

This chapter summarizes the views and theories of scholars from the fields of sociology, psychology, philosophy, political science, and speech communication. The author does not claim to represent every theoretical probe into the study of charisma. Every scholar represented reflects examples of the major views concerning the concept of charisma. Some scholars are indirectly mentioned as influences in establishing theories of charisma. The works
of sociologist Emile Durkheim serve as an example. Durkheim did not make use of the term charisma in his writings, but his theoretical statements influence several authors included in this survey.

It is most appropriate to begin this survey with Max Weber. Weber's work was the germinal study in explaining the sociological and psychological implications of charisma. Thomas E. Dow is linked with the Weberian concept of charisma since he virtually restates Weber's ideas. He does however take a firm stand for interpreting charisma as an element divorced from a specific social context. Schweitzer affirms some of Weber's views but calls for a re-evaluation and revision of some propositions. Roth further develops the "charismatic routinization" Weberian notion by describing the "ideological charismatic community" of "virtuosi"--the "true believers"--and the impact of charisma in the wide varieties of countercultures. Shils notes that this "routinization of charisma" as expressed in the charisma of "office, role, or institution" is the truly important ramification of the concept of charisma. Friedland says charisma is best understood as an agent of social change.

Spencer provides a transitional view of charisma as he suggests that charisma is both a "sociological and a psychological" phenomenon, not relegated to the realm of religious calling, but secularized "order" and "power." Tucker, a political scientist, denies the Weberian concept of "routinization of charisma" but sees the concept useful
Max Weber: Charisma—"The Gift of Grace"

Charisma as a concept of leadership was introduced to the literature of sociology by Max Weber, but its origin is essentially religious. Weber borrowed the term from Rudolf Sohm, who used the term in an analytical treatise of Christian religious organization entitled *Kirchenrecht*. Sohm coined the word from a transliteration of an ancient Greek word used by the apostle Paul in his writings to mean "gift of grace." Weber applied the term to his sociological treatment of types of authority. Authority, for Weber, was expressed in three types of leadership: rational-legal authority, traditional authority, and charismatic authority. Weber set apart the charismatic leader as having a personality unlike "ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities." Weber states that these
properties are not accessible to the common leader, but have a "divine origin."\(^1\)

Such a "divine" power source needed recognition by those subject to this authority. In other words, the charismatic leader's claim needed to be validated by faithful followers or disciples who saw in the charismatic leader the proof of "supernatural" character.\(^2\)

Weber indicates that charisma is an unstable phenomenon. "The charismatic leader gains and maintains authority solely by proving his strength." Followers will soon depart from a charismatic leader who cannot "perform miracles" or "heroic deed."\(^3\)

According to Weber, charismatic domination requires a "rejection of all ties to any external order" and a break with "traditional or rational norms." The charismatic leader, in effect, says: "It is written, but I say unto you . . . ."\(^4\) Charismatic domination is thus essentially revolutionary.\(^5\)


\(^2\)Ibid., p. 359.


\(^4\)Ibid., p. 24.

Though Weber clearly states that charisma has a character adverse to routine structure, he believes that charisma's residual power could be transformed and applied to roles, offices, and institutions. A charismatic following could remain a stable mass movement if there is (a) a new charismatic leader who retains certain qualities of the old leader, (b) divine revelatory selection of a new leader by oracles, lots, divine judgments, etc., (c) personal designation of a new charismatic leader by the former leader and accompanying recognition by the followers, (d) designation of charismatic successor by "charismatically qualified" administration, (e) hereditary transmittal of charisma is accepted, or (f) ritual transference of charisma. Illustrations of this procedure of charisma routinization include the selection of the new Dalai Lama, the new Pope, the new priest.

Why do people become attracted to a charismatic leader? Weber suggests that a predisposition to acceptance of charismatic leadership occurs when there are periods of "subjective or internal reorientation born out of suffering, conflicts, or enthusiasm."

Summarizing Weber's main views of charisma, six main tenets are apparent:

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1. Charisma is a "supernatural" gift from outside the personality of the leader.

2. It is most often viewed as a religious phenomenon, though it may have political ramifications when coupled with religious authority.

3. Charismatic leaders need faithful followers to validate their divine calling or gift.

4. Charismatic leaders must continually perform miracles or show signs of power to maintain their leadership.

5. A charismatic leader no longer capable of performing miracles or signs is perceived no longer as being charismatic.

6. Charisma may eventually be routinized into a "charisma of office, role, or institution."

Thomas E. Dow: Echoes of Weber's Theory of Charisma

Dow does not believe there is any usual or necessary context within which charisma naturally develops. He states that a charismatic movement develops with the autonomous independence of "the exceptional individual and his ideas." He supports Weber's views and promotes them as "relevant."

Dow states that no single charismatic temperament or personality type exists, but the charismatic phenomenon can

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be isolated and observed as an independent form of authority. Affective belief in the extraordinary qualities of a leader by an audience is a crucial component of the distinct social relationship between leader and follower. If the leader can capitalize on this relationship and lead his followers to believe he has extraordinary powers (i.e., "if these reciprocal role expectations are met"), the relationship is charismatic.\(^9\)

Dow appears to say nothing new about charisma, but prefers to accept his role as Weber's apologeticist. He reiterates Weber's theory and advocates its applicability to comprehending the charismatic phenomenon.

**Arthur Schweitzer: Re-Evaluating Weber's Theory of Charisma**

Schweitzer proposes to bring together Weber's views of charisma into a consistent theory of charisma, while at the same time noting the Weberian hypotheses which are empirically verifiable. He generally supports the validity of the Weberian concept of charisma.\(^10\)

Responding to specific criticism that Weber's religious orientation to charisma has little application to non-religious settings, Schweitzer defends Weber by stating that for Weber a special calling could imbue a charismatic

\(^9\)Ibid., p. 315.

leader with a feeling of destiny or fate quite apart from any religious origin.\textsuperscript{11}

Charisma may be validated by the interaction and reinforcement of self-confident leader and his devoted followers. Schweitzer capsulizes these thoughts into the following theoretical statement: "Personal charisma--sense of calling and self-confidence--becomes valid because of the leader's capacity to perform exceptional deeds and the sense of duty of the followers to accept his claim and follow his leadership."\textsuperscript{12}

The second of Schweitzer's main premises is: "The emotional appeal of the leader, driven by his own inner calling, causes an effectively internalized response because he can generate ecstasy, euphoria, resentment and politically relevant passions in his followers who feel united with him by an emotional bond."\textsuperscript{13} "New style" is the caption given by Schweitzer to the third proposition: "The extraordinary ability [is] expressed in exemplary living or a new political style . . . although it falls short of any distinct political or philosophical doctrine."\textsuperscript{14} A fourth proposition concerns the belief that a charismatic figure has a special mission or program to fulfill.

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., p. 153. \textsuperscript{12}Ibid., p. 154. \textsuperscript{13}Ibid., p. 158. \textsuperscript{14}Ibid., p. 178.
Schweitzer comments that the first four propositional statements have "stood the test of time." Hypotheses to follow (five through nine) require revision and adaptation to social contexts, according to Schweitzer.

Proposition five relates the "political types" a charismatic figure might make: demagogue, ideologist, party leader, military leader. Proposition six describes the factors causing the dilution or diminution of charismatic authority. Proposition seven states that the "revolutionary" role of the charismatic leader is a primary role. Proposition eight describes the inevitability of violence in a charismatically led revolution. Finally, proposition nine suggests that charismatic movements may become routinized eventually.  

Schweitzer is critical of the last five hypotheses because they make no provision for distinctions between democratic and dictatorial charismatic leaders. He appears to see charismatic leadership as being expressed uniquely in differing ideological settings. Also, specific reasons for the dilution of charismatic authority need clarification. Schweitzer calls for a retention of Weber's theoretical foundation with revisions of the last five propositions.  

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15 Ibid.  16 Ibid., p. 179.
Guenther Roth: The "Charismatic Community" and "Charisma of Reason"

"Ideological virtuosi" is Roth's term for Weber's "Religious virtuosi" concept. The term virtuoso connotes technical excellence and also, based on the root word "virtue," an "ethic of sheer commitment." Roth extends the Weberian concept and stresses major features of the charismatic community. He shifts the perspective in his theory from the charisma of the leader to the variables found in the community of faithful followers that determine the charisma of a leader.

Four major features of the ideological charismatic community are mentioned: (1) An "emotional consociation" between the "strong leader and a dedicated staff"; (2) Members of the group, as well as leaders, are charismatics or virtuosi or "true believers"; (3) "Sheer commitment to an ultimate end" is a noticeable characteristic. The commitment may be fanatical militancy or pacifism; (4) "Traditional/rational economic activities are discarded in favor of communistic consumption."17

Roth states that few charismatic community groups exist today outside of religious cultic groups and small countercultural political factions (e.g., "the Symbionese Liberation Army"). Eventually, a group may no longer require

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a charismatic personification. The "charisma of reason" is routinized and becomes an "historical impersonalization."\textsuperscript{18}

Roth summarizes his views of the two concepts of charisma by noting that neither form is extinct:

Somewhere . . . we encounter a renewed magical charisma, from guru workshop to devil cults and other preoccupations with the occult—a mythic landscape in which the historical charisma of reason and timeless magical charisma can no longer be distinguished.\textsuperscript{19}

Edward Shils: "Institutionalized Charisma"

Shils, a professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, departs slightly from Weber's concept of the charismatic leader as "disruptive innovator" to emphasize its emergence in "secularized societies . . . and non-ecclesiastical institutions."\textsuperscript{20} He is especially interested in the "conditions under which it [charisma] finds a more dispersed focus on institutions and strata and on the properties of roles."\textsuperscript{21} Shils states that Weber's "divine" orientation for charisma should not limit its application to secular situations. Revealing a Durkeimian influence, Shils sees Weber's concept of "charisma of office" as the "sacred" [Durkheim's terms] institutionalized aspect of charisma. Awe, respect, devotion—implied by Shils as substitutes for the religiously connotative "sacred"—imbue a non-sacred

\textsuperscript{18}Ibid., p. 153.  \textsuperscript{19}Ibid., p. 157.


\textsuperscript{21}Ibid., p. 200.
office with charisma also. In an earlier work, Shils applies the theory of "charisma of office" to the tribal roles in national groups of emerging nations. Shils states that

ordinary persons living in their tribal villages respond not to the charisma embodied in national authority, but to that which tradition locates in the authority of their kinship groups, in their feudal and royal rulers, and in their priests and magicians.22

The tradition of paying homage to the one who holds the role of leadership or power is the example of "institutionalized charisma" which Shils highlights.

Shils contends that "charismatic responses are evoked by the manifestations of powerful authority as such, without regard to concentration in individual personalities . . . ."23 Authority is granted because of established order and status. Thus, as an example, the office of President of the United States is "charismatic" and may lend such aura to its office holder quite apart from his own individuality.

William H. Friedland: Charisma in Social Context

Though Max Weber's concept of charisma has had an influence on sociological thinking, it has not been empirically useful because Weber stressed charisma as a


psychological attribute of a person. Friedland attempts to "refocus" the concept of charisma to aid in the explanation of social change.²⁴

Friedland points out that, though Weber viewed charisma as essentially psychological, charisma had to be concomitantly "socially validated." Friedland states that the true charismatic personality may more often than not go unrecognized: "It is only when the message conveyed by charismatics to social groups is relevant and meaningful within the social context that authority emerges."²⁵

Friedland illustrates charisma in social context by means of an empirical case study of modern political and trade union leaders in Tanganyika. Friedland suggests that even though Weber's typology of authority is ideal, behavioral referents should exist in a case study.²⁶ Friedland did not attempt a true empirical study but suggests that such a study should be undertaken.

In the social context in Tanganyika, Friedland asserts that charismatic leadership developed for three reasons: (1) the majority; (2) Leaders, thus engaged, were perceived as risking their lives; and (3) Africans recognized evidence of "success" in the activities of the leaders.²⁷

²⁵Ibid., pp. 20-21. ²⁶Ibid., p. 22.
²⁷Ibid., p. 23.
In conclusion, Friedland calls for a sociological analysis of the roots of charisma which should be oriented toward social situations. He does not claim that all charismatic leaders develop in situations directly analogous to Tanganyika. He suggests that it may be necessary to create a "typology of social situations" to analyze the various types of charisma that emerge.28

Martin E. Spencer: The Charismatic Interaction of Person and Situation

"What is Charisma?" is the title of Spencer's journal article, replete with theoretical probes into a conceptualization of charisma.29 Spencer alludes to three senses in which the term charisma is contemporaneously used. First, charisma is viewed by Weber and his adherents as a supernatural characteristic of a leader. The charismatic leader has a God-ordained gift which he demonstrates to his faithful followers by extraordinary miracles, signs, and proofs. The leader continues to be charismatic as long as the disciple perceives the leader to have the charismatic gifts. Second, objects, groups, or "offices" may be treated as sacred or having charisma. These charismatic objects ("sacred" objects as conceptualized by Durkheim) are linked to momentous events or occasions in deeply revered leaders.

Examples of such charismatic objects include the Moslem reverence for Mohammed's birthplace in Mecca, Jesus Christ's birthplace in Bethlehem, the Texas State Book Depository in Dallas, and the office of Pope. Third, charisma is used in a general sense to refer to magnetic, attractive, and inherently popular personal qualities of a leader. Personal attributes, not divinely connected, create this "charismatic personality."  

Spencer examines these three perspectives of charisma in order that he might clarify the fundamental nature of charisma, assuming that these various usages reflect a "significant social reality."

Apparently, it is Spencer's view that Weber's supernatural premises for charisma cannot be maintained in an age of unbelief. Weber's system must include followers who believe the world is populated by "devils, angels, spirits, demons, and gods." Weber's theories may explain charisma among animistic New Zealand tribes or Pentecostal disciples of a self-proclaimed faith healer, but they do not adequately explain the phenomenon of charisma in non-sacred, secular occurrences (e.g., a political leader such as Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini, Winston Churchill, Franklin D. Roosevelt, etc.).

\[30\text{Ibid.}, \ p. \ 341. \ \ 31\text{Ibid.}, \ p. \ 342. \]
\[32\text{Ibid.}, \ pp. \ 343-44. \]
"Secular charisma" becomes the main focus of Spencer's paradigmatic probe. He is interested in answering the question, "What makes charismatic leaders charismatic?" Spencer states that the answer to this question lies in the source of secular charisma. This "source" is the leader's manifestations of "power" or "mastery" and "order."

Followers of the secular charismatic leader are awed by the "demonstrated capacity of a great mind to make sense of an incomprehensible reality." The charismatic figure creates order out of chaos. A charismatic revolutionary leader (e.g., Ché Guevara or Fidel Castro) has the ability to convince his followers that "his vision of the future will come to pass." Spencer states that the revolutionary leader's charisma "thus flows from his mastery of the revolutionary dream" that he actualizes for those around him.33

Spencer states that a charismatic leader must also bring "satisfaction" to his followers. The charismatic leader satisfies felt-needs by being an innovator ("It is written thus, but I say unto you . . . ."), and articulator ("The charismatic articulator says what people wish to hear, but do not know how to say themselves."), and a symbolizer (He "stands for" values--the "perfect exemplar of the group.").34

33 Ibid., pp. 345-47. 34 Ibid., p. 348.
Spencer concludes that charisma is not either a "sociological" or a "psychological" phenomenon. It is both. "Charisma is an affectual relationship between the leader and his followers: the one pole of this affect is awe, the other is enthusiasm." Charisma is the "historical product of the interaction between [person and situation]." 35

Robert C. Tucker: The Operationalized Theory of Charismatic Leadership

Tucker, a professor of political science at Princeton University, agrees with Weber that the concept of charismatic leadership may be extended in its application from the religious realm to the political arena. "Political religion" now has a pervasive influence, implies Tucker. 36

The critics of Weber are correct, according to Tucker, in denigrating the Weberian presentation of charisma as a vague phenomenon in the realm of political leadership. Weber's concept of charisma is not "sufficiently operational to serve as a guide for further research." 37 Tucker's aim is to clarify and objectify Weber's concept of charisma.

Tucker is interested in the emergence of charismatic leadership in revolutionary situations, notably in Russia. A central point of Tucker's theory, reformulized from Weber,

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37 Ibid., p. 734.
is that the charismatic leader demonstrates his attractive, awe-inspiring qualities in a process of "summoning people to join in a movement for change and leading such a movement." Charismatic leaders and "charismatic movements" are, thus, inseparable. 38

Concentration upon identifying the leader-follower attraction when a leader is at the zenith of his power may result in false ascriptions of charisma. Power can be a phenomenon which resembles the effects of charisma without actually being such. Tucker says the crucial test of charisma is "whether or not he attracts a charismatic following and shows a marked tendency to become the center of a charismatic movement . . . ." This tendency can be checked before the leader achieves high office to verify his charisma. "We may lay it down as a general rule that when a leader-personality is genuinely charismatic, his charisma will begin to manifest itself before he becomes politically powerful." 39 Secondary sources, historical witnesses, memoirs, etc., aid the student of charisma in assessing these pre-movement charismatic tendencies.

Tucker separates "charismatic leadership" from "inspired leadership" or "heroic leadership" by stating that "charismatic leadership is specifically salvationist or messianic in nature." 40 The charismatic leader

represents the fulfillment of immediate, tangible and felt-needs.

A state of "acute distress predisposes people to perceive" a leader as charismatic. This first determinant of charismatic response is what Tucker calls "situational." However, Tucker modifies his hypothesis. A "situational charisma" (his term) may temporarily evoke a charismatic response to a "non-messianic leader." The varied British opinion of Winston Churchill in pre- and post-war history serves as Tucker's illustration.

An interesting feature of Tucker's theory is that a charismatic leader has the capacity to "inspire hatred as well as loyalty and love." Tucker refers to the hate generated by others to a charismatic leader as "counter-charisma." He mentions the example that "Lenin became a shining hero for many Russian peasants during the revolutionary period, and a veritable anti-christ in the eyes of others for whom the old Russian ways remained dear."^41

Charismatic movements, according to Tucker, do not necessarily turn into mass movements. Minority racial and ethnic groups serve as illustrations.

Qualities of charismatic leaders need continual verification by case studies but Tucker "hazards" (his term) a few general observations. One such quality is that of "visionary," one who can foresee how to overcome distressful

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^41 Ibid., p. 746.
conditions. Another quality is "sense of mission." Confidence exudes from charismatic leaders publicly, even if privately there are moments of discouragement and despair. Some charismatic leaders attract followings by means of "conspiracy doctrines" in their verbalized messages. The opposition is tangible, is actualized, is real and distress seeks a scape-goat to explain and provide release for paranoid feelings.  

Tucker concludes by stating that the death of a charismatic leader does not mean his successor will be charismatic. Departing from Weber's views of the "routinization of charisma," Tucker states that the reverence for a dead charismatic leader is transformed into another type of awe for leadership but not necessarily charismatic.

George P. Boss: Essential Attributes of Charisma

Boss is interested in promoting a concept of charisma which explains the communication variables operating between charismatic leader and faithful followers. Boss takes a Weberian position that specific qualities or traits of charisma reside in the personality of the leader. Each of these attributes is related to the others and is a constituent part of a whole--the "charismatic situation."  

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42 Ibid., pp. 738-39.
Restating Weber's "gift of grace" concept of charisma, Boss describes the charismatic leader having this attribute as believing "he has been chosen by some divine entity for a special mission and project[ing] a conviction of messianic destiny ... ." Agreeing that Weber's supernatural basis for charisma could be extrapolated to non-religious realms, Boss infers that political leaders such as Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt in invoking the guidance of God for their monumental decisions created a "religious" identification of divine sanction and aura.\(^\text{44}\)

A second attribute of charisma as isolated by Boss is the extraordinary skill of verbal and non-verbal communication. Boss asserts that a \textit{bona fide} charismatic persona will exemplify superior ability to communicate orally.\(^\text{45}\)

A third attribute is linked directly with the previous attribute: "the inspiring message." Boss states that followers will perceive a leader as charismatic for his symbolic actions as well as his espoused ideas. Dynamic language, slogans, "platforms," and pictorial symbols stimulate the followers to attach feelings of awe and reverence to their leader. "The inspiring message"--verbal and non-verbal--projects the leader's charismatic image.\(^\text{46}\)

Boss returns to a social interaction explanation for his fourth attribute. He states that "just as the followers

\(^{44}\text{Ibid., p. 303.}\)
\(^{45}\text{Ibid., p. 305.}\)
\(^{46}\text{Ibid., p. 306.}\)
require a leader for sustenance of mind and spirit, so also
does the leader-communicator require followers to strengthen
his motivation for deeds of valor and to enlarge his area of
power." Boss calls the disciples of the charismatic
leader "idolatrous followers." These "faithful" are
susceptible to the leader's charisma, and the leader feeds
on their devotion to him.

Furthering the notion of social facilitation between
charismatic leader and followers, Boss states his fifth
attribute as a "shared history." Both leader and follower
have common convictions, common national culture, and common
myths. The truly charismatic leader has the ability to
foster myths and rituals in a manner that ingratiates
himself to his followers.

Boss' sixth attribute is "high status." Though not
directly stated in his explanation, Boss seems to imply a
Durkheimian extrapolation of charisma to include offices,
roles, objects, or the "sacred." These roles seem "charis-
matic" and lend status to a leader's credentials. However,
once a leader reaches a place, position, or office of power
expectations which maintain high status are demanded by the
faithful followers. Boss states that "he will also be
expected to produce 'miracles,' whether the reviving of a

Lazarus, the achieving of freedom, or the rejuvenating of an ailing economy." 49

The relationship of charismatic leader and follower is sustained, according to Boss, by a seventh attribute: "sense of mutual mission" or "idealistic crusade."

Following are able to transcend their present circumstances by subjecting their wills to the will and direction of the leader. A selflessness is generated in the minds of the "true believers" as they provide devotion and sacrifice to aid the cause. The rewards of the quest outnumber the deprivations of the moment for the charismatic follower. 50

Charismatic leaders need a "crisis" milieu in order to exist. Periods of economic and social agitation and distress call for charismatic figures. The charismatic figure is perceived as being capable of fulfilling missions, resolving conflicts, and sustaining "the truth." 51

Boss concludes his attribute paradigm with the inclusion of "successful results." A charismatic figure retains his charismatic aura only so long as he accomplishes the purposes the leader has vowed he would accomplish. "If the crisis is not resolved, the mission not accomplished, the followers not 'satisfied'--the leader-communicator is apt to be abandoned." 52

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49 Ibid., pp. 308-09. 50 Ibid., pp. 309-10.
51 Ibid., p. 311. 52 Ibid., p. 312.
Boss further concludes by stating that the emergence of a charismatic figure is not extraordinary. Inter-related events, crises, and personalities create "charismatic situations."

Richard J. Bord: Charismatic Social Influence as Attribution Process

Bord is critical of the "post hoc" application of charisma studies which has largely ignored "hypothesis construction." Bord's approach centers upon "speaker-audience relationships which result in the attribution of unique qualities to the speaker and create the opportunity for speaker directed action."

Charismatic influence is, according to Bord, the end result of a complex attribution process. Varieties of factors foster receptivity to certain types of social influence. The speaker may receive an overt, intense, and direct reaction from a sympathetic audience. In this process, the audience may attribute unusual characteristics to the speaker. Dividing his analysis into three levels, Bord theorizes that the charismatic situation is effected by (1) social context variables, (2) interpersonal verbal and non-verbal characteristics, and (3) intrapersonal

factors which foster audience involvement and emotional arousal.  

Some social situations require that an audience merely be "entertained." Bord refers to this as "uncritical information receptivity." Often, this social situation elicits uncritical responses identical to a sender's perspective. The theatre-goer who cries at enacted tragedy uncritically responds because of an identification between what he has contextually perceived and what he has experienced—either vicariously or actually. Using Pentecostal religious groups as his main example, Bord states that such groups have engendered "uncritical information receptivity" along with acceptance of a rigid "set of sacred solutions." In other words, situational stress plus group norms virtually determine perception.

One of the pre-conditions favoring the emergence of the charismatic situation is rapid social change or social crisis. Crisis intensifies group homogeneity, reduces available behavioral alternatives, and "breadth of perspective." Deprivation can reduce the range of stimuli; thus, the greater the proportion of an audience experiences the salient deprivation the greater the potential for charismatic influence. Perceived threat, as another example

54 Ibid., p. 487.  
55 Ibid., p. 488.  
56 Ibid., p. 489.
Social crisis, can reduce breadth of perspective and narrow receptivity.

Social crises alone do not produce charismatic influence. Bord next illustrates the impact of the verbal and non-verbal message reaching the audience. Children and adults learn best when a verbal referent has an actualized object in view. The charismatic leader has the ability, according to Bord, to "point [at actual referents] through imagery." Charismatic communication is thus characterized by "grammatical and content simplicity, the extensive use of action verbs and adverbs, and a focus on identity-related themes." ⁵⁷

Thematic simplicity reduces the probability of alternative perspectives. It also increases the probability of audience identification with a concept. Add stress to these verbal factors and the probability of influence is increased. ⁵⁸

Bord states that the skilled orator may create implicit behavioral reactions in audience members through the use of high action verbs and adverbs. An audience member who is aroused to commitment may attribute that commitment to the special powers of the charismatic speaker.

A message is only perceived as a part of the charismatic situation when an audience has a shared identity.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 490. ⁵⁸Ibid., p. 491.
Intragroup solidarity is essential and intergroup hostility (or opposition) must be fostered.

Non-verbal influences, such as message delivery, also effect the charismatic situation. Delivery techniques of verbal messages vary from culture to culture, but techniques are used to mobilize audience support. Bord illustrates such influential non-verbal characteristics as (1) rapid responses with relatively short pauses and (2) repetition and forceful delivery. By means of these and other influences, audience members attribute greatness to the speaker.59

Bord mentions the charismatic influence of two other non-verbal factors. The charismatic speaker must be, in some sense, (1) a "stranger" and (2) an "action hero." Bord does not explain or develop his meaning of the impact of the "stranger" as a charismatic figure, except to say, "Familiarity breeds contempt." He, however, does develop the influential impact of the "action hero." The "action hero" risks his life or personal loss in order to facilitate action. People attribute awe and admiration to such heroes. "Those viewed as engaging in, or having engaged in, costly behaviors are viewed as committed." Bord says that such perceived commitment in a charismatic figure creates a "high salience identity" for the audience, which in turn narrows alternative identities.60

59 Ibid., p. 493. 60 Ibid.
Intrapersonal influences often occur among undecided or questioning members of an audience who have not yet acceded to narrow alternatives. Charismatic public figures (Bord mentions Hitler as an example) often strategically locate loyal supporters in an audience to stir up the uncommitted. Aroused emotional states are generated from situational cues, and the speaker is perceived as the source of such a state. These factors also reduce the construction of alternatives and increase the probabilities that the speaker will be attributed as being charismatic.^^

Bord does not claim that his theory applies to all crowd situations. A situation must, by means of the aforementioned factors, have limited alternative perspectives. He states that the mass media, especially television, may prohibit such narrow alternative perspectives from emerging in advanced societies. But the theory may prove useful when applied to underdeveloped and developing nations, as well as relatively isolated groups in developed societies (e.g., the Pentecostal religious groups).

**Ralph P. Hummel: The Psychology of Charismatic Followers**

Hummel's two journal articles propose that charisma may be best understood, in a Freudian sense, as a unique type of love relationship between charismatic follower and

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leader. To this concept, Hummel amalgamates Weber's concept of the foundation of charisma resting with the followers and suggests a synthetic theory explaining charismatic impact. Hummel states that if any one of the "psychological-causal explanations" is not present, the situation cannot be charismatic. Though Weber does not use the Freudian term "object loss," Hummel compares Freud's usage to Weber's "moment of distress."

Charisma gathers movement status, according to Hummel, when "masses of individuals all feel themselves cut off from the same object." Hummel provides specific examples of "object loss/moments of distress" in describing the charismatic adoration for Jesus Christ and Adolf Hitler by Jesus' disciples and Hitler's followers (notably Joseph Goebbels), respectively. Hummel states that if a mass following can perceive the charismatic figure as a substitute for their loss, they will imbue the charismatic leader with their total loyalty and devotion.

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64 Hummel, "Charismatic Followers," p. 760.

65 Ibid., p. 769. 66 Ibid., pp. 767-68, 770.
Irvine Schiffer: Psychoanalytic Ingredients of Charisma

Schiffer's book concerns the specific attributes of charismatic leaders perceived by the loyal followers. He approaches charismatic phenomena from a Freudian psychoanalytic perspective. In light of this approach, one might surmise that Schiffer is interested in the psyche of the charismatic leader. Actually, he indicates specific "ingredients" (his term) of the charismatic leader in relationship to the charismatic follower.

Schiffer mentions Weber as a departure point for his theory, but denies the predominant role of personality in a charismatic leader. Schiffer believes that charismatic leaders are creations of "irrational forces . . . who express the fluctuating mood and sensitivities of an inherently ambivalent humanity."

"Projection" is a key term in Schiffer's theory of charisma. The psychic process of projection (i.e., the process wherein an individual perceives his own psychological machinations as originating from outside himself) creates the charismatic leader.

The quest for an identity outside of ourselves brings several factors into focus when looking for a charismatic leader. Schiffer claims that key ingredients

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68 Ibid., p. 7. 69 Ibid., p. 16.
need to be present in the perceptions of the faithful followers in order for there to be the creation of a charismatic figure. Schiffer isolates eight ingredients which aid charismatic perceptions.

The first element is a quality of "foreignness." Schiffer says that a charismatic figure perceived as "strange" or "unfamiliar" has inherent attractiveness. Schiffer, like Bord, views the quality of slight foreignness or strangeness as a curiosity item which attracts followers bored with the familiar.

Schiffer's second ingredient is called "the charisma of imperfection." He states that "a candidate blessed with some more minor blemish or stigma (such as a slight limp of questionable origin) carries an extra dimension in vital imagery, one capable of capturing a people's imagination." Charismatic followers seem to be drawn to those leaders who have slight defects, but seem capable of existing despite possible difficulties.

Several theorists have mentioned Schiffer's third ingredient: a special calling. Weber and Schiffer agree that charismatic leaders are perceived as "being called to public service by some spiritual or divine force." The messianic leader is able to convince his followers that he has been given supernatural insight into a group's purpose,
goal, and mission. Charismatic followers see the possibility of "salvation" in such a divinely called leader.  

"The fighting stance of charisma" or "a posture of polarized aggression" is the fourth ingredient. The charismatic follower takes a firm stance for a certain course of action (and necessarily against another course of action). Schiffer states that clear "black and white" positions must be taken by the charismatic leader. It is also mandatory that the stand of the charismatic figure be in opposition to a human (or humanized) adversary, not merely an abstraction.

"Social station" retains a charismatic appeal if money and status are gained after living in a poverty-ridden state while young. Wealthy status and family create charisma. Even in democracies "social station" can aid to the magic of a pseudo-aristocracy.

A certain "sexual mystique" is the sixth ingredient in Schiffer's theory. Sexuality should remain in the realm of "uncertainty and self-doubt." Schiffer asserts that the wondering if the charismatic leader is guilty of slight sexual misconduct enhances his charisma. Sexual mystique must remain vague and imprecise and, thusly, an enigma. Using Schiffer's assertion, Senator Ted Kennedy should be

\[\text{Ibid.}, \text{ pp. 34, 37.} \quad \text{Ibid.}, \text{ pp. 38-39.} \]
\[\text{Ibid.}, \text{ p. 40.} \quad \text{Ibid.}, \text{ pp. 43, 45.} \]
more charismatic in the eyes of his ardent followers after Chappaquidick, rather than before.

Another salient characteristic of charisma in Schiffer's schema is the element of "play, make-believe, or hoax." Schiffer states that a truly charismatic leader is a consummate actor, capable of dramatizing, emotionalizing, and rallying a mass of people to accept a position or mission. 76

Finally, Schiffer concludes his ingredient study of charisma with "innovative lifestyle." Charismatic followers are attracted to the charismatic leader who reveals a willingness to change or alter group expectations in fashion, or other aspects of lifestyle. 77 This is the least developed of Schiffer's ingredients and his precise meaning or its charismatic impact is unclear. The ultimate test of the charismatic power of a leader rests in his ability to be perceived as the ultimate hero by a loyal mass of faithful followers.

Conclusions and Assessments

Though each author sets out to establish clear definitions and descriptions of the meaning, impact, and theoretical usefulness of the concept of charisma, no single author answers his proposed questions directly. Weber seems to be a sociologist discussing a psychologically described

76 Ibid., p. 49. 77 Ibid., pp. 53-54.
phenomenon with vague suggestions for empirical verifi-
ability. His claim that charisma is essentially a "super-
natural" gift furthers the concept's religious application,
but provides no objective means to determine the teleo-
logical connection of the leadership "power."

Dow denies social context as a facilitator of
charisma and fails to acknowledge adequately the necessity
of social crises or exigencies to provide a need for a
charismatic leader. Despite his belief that "the excep-
tional individual" will rally a charismatic following
independent of the context, the social milieu must be
considered the sine qua non for charismatic leadership to
emerge. "Exceptional individuals" are frequently voted out
of office or forceably removed from leadership when the
social/political context changes (e.g., Winston Churchill
and the Shah of Iran).

Schweitzer proposes that Weber's theory be reduced
to a "consistent" theory, but he offers only a partial
solution. He organizes Weber's theory into nine propo-
sitions. Propositions one through four demonstrate hypoth-
eses verified by historical and empirical studies. They
illustrate a "consistent" theory of charisma, at harmony
with social contexts. Schweitzer merely lists propositions
five through nine, and he fails to complete his purposed
"consistent" objectification of Weber's ideas. No social
contextual revisions are offered to complete the objective
definition of charisma.
The charismatic bond between a leader and his faithful followers is maintained by factors that Roth chooses not to discuss. His concept that groups of individuals can be imbued with charisma is not clearly developed or explained. Roth does not indicate how groups evolve a charismatic aura. The process of charismatic endowment is excluded from Roth's paradigm.

Shils suggests the possibility that charismatic institutions and offices are instrumental in continuing the power structure in tribal communities. He does not provide reasons for the decrease in charisma attributed to charismatic offices and institutions in industrial nations. Such institutions as the church, the home, the school, and the office of the President of the United States fail to generate awe and respect from many people. Shils' theory does not explain the demise of charismatic institutional power in industrial nations.

Friedland states that social situations best explain charisma, but he offers no "typology of social situations" to study the phenomenon. He does not generate principles of charismatic emergence which are linked to social situations.

The author is in most agreement with Spencer's viewpoint since it attempts to explain charisma as an interdisciplinary phenomenon. Spencer defines charisma as both a sociological and a psychological phenomenon, but he does not describe at what point charisma ceases to be sociological and becomes psychological. His description of
the charismatic leader (i.e., innovator, articulator, symbolizer) is too vague to provide critical criteria for the rhetorical scholar.

Tucker claims to "operationalize" a theory of charisma. He strays from the notion that charisma occurs as a direct result of opportune moments in the social context. He contends that the charismatic leader has innate qualities that when observed apart from the social context predict charisma. The most significant weakness in this predictive notion is that it is based on weak "hearsay" evidence (e.g., secondary sources, historical witnesses, memoirs, etc.). Tucker also fails to "operationalize" a charismatic concept that can be generalized to various social contexts.

Boss and Bord present attributes of the charismatic leader, but they fall short in describing why charismatic followers are attracted to such attributes. Hummel and Schiffer seem to believe that charisma is an inherent quality (comprising several ingredients) observable in any social context. Prescriptively specific descriptions of charismatic leaders do not always coincide with cultural diversity. In truth, charismatic leaders vary in attributes from culture to culture.

Since each of the preceding paradigms have deficiencies in explaining a more wholistic perspective of charisma, a new synergistic theory of charisma which embraces several academic disciplines is necessary.
Such a synergistic theory needs to emphasize the social crisis milieu that Weber, Schweitzer, Friedland, and Bord accentuate. Such a synergistic theory needs to delineate inherent qualities in a leader/communicator that Dow, Boss, Spencer, Tucker, and Schiffer stress. Such a synergistic theory needs to generalize the process of influence and mutual attraction between leader and follower as endorsed by Roth, Shils, and Hummel.

A synergistic rhetorical theory of charismatic communication is suggested and formulated in chapter three. Applicable elements from each of the previously reviewed theories of charisma are amalgamated into a new theory, which is ultimately transformed into a rhetorical model. The new model of charismatic communication reflects multivariate perspectives. Charisma is a complex construct that cannot be understood apart from the psychological, sociological, and communicative perspectives integrated in the new model.
CHAPTER THREE

AN EXPLICATION OF A CHARISMATIC-COMMUNICATION-INFLUENCE-PROCESS-MODEL

In the previous chapter a survey of selected theoretical probes from several academic disciplines indicates the widespread interest in the phenomenon of charisma. However, none of these theories has been formulated into a conceptualized rhetorical model which describes the communicative variables, dimensions, and process of charisma. The purpose of this chapter is to formulate a model that describes charismatic communication as "process" rather than as "act." Such a process reveals integral relationships between charismatic leader and followers. Alluding to this relationship, Thomas Dow states that "obviously, people must recognize, accept, and follow the pretender before he can be spoken of as truly charismatic. The question is why do they do so?"1

The proposed model attempts to answer Dow's question. However, prior to a discussion of the structure, content, and variables of the model, the following

assumptions are made:

1. The charismatic leader is the creation of his followers (i.e., a leader only has charisma if listeners perceive him as having charisma).

2. An "individual personality" or leader capable of generating charismatic authority in one context may fail to generate that relationship in another context.

3. The leader does not regard himself either as chosen by or as solely dependent on his followers, but, rather as "elected" through "Divine intervention or intuition" (e.g., dreams, visions, urges, etc.) in order to fulfill a "mission." The charismatic leader asserts that the source of his charisma is supra-rational; the audience believes the leader is the originator of charisma.²

4. The behavior of the charismatic leader in power is anti-bureaucratic, for he usually remains aloof from routine activities.

5. Charismatic authority is unstable, tending to be transformed (routinized) through time.³

6. "Ingredients of charisma" (which include variables found in the charismatic leader's message,


³ Richard R. Fagan, "Charismatic Authority and the Leadership of Fidel Castro," Western Political Quarterly 18 (June 1965): 276. Fagan's assumptions were offered, not as specifically correlated to his study of Castro, but as universally applicable to charismatic situations.
personality, and speech delivery) collectively enhance charismatic perception. "An absence of one or more of those ingredients can only serve to reduce the charm of a public figure in quest of a people's charisma."

A theory of the charismatic-communication-influence-process offers explanations of "how" and "why" a phenomenon occurs; a model of the theory provides a representation of the phenomenon. Using Leonard C. Hawes' "typology of theories" as a basis for model construction, the following criteria become apparent in the proposed analogue:

1. The charismatic-communication-influence-process theory is an example of a Type I theory. A Type I theory is the basic construct for developing standards for derivative and deductive rhetorical criticism.

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6 Ibid., pp. 45-47. Hawes exemplifies Type I theories by referring to Kenneth Burke's theory of motives. A Type I theory has the following characteristics: (1) Primary statements of such theories consist of axioms; (2) Postulational statements (observational verification) must be added; (3) Semantically valid postulational statements are inferred; (4) Hypotheses are derived which function to test the adequacy of the theory; (5) At least one hypothesis must be derived from at least one theorem; (6) The results predicted in the hypothesis are compared to at least one factual statement.

7 Ibid., pp. 54-55.
2. The proposed theory has several assumptions ("primary statements").

3. Its veracity consists of empirical, semantic, and syntactically valid statements. Most of the theory's primary statements are either subject to observation (empirical validity) or are definable operationally (semantic validity).

4. The proposed theory is "heuristic"; that is, it suggests a variety of questions that could be asked and answered empirically.

5. The proposed theory primarily should guide critical research rather than empirical research.  

6. The proposed theory has been transformed into a "conceptual model." The internal structure or process has been illustrated by a web of relationships, replete with positive and negative bonds.

7. The proposed model has an essentially "descriptive function." (The "+" and "−" graphic relational lines also reveal an "explicative function.") It describes a particular form of behavior of which no theory exists or for which "the theory is grossly inadequate."  

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8 Ibid., p. 55. Hawes suggests an appropriate transformation of such a Type I theory into a more empirically useful theory should rhetorical theorists wish to move beyond mere critical evaluation.

9 Ibid., p. 117. Hawes admits that the "descriptive function" of modeling is somewhat conservative in its generalizability, but he supports its usefulness as a beginning for understanding simplistic representation.
Having presented the basis for model construction, the remainder of the chapter provides a description of the proposed model. The three major categories (message, personality, and speech delivery techniques) are subdivided into specific "ingredients of charisma." The selection of these "ingredients" represents an amalgamation of charismatic characteristics hypothesized by major charisma theorists mentioned in chapter two. Following a description of these elements, the charismatic-communication-influence-process-theory is transformed into a conceptual model. By changing the theoretical components into a process model, the communication process can be described "with more precision and specificity." The modular figure at the end of the chapter includes all of the "ingredients" and their relationship to the communication process.

Charismatic-Communication-Influence-Process: A Description

The proposed theory represents a synthesis of research from theorists in sociology, psychology, political science, and speech communication. This synergistic...

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10 Ibid., p. 122.

theory of varied charismatic perspectives purports to create a critical model for evaluating charismatic communication.

The charismatic situation, that is, the reciprocal bond between charismatic leader and his followers, is not

dependent upon a specific social context. However, some leaders are frequently perceived as charismatic in the midst of some "environmentally induced, situational crisis." Thus, the theory attempts to generalize its application to varied social and cultural contexts. Stress in the environment causes potential followers to seek out a leader recipient. Max Weber suggests that a predisposition to acceptance of charismatic leadership occurs when there are periods of "subjective or internal reorientation born out of suffering, conflicts or enthusiasm." A comparative study of "charismatic religious leaders" (e.g., Jesus, Buddha, Martin Luther, Joseph Smith, Gandhi, and Martin Luther King, Jr.) reveals that the majority of charismatic leaders emerge in times of social chaos and situational stress. Also, crises tend to intensify group homogeneity, reduce behavioral alternatives, and narrow the "breadth of perspective." A reduced "breadth of perspective" creates the


milieu in which a leader may be perceived as having charisma. Audience members so influenced are susceptible to the specific traits of the charismatic communicator.

The traits of the charismatic leader are described in their relationship to his message, his personality, and his speech delivery skills. Each element represents a consensus of agreement among various theorists of what constitutes the charismatic "recipe."

Message Elements

1. The "Revolutionary" Message

Potential followers may be attracted to the leader/communicator who has a message of revolution. The term revolution does not necessarily mean an ideology of violence or extreme departure from the status quo. The revolutionary message of the charismatic leader is a change from the present stress, an alternative to the current crisis. According to Weber, charismatic domination requires a "rejection of all ties to any external order" and a break with "traditional or rational norms." The charismatic leader/communicator, in effect, has a message which states: "It is written, but I say unto you . . . ."17 For the potential follower, this revolutionary message seems the "only way out" of the perceived crisis. A charismatic

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leader is thus followed "not because a revolutionary departure is imminent, likely, or normally to be anticipated, but because he can demand support for such change in spite of its improbable character."\textsuperscript{18}

2. Simplistic Message

Dow says that the initial and continuing appeal of such charismatic figures as Napoleon, Hitler, Churchill, and DeGaulle "was not to 'intellectually analyzable rules' but to transcendent images, and that the basis of their relationship to their followers remained largely emotional and irrational."\textsuperscript{19} "Transcendent images" are best presented in simplistic terms, by such means as slogans, "platforms," myths, and pictorial symbols.\textsuperscript{20} Bord suggests that the reasons the "simple" carries great charismatic impact is that children and adults learn best when a verbal referent has an actualized object in view. The charismatic leader has the ability to "point [at actual referents] through imagery." Charismatic communication is thus characterized by "grammatical and content simplicity."\textsuperscript{21} Themes that lack complexity in a message also reduce the probability of

\textsuperscript{18} Dow, "Theory of Charisma," p. 191.

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., p. 193.


choosing alternative perspectives. Reduced perspectives, in turn, facilitate the charismatic leader/communicator's goal of gathering around himself loyal followers who believe his basic plan is the only way to escape the crisis.

3. "Figures of Presence" in the Message

It is possible that the selection and introduction of certain elements of persuasive argument found in the message of charismatic leader/communicators create an aura and pertinency apart from the argument itself. Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca refer to this phenomenon as presence. Perelman indicates that

[Presence is concerned with] . . . the displaying of certain elements on which the speaker wishes to center attention in order that they may occupy the foreground of the hearer's consciousness. . . . Effective presentation that impresses itself on the hearer's consciousness is essential not only in all argumentation aiming at immediate action, but also in that which aspires to give the mind a certain orientation, to make certain schemes of interpretation prevail, to insert the elements of agreement into a framework that will give them significance and confer upon them the rank they deserve.

This definition reveals that "presence" may also serve to reduce breadth of perspective and orient the charismatic follower to become attracted to the inherent aura of the

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22 Ibid., p. 491.


24 Ibid., p. 142.
message. In her essay, "Presence in The New Rhetoric," Louise Karon highlights the effects labeled here as inducing charismatic attraction:

First, it [presence] is a felt quality in the auditor's consciousness. This quality, created by the rhetor's "verbal magic," enables him to impress upon the consciousness of his audience whatever he deems important. Second, presence fixes the audience's attention while altering its perceptions and perspectives. Third, its strongest agent is the imagination. Fourth, its purpose is judgment. Fifth, it is created chiefly through techniques traditionally studied under the headings of style, delivery, and disposition.25

What Karon refers to as "techniques of presence," Perelman and Tyteca call "figures of presence," which they consider to be argumentative elements in a message, because the effect of those figures "is to make the object of discourse present to the mind."26 In their list of figures of presence, they include onomatopoeia, repetition, amplification, synonymy, interpretatio, sermocinatio, dialogism, and enallage of tense.27

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27 While such figures as onomatopoeia, repetition, and amplification may be familiar, the others mentioned may not be recognizable. Synonymy is the repetition of single ideas by means of different words. Interpretatio is the explanation of one expression by another. Sermocinatio is the fictitious attribution of words to a person. Dialogism is the fictitious attribution of words to a group of persons engaged in conversation. Enallage of tense is defined by Perelman as the "syntactical substitution of one tense for another contrary to normal practice" (e.g., "If you speak, you are dead.")). Ibid., p. 177.
Perelman and Tyteca assert the persuasive nature of these figures. The notion that certain figures if used in argumentative discourse will create a mystical, magical, influential "presence" is one of the more intriguing hypotheses of their treatise. Kenneth Burke further comments on the power of figures. The word "shame" (his example) is not merely an emotional "state," but "a movement of the eye, a color of the cheek, a certain quality of voice and set of the muscles." Figures link the intangible with the corporeal as a word or phrase creates a mental state that is a "representation" (Burke's term) of certain material conditions. Onomatopoeia draws attention to the message of immediate sound-word pictures. Notice this fragment from Robert Frost's poem, "Out-- , Out--":

And the buzz saw snarled and rattled, snarled and rattled
As it ran light or had to bear a load.

The terms buzz, snarled, and rattled allow us to recollect previous experiences and this "attention" or "representation" creates the "presence" suggested by Perelman and Tyteca. Repetition provides "a feeling of presence" because its episodic treatment of a phrase or a synonym or amplification creates the immediate previous experience. Emotion links up with logic in a spirit of "déjà vu" as variations of a statement are uttered.

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Figures of presence help attract and maintain interest in the message. The "verbal magic" (Perelman's term) inherent within these figures apparently becomes an important aid to the facilitation of the charismatic situation.

4. Focus on Collective Identity

The charismatic leader/communicator creates elements in his message, which focus on a single collective goal or purpose. A follower who identifies with such a message ultimately sees his own identity fused with the identity of the charismatic leader. Eric Hoffer described the qualities faithful followers identify in the message of their leaders:

The leader personifies the certitude of the creed and the defiance and grandeur of power. He articulates and justifies the resentment dammed up in the souls of the frustrated. He kindles the vision of a breath-taking future so as to justify the sacrifice of a transitory present. . . . He evokes the enthusiasm of communion—the sense of liberation from a petty and meaningless individual existence.29

The articulated message focuses on a group identity also because he "says what people wish to hear, but do not know how to say themselves."30 Bord states that a message will only be perceived as part of the charismatic situation when


the audience of followers has a shared identity. Intragroup solidarity is thus essential.31

5. Polarized Aggression in the Message

The charismatic leader/communicator narrows alternatives as he pushes for a group response to his message. He does not want his followers to construct or support any other alternatives than the one he promotes. He reduces the breadth of perspective by use of "polarized aggression." The term (as used by Schiffer) describes the firm stance a charismatic leader takes for a certain specific course of action (and necessarily against another course of action).32 The charismatic leader must be an active "fighter," one who sets himself at an opposite ideological position from an "enemy." Schiffer suggests that conflict between "good guys" and "bad guys" aids charismatic perception.33 The "good" is simplified and objectified for loyal followers. If a charismatic leader can establish opposite positions which clearly delineate "good" and "evil," then he can unite his supporters behind the ideological position he deems as "the good." It is also mandatory that the stand of the charismatic figure be in opposition to a human (or humanized) adversary, not merely an abstraction. Schiffer

illustrates this characteristic of "polarized aggression" by the claim that the charisma of Lawrence of Arabia came not from his opposition to "pestilence and disease or . . . typhoons or floods," but to "enemies" of the Arabs. Hitler humanized the adversary as Jews and Communists conspiring to destroy German civilization. Senator Joseph R. McCarthy linked the incarnation of Communism with the leadership of the Democratic Party in the early 1950s. Prominent Pentecostal revivalists humanize Satan as their personal adversary.

Walter Fisher, a professor of speech communication at the University of Southern California, links "polarized aggression" with rhetorical motives, specifically, the motive of subversion:

Subversive rhetoric is an anti-ethos rhetoric; that is, it invariably is an attempt to undermine the credibility of some person, idea, or institution. . . . The strategy is to make a man, idea, or institution consubstantial with Satanic attributes and intentions.35

The five characteristics mentioned in this section may not constitute the only message ingredients necessary to generate charismatic awareness. But these ingredients appear with regularity in various theories of charisma.36 The leader who creates a message with these elements increases his potential for charismatic attribution.

34 Ibid., p. 39.
36 See: footnote 11, pages 64 and 65.
Personality Elements

Charismatic leaders emerge from different cultures and situational crises. Despite these differences some common personality traits have been isolated from most every charismatic leader. The nine personality traits are not exhaustive or prescriptive. Each characteristic represents an observable behavior noted by charisma theorists. A charismatic leader need not exhibit each trait, but the more characteristics he displays the greater the likelihood of his charismatic appeal.

Ralph Hummel compares charismatic attraction to an "object loss/love projection" process. His term "object loss" appears comparable to the "situational crisis" terminology of this theory. He describes charisma as an authority relationship initiated by at least one individual (potential follower) who suffers object loss, agonizes in mourning and eventually melancholia, and resolves his suffering and agony by subconsciously projecting his own love onto another individual (potential leader) from whom he then perceives his own love returning in the form of an uncanny attraction.37

The "uncanny attraction" Hummel mentions is linked most often to the personality traits of would-be charismatic figures. However, no one personality trait is universally applicable to charismatic figures. Barnes notes that "categorizing the unique personalities requisite for charisma is very difficult because leaders have ranged

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from frenzy-creating preachers to quiet, meditating
sages. But the attraction of potential followers is
based on many of the nine traits to be discussed.

1. High Status

"High status" is an important ingredient for charis­
matic followers to perceive in their leader. Sometimes high
status is attributed to a leader's personality because he
occupies a "charismatic office, role, or position." Weber
calls this form of attributed status "charisma routin­
ization" and its best examples include the one who occupies
the position of Dalai Lama, Pope, or Emperor. Status
derived from "social station" may also add to charisma.
Wealth and family name can create charisma. The Kennedy
and Rockefeller names are obvious examples. However, money
seems to enhance charisma, according to Schiffer, "only when
it is employed in the service of rescue, in a 'sugar daddy'
operation that fulfills the wildest dreams of those eking
out a living."  

2. "Stranger" Qualities

One of the more intriguing personality ingredients
of the charismatic figure is that of "strangeness" or
"foreignness." The Egyptian-bred Moses leading the Jews

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40Schiffer, Charisma, p. 42.

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to the Promised Land, the eccentric Britisher T. E. Lawrence who became the savior of the Arabs, the Austrian Führer in a German Reich, the Catholic American Bostonian President in a Protestant majority, and a Secretary of State with a German accent are examples of this element. Schiffer states, "The proverb, 'familiarity breeds contempt,' has a corollary: something foreign (yet familiar) breeds charisma." 41 Too much "foreignness" may result in fear or danger, but a touch of the "familiar" in the foreign element attenuates the danger. Charismatic followers seem to attribute awe to the "stranger" who has come from a sphere of different relationships and encounters. Potential followers "aggrandize and exoticize" the foreigner and add their own attributed aura to his personality. 42

3. Conquerable Imperfection

Another charismatic personality element proposed by Schiffer is "the charisma of conquerable imperfection." 43 Paralyzed and battle-scarred figures such as Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy, a semi-dwarfed Napoleon, an eye-patched Moshe Dayan, an alcoholic Dylan Thomas, a stuttering and stammering Kathryn Kuhlman, and a former tubercular Oral Roberts are examples of charismatic figures who have had to conquer physical imperfections. Schiffer

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41 Ibid., p. 24. 42 Ibid., p. 26. 43 Ibid., p. 32.
clarifies that a defect which is pitied or horrifying goes beyond the effective continuum. Also efforts "at effecting a charismatic personality by introducing defectiveness fail unless the defect remains slight and empathetic [sic]." Charismatic followers seem to be drawn to those leaders who have slight defects, but seem capable of existing despite possible difficulties.

4. "Special Calling"

Many theorists refer to "special calling" as a prime personality trait of the charismatic figure. For Weber and Schweitzer a special calling could imbue a charismatic leader with a feeling of destiny or fate, possibly or possibly not attributable to a religious origin. An emotional appeal of the leader, "driven by this inner calling, can cause an effectively internalized response because he can generate ecstasy, euphoria, resentment, and politically relevant passions in his followers who feel united with him by an emotional bond." Boss mentions that the "special calling" personality trait provides a sympathetic audience with evidence that their leader has a "messianic destiny." Charismatic followers see the

44 Ibid., p. 29.  
45 Ibid., p. 32.  
47 Ibid., p. 158.  

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possibility of "salvation" in such a divinely or fatefully called leader.

5. Sexual Mystique

Schiffer mentions "sexual mystique" as another factor in charismatic attraction. It remains an attractive trait as long as it remains in the realm of "uncertainty and self-doubt." Schiffer further hypothesizes that the wondering if the charismatic leader is guilty of slight sexual misconduct enhances his charisma. But he is quick to qualify that "we deplore knowing too much of our idol's mind and personal chemistry; we demand our right to remain puzzled." Sexual mystique must remain vague, imprecise, and, thus, an enigma.

6. Dramatic Acting Qualities

The personality trait of "dramatic actor," performing and communicating his integral role in the drama of the charismatic situation, attracts faithful followers. The charismatic situation has "heroes," "villains," "plot lines," "episodes," and other elements corresponding to a "play." The charismatic leader "acts" the part of the "hero," tells his followers of their common "villain/enemy," interprets political and social events in their relation to a "plot," and participates in "episodes" of daily life. The "drama" analogy is a symbol of the charismatic leader's

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49 Schiffer, Charisma, p. 43. 50 Ibid., pp. 45, 48.
ability to arouse and manipulate the immediate situation. Faithful followers look to their leader to perform and exude confidence publicly, even if privately there are moments of discouragement and despair. Schiffer refers to this charismatic element in a non-pejorative sense, as "hoax." The truly charismatic figure is capable of dramatizing, emotionalizing, and rallying a mass of people to accept a position or mission. But if the charismatic figure is to lead us into a "hoax," Schiffer states that we insist . . . he do the job professionally; we want a competent, slick performance: we will not tolerate the emergence of an underlying integrity or an overdone fraudulence, for either would spoil the whole show.

7. Innovative Lifestyle and Approach

Charismatic followers are attracted to the charismatic leader who reveals a willingness to change or alter group expectations in personal moral conduct, fashion, or other innovative aspects of lifestyle. Innovation (especially in conduct as well as doctrine) enables the followers to clearly differentiate their "charismatic goal or mission" from other institutionalized doctrines. Situational crises may aid the charismatic figure in this

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52 Schiffer, Charisma, p. 49. 53 Ibid., p. 52.
54 Ibid., p. 54.
quest for innovation. The Communist Chinese seemed willing to adopt the "austere" fashion styles and innovative doctrines of Mao-Tse-Tung. Religious charismatic figures in fundamentalist sects often lead their followers to a new lifestyle devoid of "worldly" distractions (e.g., drinking, gambling, smoking, etc.).

8. "Miracle-Worker"

It is important to reiterate that the charismatic figure only retains the perception of being charismatic so long as he or she continues to validate his or her charisma. The proof of personal charisma comes from the charismatic figure's abilities to "work miracles" or instigate "successful results" in the pursuit of the group's goal or purpose. "If the crisis is not resolved, the mission not accomplished, the followers not 'satisfied'--the leader-communicator is apt to be abandoned."56 On the other hand, the charismatic leader who works miracles or achieves his goals is perceived as a "man of action and accomplishments." Bord states that people attribute awe and admiration to such heroes. "Those viewed as engaging in, or having engaged in costly behaviors are viewed as committed."57 This perceived commitment can further link the faithful follower's identity with that of the leader. A group identified with a "miracle

worker" tends to see itself as the sole recipient of such demonstrated "miracles." Alternative identities are not needed, are discarded, and once again breadth of perspective is reduced.

9. Symbolizer/Myth-Maker

The greater the "identity" factor the greater the possibility a charismatic figure will be perceived as a "symbol" of the charismatic movement. As a "symbolizer" the charismatic leader/communicator "stands for" values—the "perfect exemplar of the group." 58

Once the "symbolizer" is accepted by the adoring crowd he has the capacity to establish new "myths" for his followers to believe and accept. Myth, according to Waldo Braden,

draws upon memory and imagination. . . . it results from a collective effort over a considerable period of time, . . . it represents an oversimplification of events, persons, and relationships, . . . its substance is more emotional than logical, and . . . it combines both reality and fiction. 59

When espoused by the capable charismatic leader, myth rhetorically provides an effective means for establishing "consubstantiality" with an audience. As the identification of the audience becomes more bonded to the charismatic leader/communicator who promotes myths, "the speaker may

58 Spencer, "What is Charisma?" p. 348.

produce near mass hypnotism."\textsuperscript{60} "Conspiracy doctrines" and "Mein Kampf" treatises establish myths that seem tangible, actual, and real. Distress from the situational crisis often seeks a scapegoat to explain and provide release for paranoid feelings. Myths rhetorically create scapegoats as well as rationalizations for other situational results.

Delivery Elements

Willner claims that "nearly all ... leaders for whom charisma has been claimed have also been described as 'eloquent' or 'spell-binding' orators. ... Charismatic appeal involves investigating not so much what a leader says as how he says it, i.e., the style of his verbal communication."\textsuperscript{61} The three categories of speech delivery presented here represent elements that many theorists have mentioned as aiding charismatic perception.\textsuperscript{62} Each category has sub-characteristics that have been observed in speech delivery among charismatic leaders.

As Boss suggests the "\textit{bona fide} charismatic person will exemplify superior ability to communicate orally."\textsuperscript{63} Delivery skills, both verbal and non-verbal, may also result in the attribution of charisma to a leader/communicator.

\textsuperscript{60}Ibid., p. 121.
\textsuperscript{61}Willner, Charismatic Political Leadership, pp. 103-104.
\textsuperscript{62}See: footnote 11, pages 64 and 65.
\textsuperscript{63}Boss, "Essential Attributes of Charisma," p. 305.
Delivery techniques of verbal and non-verbal messages vary from culture to culture, but variations of the following abilities are used to mobilize audience support in various cultures.64

1. Vocal Force

"Vocal force" is a general term to describe such delivery techniques as volume variety, pitch variables, stress on words, etc. Revivalists and political campaigners perceived as charismatic develop a bond between themselves and their audiences by means of certain vocal cues. Bord uses the phrase "cheerleader fashion" to describe the overt responses such charismatic figures elicit from audience members.65

2. Rapid Responses/Short Pauses/Repetition

Rapidity of delivery and short pauses forestall the possibility of critical analysis and the construction of alternative perspectives.66 Repetition of theme, phrases, and slogans reduces alternative thought patterns also.67

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64Schiffer, Charisma, pp. 17-19.


Aroused emotional states are generated from situational cues (such as yelling, talking rapidly, then suddenly slowing to a halt, crying, etc.), and the speaker is perceived as the source of such a state. Bord conceptualizes the phenomenon in this manner: "I am excited, I am excited because of the exceptional qualities of the speaker, the speaker is a great man." This attribution of greatness is indicated on the modular figure found at the end of the chapter.

3. Non-Verbal Qualities

Situational non-verbal cues can arouse emotional responses as well. Audiences seeking a charismatic figure respond to the "body-language" of leader/communicators. For example, physical attractiveness aids charismatic perception. Mark Knapp states that

it is not at all unusual to find physically attractive persons out-stripping unattractive ones on a wide range of socially desirable evaluations, such as success, personality, popularity, sociability, sexuality, persuasiveness, and often happiness.\(^{68}\)

Gestures complement the verbal message. Charismatic figures use hand and body gestures to emphasize dramatic qualities of their message. Jabbing, pointing, pounding, and fist-like patterns are used to good effect by charismatic

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leader/communicators. Animated facial expression provides more information appropriately attractive to the charismatic follower. One needs only to observe newsreel footage of Adolf Hitler addressing a sympathetic crowd^70 or evangelist Billy Graham preaching to an appreciative audience to see examples of the charismatic appeal of body-language. ^71

Clothes may "make the man" and certainly affect perceptions in a charismatic situation. Rosenfeld and Civikly report that "we select fabric and color to help us to conform to our image of our idea self."^72 The charismatic appeal of clothing ranges from the white-suited demagogues of the post-war South to the glittering rhinestones on the pant-suits of contemporary rock stars.^73

"The act of touching is like any other message we communicate—it may elicit negative reactions as well as positive ones depending on the configuration of peoples and circumstances."^74 Tactile communication is often a major

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^71 Billy Graham, "The Billy Graham Central Indiana Crusade" (June 9, 1980), television series.


^74 Knapp, Non-Verbal Communication, p. 244.
element of charisma in some situations. Sidney Jourard, a social psychologist interested in the frequency and type of touching behavior exhibited between males and females, concluded his study in 1966 by noting the similarity of his study with Harlow's 1958 landmark studies with surrogate wire and terry-cloth mothers for orphaned baby monkeys. Jourard said that the animal data suggest that touching is the language of love and acceptance. Touching is also the language of intimate identification with a charismatic leader. Throngs of people attempted to touch Jesus Christ, expecting "miracles" of healing to flow from the charismatic personality. The same phenomenon occurs today in Pentecostalist faith-healing services and in the obsessive desire of devout Iranian Moslems to touch the person of the Ayatollah Khomeini.

The densely crowded political rally or rock concert or revivalist service increases the situational stress and emotional arousal which aids the emergence of charisma. Closeness in terms of personal space intensifies group homogeneity. Charismatic public figures, as for example, Hitler, often strategically located loyal supporters in a crowded audience to stir up the uncommitted. A minority

76 Knapp, Non-Verbal Communication, pp. 122-123.
of "true believers" can influence the majority if the majority perceives the gestalt response as overwhelmingly supportive.

It should be repeated that these message, personality, and delivery characteristics of the charismatic communication situation are not prescriptively specific for every charismatic situation. Variables in cultural settings and environmental crises create unique exhibitions of charismatic phenomena. But charismatic impact, influence, and charm are increased substantially with the presence of each identifiable characteristic.

Model Transformational Analysis

The preceding discussion has presented a "theory" of the charismatic-communication-influence-process. This "theory" may provide greater insights into rhetorical behavior if it is transformed into a "conceptual model." Hawes indicates that models are preferable to theories in three major ways: (1) Descriptive Function: "A model can be constructed to describe a particular form of behavior of which no theory exists or the theory is grossly inadequate."78 (2) Explicative Function: "Model-building . . . define[s] more rigorously a concept central to relatively well-developed theory thereby rendering that theory more testable."79 (3) Simulative Function: "Models that

78 Hawes, Pragmatics of Analoguing, p. 116.
79 Ibid., p. 118.
simulate represent functional or process relations among concepts."\(^{80}\)

Hawes establishes the criteria for model construction and the components of this charismatic communication theory fulfill those requirements. "Primary statements" (axioms) are necessary for model construction. In this theory, the "primary statements" are the assumptions and the characteristics of charismatic communication (e.g., message/personality/speech delivery elements, situational crises, reduced breadth of perspective, etc.). These axioms represent empirical, semantic, or syntactic statements, verified by observers and noted scholars in the text.

A rhetorical model also proves insightful if it fulfills these criteria, described by Hawes: (1) **Heuristic:** "Sufficient information about the structural and/or functional properties of the analogue [must] be available to produce insightful questions and/or hypotheses."\(^{81}\) (2) **Isomorphic:** "There [must] be . . . a partial degree of similarity in the structure and/or function of the two objects or processes."\(^{82}\) (3) **Correspondence:** "The model-builder must specify the rules of correspondence between the structure and its mapped material."\(^{83}\)

So as to clarify how the proposed theory meets the qualifications for model-transformation, each criterion is discussed separately.

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\(^{80}\)Ibid., p. 120. \(^{81}\)Ibid., pp. 114-115. \\(^{82}\)Ibid., p. 115. \(^{83}\)Ibid.
Heuristics

The theory is "heuristic" in its generation of such sample questions as these:

1. Does the theory prove valid when applied to specific social context charismatic communication influence situations (e.g., political-democratic or totalitarian, religious, etc.)?

2. Does the theory require adaptive changes in "primary statements" if the charismatic social context is compared between two different environments (e.g., two comparative charismatic leaders--one is totalitarian, the other democratic)?

3. Do certain "primary statements" universally appear in charismatic communication influence social contexts? Are any characteristics "essential" to most charismatic situations?

4. Does the theory's critical methodology expand the knowledge of rhetorical impact in charismatic situations?

Isomorphics

The proposed theory is capable of being transformed into a "conceptual model." The basic diagram for the model is borrowed from Richard J. Bord's flow chart of the charismatic influence process.\textsuperscript{84} Alterations and additions have

\textsuperscript{84}Bord, "Charismatic Social Influence Processes," p. 496.
expanded Bord's original conceptualization, especially in
the emphasis on the rhetorical behavior of charismatic
leaders. This new model draws primary attention to the
rhetorical features of the charismatic communication
process.

The proposed model is heuristic; that is, it
produces questions or hypotheses or both from a study of
the communicative influence process. It is isomorphic;
that is, the material being modeled fits relatively closely
to the structure of the analogue in specific ways. One
final evaluative test is necessary to explain: the rules
of correspondence, which are the operational relationships
in the model.

Correspondence

The relationships in the schematic model (see
page 94) primarily emphasize the positive ("+"") "feedback
loop" from the dependent variables (charismatic communi-
cation characteristics) to the audience involvement
(commitment) box. The phenomenon illustrated reveals the
increase in devotion and allegiance to the leader/communi-
cator's pronouncements. The "cloud-like" figure labeled as
"situational crises" functions as a filter through which
perceptions are constantly passed. The one negative ("-")
relation is postulated between the dependent variables (most
notably the "polarized aggression message variable") and the
probability of constructing or supporting alternative
perspectives. The relationship here is negative because alternative perspectives are undesirable and unacceptable to a charismatic leader/communicator directing his followers toward a prescribed goal or mission. Charismatic communicators do all in their power (intentionally and non-intentionally) to reduce perspectives "positively" to one acceptable perception (the goal or mission) and reduce alternative constructs to a "negative" (or non-attracting, repelling) relationship.

Other "positive" relationships that are promoted once the breadth of perspective has been reduced include: speaker's action potential, attribution of greatness, emotional arousal, and audience commitment. The communication influence process draws its power from the characteristics of the leader and his continual demonstration of such characteristics maintains the charismatic perceptions.

Summary

The proposed model is derived from a Type I theory. It is a descriptive-explicative model offered to rhetorical critics as a critical research method. It is heuristic, isomorphic, and includes operationally defined rules of correspondence.

The model does not claim to apply to all crowd situations. The atmosphere which calls for the charismatic leader must exist subsequent to the emergence of the charismatic figure.
Such a model as the one proposed here provides the rhetorical critic with a methodology which can help explain the uses of verbal and non-verbal communication influence in charismatic situations. Applications of this model will be demonstrated in the rhetorical behavior of three prominent faith healers mentioned in chapters four through seven of this dissertation.
CHAPTER FOUR

SITUATIONAL CRISES CHARACTERISTICS AND THE CHARISMATIC COMMUNICATION INFLUENCE PROCESS

Several charisma theorists have alluded to the social crisis milieu necessary for the emergence of the charismatic leader/communicator. In the proposed rhetorical model a "cloud-like" conceptualization (labeled as "Situational Crisis") represents the filter through which charismatic influence stimulus/response transactions must pass. The "cloud" conceptualization analogizes a filter that determines whether a specific audience will perceive a charismatically endowed individual as the special leader.

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2Bord, "Charismatic Social Influence Processes," pp. 488-89. Bord stresses the importance of studying "a condition of social crisis or rapid social change" (p. 488). The "cloud-like" filter of social crisis is a conceptual explanation of the importance of studying context. The "cloud" configuration is the author's extrapolation of Bord's social crisis modular component.
Any analysis that seeks critical evaluations of the rhetorical dimensions of charisma must verify and isolate those factors comprising the specific social crisis. The "cloud" of social stress factors found among potential audiences for the faith-healing evangelist aids the critic in assessing the level of influence and charismatic attribution. This chapter presents a specific analysis of stress factors inherent in the psycho-social make-up of Pentecostal, neo-Pentecostal (neo-Charismatic), and other groups of "seekers" generally found in the audience at a faith-healing service.

Macro-Cosmic Analyses of Social Crises: Historical Demographics

Demographic and ethnocentric analyses of various audiences attracted to the faith-healing evangelist have in the past made use of the "sect-church theory" as developed by Ernst Troeltsch and Max Weber.\(^3\) Troeltsch illustrates the difference in the two terms:

The fully developed church, however, utilizes the State and the ruling classes, and weaves these elements into her own life; she then becomes an integral part of the existing social order; from this standpoint, then, the church both stabilizes and determines the social order; in so doing, however, she becomes dependent upon the upper classes and upon their development. The sects, on the other hand, are connected with the lower classes, or at least with those elements in society which are opposed to the State and to the Society; they work upwards from below, and not downwards from above.  

Coupled with this alienation from the established social order is the belief that "sects are created, exist, and gain recruits primarily from economically and socially deprived persons." Deprivation refers to "any and all of the ways that an individual or group may be, or feel disadvantaged in comparison either to other individuals or groups or to an internalized set of standards."  

The "sect-church theory" provides some insight into aspects of the social crisis mind-set of traditional Pentecostal groups, but it does not adequately explain the audience mind-set of neo-Pentecostals (Charismatics) in the modern inter-denominational movement. Simply claiming that many members in a faith healer's audience are victims of deprivation is insufficient for describing the current


demographic composition. Other paradigms must be sought to explain this phenomenon.

Certainly, the "sect-church theory" has some initial applicability, but only as emergent stage in the evolution of the Pentecostal movement. The initial audience members found and numbered among the "true believers" who revered Sister Aimee Semple McPherson may well illustrate the demographics of an emerging sect. But audience members drawn to contemporary faith healers do not always share the same exact characteristics.

A brief history of the Pentecostal movement also provides some assistance in understanding psychological and social characteristics of the audience. The name Pentecostal originates from an ancient Jewish feast day, referred to in the Bible as "Pentecost." After the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, Christ's followers experienced ecstatic utterances of foreign languages when gathered

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7 Julia N. Budlong, "Aimee Semple McPherson," The Nation 128 (June 19, 1929): 737. Budlong describes the McPherson audience as "very largely the poor, the undernourished, the maladjusted . . . ."


9 Leviticus 23:16. Pentecost, also known as "The Feast of Weeks," took place fifty days after the offering of a Jewish family's first harvest.
together to celebrate the feast of Pentecost.\textsuperscript{10} This historical happening is perceived by adherents of Pentecostalism as the pattern for exhibiting the true signs of Christianity.\textsuperscript{11} A characteristic emphasis for members in any Pentecostal-oriented assembly is the counter-culturally accepted norm of emotional outbursts and expressions of ecstasy.\textsuperscript{12}

Pentecostals are characterized today by their distinctive adherence to the practice of glossolalia or "speaking in tongues." This practice is perceived as the \textit{sine qua non} of the true Christian. Speaking in tongues is a "manifestation of the baptism or infilling of the Holy Spirit."\textsuperscript{13} This religious experience of communion with the Deity sounds like unintelligible syllables, strung together in non-linguistic patterns.

On April 9, 1906, a few members of a Holiness denomination in Los Angeles, California, prayed for this ecstatic experience of the "baptism of the Holy Spirit." A revival ensued at the Azusa Street Mission, and Pentecostal

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{10} Acts 2:1-13.
\end{itemize}
publicists regard this place as the origin of the modern Pentecostal movement.\textsuperscript{14}

Pentecostalism also embraced the belief that supernatural miracles were still to be expected as normative disruptions in the Deity-controlled physical laws of the universe. Thus, the healing of sicknesses, diseases, and physical handicaps by means of faith was accepted as another prominent exhibition of the power of God's Holy Spirit.\textsuperscript{15}

Spreading out from Los Angeles during the next half century, Pentecostalism resulted in the formation of new denominations, differing in some doctrinal beliefs but endorsing the use of glossolalia and the practice of faith healing. In the early days of the movement, however, the "Spirit-baptized Christians" were best described as "sects." Marty states that the term \textit{sect} "is used in relation to groups which would readily accept some term to set themselves off from the typical or mainstream denominations which desire to be part of the nation's \textit{mores} and its \textit{ethos}."\textsuperscript{16}

\begin{quote}


\end{quote}
Returning to the "sect-church theory" as a means to explain the emergent demographic constituency of Pentecostalism, the following observations become apparent. From a sociological point of view, sects function primarily to overcome the feelings of deprivation that draw adherents to the sect initially. This self-defeating (or inherent transformational) function seeks to alleviate "status contradiction, loneliness, poverty, sickness, racial discrimination, speech and language difficulties, handicaps of character, etc." Groups which generally fit these descriptions (and incidentally comprise the demographics of Pentecostalism) include women, the elderly, blacks, the physically handicapped, lower class whites, Chicanos, and American Indians. Once the shared-deprivation needs are resolved, the sect becomes more like a church or denomination. At the outset of the modern Pentecostal movement, the converts seemed to have come from low-economic, socially deprived centers of the population. Added to these deprivation factors were feelings of "marginality":

The so-called marginal religions existing in the United States today include millions of people and have touched a great many more. . . . The marginality of these religious groups rests on a number of aspects: they may be geographically marginal to the major population centers, like the black and white Holiness and Pentecostal churches of Appalachia and the Deep South; they may be intellectually marginal to the scientific "establishment" in their biblical fundamentalism, their

17 Hollenweger, Pentecostals, p. 465.
18 Simson, Faith Healer, pp. 123-44.
rejection of the teachings of evolution, and their practices of faith healing. . . \[19\]

Marginality tends to create an isolationist mentality and mental stress may accompany feelings of separation from the normative aspects of society. Few individuals cherish marginality as a group value. The Pentecostal movement has, rather successfully, provided "help for people who live on the fringes of society." \[20\]

Observers of the Pentecostal phenomenon noticed signs that indicated the trends that the Pentecostal movement would pursue in the future. It became clear that by 1930 "the great appeal of the Pentecostal religion would be to the lower classes, but as the lower classes rose on the economic scale [sect-transformation function, using Troeltsch's phrase] the Pentecostals would rise with them." \[21\]

Bloch-Hoell gives an interpretation of the sociological structure of the Pentecostal movement in 1936:

In 1936 Pentecostals were principally to be found in the southern states. In 1936 the number of women in Pentecostal churches was greater than the number of men, and the proportion of blacks greater than in the

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\[20\] Hollenweger, Pentecostals, p. 457.

population as a whole. The average income of members of Pentecostal churches was lower than that of members of American churches as a whole.\textsuperscript{22}

It may be surmised that the Pentecostal movement still appeals to the "marginal" person or the socio-economically deprived, but these pockets of the population do not presently comprise the only adherents to Pentecostalism. The less "sect-like" Pentecostalism becomes (i.e., transformed into established accepted churches or denominations), the more its social composition becomes diversified, "the more the frustration-complexes are attenuated, and the more also the sect sobers down."\textsuperscript{23} "It no longer appears appropriate . . . to characterize Pentecostalism as arising from or being nurtured by socio-cultural disruption, low status, and dissatisfaction. . . . There is even now a kind of Pentecostal 'Establishment.'"\textsuperscript{24}

As has been previously stated, the "sect-church theory," coupled with deprivation factors, only partially explains the Pentecostal movement phenomenon. For instance, the greatest growth of the modern Pentecostal movement (1910-1950) occurred "when the laboring and farming classes were rapidly declining as a percentage of the total


\textsuperscript{24}William J. Samarin, \textit{Tongues of Men and Angels} (New York: Macmillan Co., 1972), pp. 5-6, 10.
population." Today the demographic range of variation among Pentecostals cannot be explained by "deprivation-disorganization models" alone.

Gerlach and Hine offer a new model with five key factors which are "operationally significant" and consider other variables which more adequately explain the emergence and continuation of movements similar to the Pentecostal movement. These five factors are:

1. A segmented, usually polycephalous, cellular organization composed of units reticulated by various personal, structural, and ideological ties.

2. Face-to-face recruitment by committed individuals using their own pre-existing significant social-relationships.

3. Personal commitment generated by an act or an experience which separates a convert in some significant way from the established order (or his previous place in it), identifies him with a new set of values, and commits him to changed patterns of behavior.

4. An ideology which codifies values and goals, provides a conceptual framework by which all experiences or events relative to these goals may be interpreted, motivates and provides rationale for envisioned changes, defines the opposition, and forms the basic conceptual unification of a segmented network of groups.

5. Real or perceived opposition from the society at large or from that segment of the established order within which the movement has risen.26

Gerlach and Hine discovered in their research that too many participants in the Pentecostal movement "could not be classified as socially disorganized, even relatively

25Synan, Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, p. 201.

26Gerlach and Hine, People, Power, Change, pp. xvi-xvii.
deprived, or psychologically maladjusted." However, the model does help to understand the sociological make-up of Pentecostal religious groups.

Factor number one in the Gerlach-Hine paradigm uses terms like "polycephalous," "cellular," and "reticulated" which need further explanation. The Pentecostal movement is not a singular church or sect, growing and expanding in its influence. The movement is "polycephalous" (literally, "multiheaded"), which is to say it has no monolithic-bureaucratic authority base. Though several denominations carry the term "Pentecostal" in their title, the movement has expanded in recent years (and changed its name to "Charismatic") to include followers from traditional Protestant churches (e.g., Baptist, Methodist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, etc.) and the Roman Catholic Church ("Catholic Charismatics"). The "cellular" structure resembles a network ("reticulation") of widely divergent groups, attracted to each other by their unique style of worship. One specific "personal, structural, and ideological tie" that draws Pentecostals together has been previously mentioned--glossolalia. Belief in divine healing is another "tie." As Marty suggests, "Healing, especially in the hands of the flamboyant, sets them apart, though not absolutely, as did speaking in tongues. Of course, anyone who in the modern West insists on miracles or engages in

\[27\] Ibid., p. xxi.
exorcisms, as many Charismatics do, will stand out."\textsuperscript{28} These two "experiences" serve as demarcation lines for the divergent Pentecostal movement. An Assembly of God Pentecostal who meets a Catholic Charismatic will verify the Christian "tie" by identification with a tongues experience and belief in divine healing.\textsuperscript{29}

Mehl states that a sect progresses toward the status of church when it "becomes missionary."\textsuperscript{30} He intends to stress the propagation of the "gospel" message. Recruitment to the Pentecostal perspective completes this gospel outreach. It also illustrates factor number two in the Gerlach-Hine paradigm. Historically, Pentecostals have recruited followers from urban poor migrants more so than traditional churches. "The Northern urban ghettos were by the 1960s experiencing a startling growth of Pentecostal storefront churches."\textsuperscript{31} Recruitment with an evangelical fervor is characteristic of the Pentecostal movement. Face-to-face recruitment seeks to bring traditional Christians and non-Christians to an "experiential" encounter with God. The recruitment has an appeal for many:

People . . . disappointed with a kind of worship which adds the problems of the theologian to their own

\textsuperscript{28}Marty, A Nation of Behavers (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), p. 121.


\textsuperscript{30}Mehl, Sociology of Protestantism, p. 251.

\textsuperscript{31}Synan, Holiness-Pentecostal Movement, pp. 203-04.
professional problems, and longing for direct prayer and a simplification or religious faith in the form of spontaneous and personal relationship, find in Pentecostal worship exactly what they need. For it does not teach people to think, but to believe (in the sense of a direct religious experience) and to live (within the framework of tangible personal relationships).  

"Personal commitment" is the third aspect of the movement paradigm. Even in the early formative stages of the Pentecostal movement, personal commitment to a less formalistic, yet sensitive and spontaneous expression of religious sentiment attracted followers. Niebuhr's 1929 study concluded that traditional churches offering intellectual and liturgically fixed services were losing members, many of whom were attracted and committed to a primitively spontaneous form of Pentecostal worship. Characteristically, Pentecostals are personally committed to focus on experience at the expense of other features of religion . . . . It is also seen as a means of providing an identity in a pluralist society; demarcation or boundary-setting on social behavioral lines is one of its main attractions.  

Pentecostal ideology provides the inherent "glue" which holds the movement intact. Bourguignon refers to one distinctive feature of Pentecostalism as a belief and experience in "altered states of consciousness."

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32 Hollenweger, Pentecostals, p. 463.
34 Marty, Nation of Behavers, p. 108.
Expression of these "altered states of consciousness" is culturally defined. William James, in his classic work, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, stated that "emotional occasions, especially violent ones, are extremely potent in precipitating mental rearrangements." Without seeming to be presumptuous, "altered states of consciousness" appears to substitute for James' phrase, "mental rearrangements." In so doing, the role of emotional expression is emphasized and relegated to an acceptable form of religious expression among Pentecostals. A typical Protestant Pentecostal church service is described as follows:

At a Pentecostal meeting a person could, if he wished, clap his hands, tap his feet, cry, pray audibly, speak forth in tongues if he "felt the Spirit leading," dance, or exhort his brethren during the testimony meeting. While it may be true . . . that the masses who comprised the early Pentecostal constituency were those who did not have access to the usual avenues of emotional release utilized by the membership of the "regular" churches--the theatre, sports, travel, literature, and art--one wonders if the Pentecostal revival meeting did not also compensate in some measure for the austere holiness code which the Pentecostals inherited from their progenitors, the Holiness movement.

Contrasting greatly in mode of emotional expression, the Catholic Charismatic meeting, nevertheless, emphasizes a variation of the Pentecostal ideology:

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Out of the heartland of affluent, technological, success-oriented America, there has emerged a remarkable religious revival that goes counter to contemporary behavioral expectations... [In hierarchical, stylized, liturgical Catholicism] there was not room for outbursts of spiritual enthusiasm, spontaneous prayer and prophecy, speaking in tongues, handclapping, or the joyful singing of hymns...^38

A prayer group in Providence, Rhode Island, serves as an example of the Catholic Charismatic meeting:

There is not joyous or awe-inspiring oratory or dancing in the Spirit at these meetings. Perhaps it is their Catholic upbringing that inhibits these people or their fear of appearing "foolish" to the many members of the Church who came merely to see what in the world is going on... Though they are not as exuberant in their worship as the [other] Pentecostals... the Catholic Pentecostals of Providence give evidence of joy and seem to exhibit a deepening love for their fellow human beings.\^39

Whether the Pentecostal group is comprised of persons from historical Pentecostal denominations, traditional denominational neo-Pentecostals, Catholic Charismatics, or ethnic (e.g., Black or Chicano) groups, the "communicability" of a centrally shared ideology is paramount. There is even a sense in which "group therapy" is to be found in the Pentecostal service. An astonishing degree of communication, never achieved in other churches, takes place in these services. In the Pentecostal worship—which only a casual observer could describe as unstructured and unliturgical—everyone can express himself with the means of speech at his own disposal. The criterion is not conceptual clarity, but communicability.\^40


\^40 Hollenweger, Pentecostals, p. 466.
Opposition—real or perceived—tends to draw the oppressed together in a movement. Sects normally seek to gain adherents who share an ideology which contradicts the existing values of a culture. In the case of Pentecostalism the conflict centers around the "spiritual gifts" issue. The real or perceived opposition may be intellectual, economic, social, or racial as well. In a sociological study of a black Pentecostal church in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Williams indicates that the members of Zion Holiness Church "have chosen to isolate themselves from urban society by means of a different life style." Because they perceive themselves as separated from mainstream religion by virtue of several factors (blackness, poverty, illiteracy, strange religious practices, etc.), the people of Zion Holiness Church seek for their own personal status, prestige, and material possession by means of Pentecostal beliefs.

Marty observes that "old-line Pentecostalism (1900— )" has of recent years moved from sectarian presence to being church-oriented, while the newer Charismatic movement (1960— ) is moving away from traditional

41 Marty, in Birnbaum and Lenzer, Sociology and Religion, p. 394.
43 Ibid., p. 50.
churches to sub-sectic groups. The number of denominations emerging from the modern Pentecostal movement is too numerous to mention. Johnstone says that the newer charismatic groups are also proliferating, but he indicates that the reason for sub-sectic groups emerging from churches is because of "denominational censure." Opposition, thus, is creating sub-groups of "charismatics" within traditional churches.

Hollenweger indicates that though the initial Pentecostal movement gained adherents from "the poor and intellectually deprived," a new thrust of charismatic adherents is coming from the ranks of "high officials, managers in big businesses, scientists and scholars in every subject, artists, diplomats, and officers." This new demographic addition has led some scholars to predict that Pentecostal-Charismatic churches and sub-groups were the fastest growing Christian communities in the world. Why are such divergent socio-economic groups being attracted to the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement? Part of the explanation is given by Watson E. Miller. He asserts that "glossolalia . . . may be a loud protest against the cold

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44 Marty, Nation of Behavers, p. 111.
46 Hollenweger, Pentecostals, p. 462.
47 Synan, Holiness-Pentecostalism Movement, p. 223.
impersonality that sometimes characterizes institutionalized worship." Another explanation is that the Pentecostal movement makes emotional and spontaneous human expression acceptable and therapeutic. Johnstone further suggests that "open, trusting, intimate contact with others" in small religious groups provides meaning and identity for people in a highly impersonal world.

Despite the divergent demographics of contemporary Pentecostal groups, psychological variables suggest some group homogeneity in the audience members who attend faith healing services regularly. Pattison, Lapins, and Doerr conducted a study of 43 fundamentalist-Pentecostal persons who had experienced 71 faith healings. The Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) was administered to this sample group and the results provide insight into the psychological make-up of the faith healer's audience. The test group showed a T score of 63 on the HY (hysteria) scale. That translates into an "average" score which is one standard deviation above the mean and suggests that such subjects are prone to hysterical reactions. Pattison, Lapins, and Doerr describe the psychological profile of such persons as highly suggestible with "a strong need for social

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acceptance and social affiliation."^50 Recent follow-up studies have endorsed the psychological profile of the faith healer's audience member. These studies do not assess the Pentecostal as being mentally unbalanced or in need of psychiatric treatment. The studies merely indicate psychological justifications that help to explain counter-cultural behavior that finds acceptance and encouragement in Pentecostal groups. The studies also emphasize psychological


reasons for the influence exercised over the members of the faith healer's audience.

The application of the Gerlach-Hine paradigm helps complete an understanding of this demographic analytical change in the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement. Pentecostalism, rather than being a movement sustained by social misfits and "untouchables," is evolving into a dynamic movement which seeks to resolve not only felt deprivations but provide opportunities for a group-shared ideology, an evangelistic message, personal commitment, flexible non-bureaucratic cell-group organizations, and a means to cope with opposition. Its future is predictably one of extreme and rapid growth. Coupled with this growth in numbers is the equally predictable growth in a variety of demographic features.

Micro-Cosmic Analyses of Social Crises: Specific Audience Characteristics

The proposed charismatic communication influence process model described in chapter three is an expansion and re-definition of a model proposed by sociologist Richard Bord. One of Bord's major features in his model is the concept of situational crisis and its influence on charismatic leader emergence. Though not specifically aimed at revealing specific leader/audience interaction phenomena, Bord does allude to characteristic themes and behaviors consistently observed among Pentecostal groups, the audiences likely to attend a meeting involving a
faith-healing evangelist. Bord describes the faith healer's audience in terms that draw attention to a crisis mentality. Frequently the observer finds "seekers, people under a diffuse stress, perhaps anxious, disillusioned with a materialistic, secular society which fails to answer basic questions about life's meaning."\(^{52}\) Stress of some type plays a major role in recruiting potential devotees to these groups. The major stress point is, as Bord notes, "the presence of problems not amenable to treatment by modern science."\(^{53}\) The majority of audience members in a faith-healing service have come because they or their friends or relations are sick with diseases, deformities, or habits which seem to be incurable or unresolvable.\(^{54}\) Sometimes the seekers "believe" they are sick or infirmed when the source of such handicaps as temporary blindness, loss of speech, or limb paralysis (without organic base) is actually an "hysterical conversion reaction."\(^{55}\) They come


\(^{53}\) Ibid.


\(^{55}\) Interview with Vernon C. Lewis, licensed clinical psychologist, San Clemente, California, 27 May 1980. Lewis has been an active counselor and clinical psychologist in Southern California for fifteen years. He indicates that audience members drawn to a faith-healing evangelist may be sick with infirmities that have no organic basis. Such "illnesses" can be "seemingly cured" when a charismatic leader-figure breaks the "hysterical conversion reaction"
expectantly seeking a miracle-worker and are ready to imbue an authoritarian leader who fulfills and ameliorates their stress with the quality of charisma. 56

The audiences that came to hear Sister Aimee Semple McPherson preach and perform healings during the decades of the 1920s to the 1940s came to the specific rhetorical situation with mind-sets rooted in stress. Sullivan describes the tenor of the times:

It was a discontent with the post-war commotion, the turbulence and unsettlement, that surrounded him and fretted him; it was a wish for settled ways, for conditions that remained the same long enough to become familiar and therefore dear, for routine that remained set, for a world that "stayed put." It was a yearning for "the time of peace wherein we trusted"--not meaning merely for peace in the sense of absence of war, but for peace in the sense of serenity, for a state of things in which it was possible to feel trust to rely upon permanence. 57

Sister Aimee knew how to speak and perform so that potential devotees in a state of stress would find personal fulfillment in the leader/audience relationship.

The demographics of Sister Aimee's congregation would seem to parallel the "sect-church theory" analysis. Generally, the people in the audience were blue-collar workers, "unlearned and unskilled in things of the mind, (his term) with a sudden emotional verbal or physical act (e.g., striking the forehead with the palm). "Many Pentecostals are prone to break the hysterical conversion reaction by the suggestion of a charismatic leader-figure."

but great in the realm of feeling..." Observers noted that "nine out of ten of Aimee's followers were converts from orthodox Protestant creeds, migrants from small-town and farming areas of the Middle West." Audiences were racially mixed, a factor especially noteworthy in a time when segregation was the accepted practice. In the early days of her itinerant ministry, McPherson drew large audiences of illiterate blacks and whites, Gypsies, and American Indians. Many unemployed and poverty-stricken people came to hear Sister Aimee preach and receive handouts of food and clothing.

Years later during the relatively tranquil period of the 1950s, demographic observations reveal the same minorities and disinherited peoples attending faith-healing services. Faith healers traveled throughout the rural areas seeking to find converts from the culturally and situationally dispossessed minorities. A. A. Allen was one faith healer who especially appealed to "the abjectly poor--

to blacks, Indians, Puerto Ricans, and poor whites."\(^63\)

Howard Elinson described the social structure of Allen's audience as follows:

Pictures of revival congregations and home towns and the speech patterns of persons heard on the [A. A. Allen] radio broadcasts confirm our imputation of regional background [Southern, Southwestern, Rural Midwestern] and further indicate that many followers are from rural and small-town backgrounds and that a sizable proportion is Negro. The majority of participants are women.\(^64\)

Newspaper and magazine reporters wrote critical reports of Allen's crusades throughout his ministry. Allen reciprocated with denunciations of most of the reporters. William Hedgepeth, a reporter for Look Magazine in 1969, wrote an article that pleased Allen. Hedgepeth's description of the Allen audience may seem extreme and grotesque, but Allen endorsed the article\(^65\) as a fair and accurate assessment of his devoted followers:

[The people seemed to] cling shyly together like dazed survivors of some gigantic shipwreck. Here they gathered with their vague uneasiness and private eagerness to be thrust somehow into the grips of something overwhelming: sodden-eyed parents with drowsy children; jut-jawed old black men; bearded women; dwarfs; blind

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\(^65\)Asa Alonzo Allen and Walter Wagner, Born to Lose, Bound to Win (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1970). In Allen's autobiography, he mentions with satisfaction the fairer and less hostile reactions he received from the press in the last few years of his ministry. The Hedgepeth article is cited in the text as an example of "fairer" reporting.
ladies; men with giant goiters; lay preachers; lunatics; splayed feet; faded eyes; tight skirts and teased-tip hair; varicose veins; hook hands; ... and, here and there, a wan, brief smile like a piece of cracked pottery. They are a cacophony of smells and a scramble of ages and shapes and races and bottomless frustrations -- each sharing some hue of vague unlabeled loneliness and a need for some faint coloration to the grayness of their days. ... 66

Elinson mentions that Allen's audience suffered from "compound deprivation," alluding to "serious physical and psychological ailments." 67

Such "compound deprivation" led to perceived feelings of extreme stress. Many of Allen's faithful followers wrote letters to him expressing their fears and anxieties. The following letters offer typical samples mailed to Allen during his years of ministry:

Brother Allen: I am ill in the Los Alamitos Hospital. Can't come to see you. Would you please pray for my eyes and my stomach so I will get well.

Diane Carter
Long Beach, California

Rev. Allen: To let you know of my condition. I was supposed to be operated on for a bleeding tumor. Doctor said it might be cancer but I called the hospital and cancelled the operation. I will be at your meeting tonight.

Katherine French
Las Vegas, Nevada


Brother Allen: I am completely helpless. Can't walk or even move my legs. Please decree a miracle for me and fill me with the Holy Ghost.

Rachel Whitaker
Chicago, Illinois

Though a contemporary of Allen, Kathryn Kuhlman attracted neo-Pentecostal, upper-middle-class devotees in addition to the dispossessed minorities. She gathered audiences into large auditoriums in major urban areas rather than in rural areas. The audience at Kuhlman rallies did not appear poor or physically grotesque or socially deprived. But the need to relieve the situational stresses of illness, disease, and loneliness remained the same.

For many of the people coming to the meeting seeing Miss Kuhlman meant the possibility of having gnarled hands restored to youthful nimbleness. To hundreds of others in the crowd suffering from various afflictions, Miss Kuhlman represented a way out of the somber world of sickness—a lodestar pointing the way to good health and salvation.

Desperate people, at "the end of their physical and emotional resources," found Kathryn Kuhlman. In her

68 Allen and Wagner, Born to Lose, pp. 4-5, 7.
69 Simson, Faith Healer, p. 127.
70 Jamie Buckingham, Daughter of Destiny (Plainfield, New Jersey: Logos International, 1976). Several chapters in this Kuhlman biography mention her monthly meetings in Pittsburgh and Los Angeles, as well as visits to major auditoriums in Chicago, St. Louis, Tampa, and Columbus, Ohio.
services and "under her spell" those most desperate came for healing.\textsuperscript{72}

The devotees of such faith-healing evangelists as Aimee Semple McPherson, A. A. Allen, Kathryn Kuhlman, and others represent the religious convert described by James as "being overwhelmed by a feeling of incompleteness and imperfection: brooding, depression, morbid introspection, and a sense of sin; anxiety about the here-after . . . ."\textsuperscript{73} With such intense feelings of stress, leading to mental attitudes that see mere existence as moment-by-moment crises, the faith healer's audience is susceptible to charismatic influence.

Bord argues that stress and situational crises tend to limit alternative perspectives "by orienting the individual toward a relatively circumscribed set of solutions."\textsuperscript{74} In the faith healer's audience the combination characteristics of stress, desperation, and "last hope" feelings engender uncritical judgments and orientational attraction to a leader with means to resolve the stress. Thus, the faith healer has listeners who care little that their breadth of perspective is narrowed.


\textsuperscript{73}James, Varieties of Religious Experience, p. 195.

\textsuperscript{74}Bord, "Charismatic Social Influence Processes," p. 488.
They hope to be "healed." The basis is now established for the entrance of the "healer" or charismatic leader.

Willner hypothesizes that crisis situations "crystallize into a collective call by people for a leader to come to their rescue... [They] turn with charismatic response to a man [or woman] who answers their call of despair with a vision of hope." When faithful audience members attribute charismatic characteristics to their leader the charismatic communication influence process commences. Such a charismatic recognition is commonplace among the Pentecostals:

[They] continually credit their leaders (local or visiting) with being "truly led by the Spirit," with the capacity to "open up the Scriptures" to their followers, with having unusual powers of healing, exorcism, prophecy, or spiritual knowledge.

Conclusion

The interactive relationship of charismatic leader with his or her "true believers" is a product of a complex attribution process. As situational stress factors decrease the possible alternative remedies for the felt-stress, the receptivity factors to a leader with a means to reduce or eliminate the stress increase. If relatively large numbers exhibit intense and similar reactions toward a leader/communicator and view that person as their "savior," they

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76 Gerlach and Hine, People, Power, Change, p. 106.
will attribute special characteristics to that person. This attribution process forms the charismatic bond between certain leaders and their followers.

The charismatic leader/communicator soon learns how to speak to the felt-stress needs of his audience. Faith healers, as examples of charismatic leaders, realize that in order to maintain their charismatic posture they must be continuously sensitive to relieving the situational crises. Ironically, completely resolving the stress would eventually lead to a lack of need for the services of the charismatic leader. Such a situation frequently occurs following a war when the charismatic political leader is voted out of office (e.g., Winston Churchill). Faith-healing evangelists tend to attempt a dual approach toward situational crises. It is important for them to validate their charisma by resolving some individuals' stress and also to maintain their charisma by helping to create the very stress and crises they eventually seek to alleviate in others.

Rhetorical discourse may help to maintain a crisis milieu through a process described by Golden, Berquist, and Coleman as exigency marking that assures the charismatic leader/communicator of his charismatic pre-eminence. In this case, the faith-healing evangelist may point out an already existing exigency—dwelling on a sense of urgency and making the exigency the central and ultimate concern of the congregation. Or the evangelist
may make real and urgent an exigency which was/is . . . created by the evangelist.

The faith-healing evangelist utilizes several exigency marking devices. One such device is crowd control. They strive to have the crowds kept tightly packed and sense a collective feeling of need. Though Aldous Huxley was not describing a faith-healing service in his description of crowd psychology, he discussed factors and ramifications well-known to the faith-healing evangelist:

Assembled in a crowd, people lose their powers of reasoning and their capacity for moral choice. Their suggestibility is increased to the point where they cease to have any judgment or will of their own. They become very excitable, they lose all sense of individual or collective responsibility. They are subject to sudden excesses of rage, enthusiasm and panic.

Couple this suggestibility with statements emotionally exorcising "demons" of guilt and disease and the faith-healing evangelist has at his command numerous means to maintain and orchestrate the immediate social crises milieu. Contextual and speaker-induced stress help create the "cloud" of social crises.

The audiences for each faith healer described in this dissertation differed in some specific demographic characteristics, but all shared common needs that demanded resolution. "Denied the satisfaction of social

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relationships devoid of prejudice and condescension, they found salvation [and healing] in a sublime experience of union with the Divine that carried them above their grueling, insipid lives. . . ." Union with God seemed to occur in the presence of charismatic faith healers. Each audience member foresaw no alternative but to turn to the charismatic evangelist for assistance. A firm bond was established between leader and followers:

[The charismatic leader's] orientations are [the followers'] orientations. For them, it is his existential definitions of past and present, his normative vision of the future, and his prescriptions for action they accept. It therefore can be inferred that they perceive him as outstanding in wisdom, outstanding in prescience, and possessing the power to bring into being the goals they share.  

80 Willner, Charismatic Leadership, p. 7.
CHAPTER FIVE

APPLICATION OF A CHARISMATIC COMMUNICATION MODEL
TO AIMEE SEMPLE MC PHERSON (1890-1944)

On September 27, 1944, the United States was in the midst of a world war, with soldiers from allied nations fighting on two fronts against two national enemies, Germany and Japan. General George S. Patton was moving his troops toward the center of the gradually weakening German military operation in Berlin. General Douglas MacArthur was planning the strategy for his return to the Philippines and the eventual surrender of the Empire of Japan. Americans at home were sacrificing gasoline, rubber, nylons, and a host of other rationed commodities so as to provide the war effort with needed supplies. But on this date the front-page headlines did not proclaim another battle won, but a unique personality lost by an untimely death. Aimee Semple McPherson--Pentecostal woman preacher, faith-healing evangelist, titular head of a fundamentalist denomination (The Four-Square Gospel Fellowship)--was dead at the age of fifty four.

Aimee Elizabeth Kennedy Semple McPherson Hutton--or "Sister Aimee" as she preferred to be called--was eulogized by her devoted followers and reporters with such comments as

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"a legendary figure," "put hallelujah in the headlines,"
"dynamism that galvanized millions who heard her preach,"
"a voice that cast a hypnotic spell."¹ These plaudits
revealed the admiration and awe that Aimee's faithful
followers attributed to her. But her critics had vociferously accused her of charlatanry and chicanery for twenty
years as well. From 1920-1944, she was "worshipped and
adored, hated and feared, elevated to sainthood by her
devotees and accused of devil-possession by her enemies."²
Aimee Semple McPherson was a faith-healing evangelist who
illustrated the applicable characteristics of a "charismatic
communication leader-figure."

Lamirande mentions that previous writers have failed
to adequately "define the nature of her [Aimee's] magnetism
—that intangible something known as charisma that influ­
enced and drew people to her."³ The charisma of Aimee
Semple McPherson cannot be prescriptively and objectively
defined in total, but if the proposed model is applied to
her life, ministry, and communicative techniques, it can
make the previously "intangible" concept of charisma a
little more objectively concrete.

¹Lately Thomas, Storming Heaven: The Lives and
Turmoils of Minnie Kennedy and Aimee Semple McPherson
²Shirley M. Lamirande, "A Rhetorical Analysis of the
Speaking Career of Sister Aimee Semple McPherson" (unpub­
lished master's thesis, The University of Minnesota, 1973),
p. 3.
³Ibid., p. 113.
Biographical Background

Aimee Elizabeth Kennedy was the lone child born to a Methodist farmer and a one-time worker for the Salvation Army in 1890 in the small Canadian town of Ingersoll, Ontario. Told often by her mother that she was a "special gift" from God, destined for greatness in God's service, Aimee briefly rebelled against her fundamentalist upbringing. However, at the age of seventeen Aimee came under the influence of an itinerant Pentecostalist evangelist, Robert Semple, who came to Ingersoll with a message of repentance, "speaking in tongues," and faith-healing. A year later he left with a new convert and a young bride.

Aimee joined Robert Semple in his ministry and traveled to China where they both served for a few years as missionaries. Semple died in China and left Aimee and her infant daughter, Roberta, penniless. She managed to book passage back to the United States and vowed to continue her own preaching ministry in tents and rented halls. In 1912, she married Harold McPherson, a grocery salesman, who never could adjust to the evangelistic career of his celebrated wife. Though the McPhersons had a son, Rolf, the marriage ended in divorce in 1917.

For the next several years, Aimee Semple McPherson preached in an old tent and crossed the country, holding revival services wherever she could. Large crowds began to be attracted to her and following a "vision" to settle down, Aimee moved her revival operations and family to Los Angeles, California, in the early 1920s. Soliciting donations and offerings, Aimee dedicated her church, Angelus Temple, a five-thousand seat arena, on January 1, 1923. Also beginning a radio broadcasting ministry, Aimee Semple McPherson became an influential source of power in the city of Los Angeles. Throngs came to hear her unusual and heavily theatrical presentations of the Gospel. A trip to Angelus Temple to hear Sister Aimee became a must for everyone visiting the Southern California area.

In 1926, a major scandal erupted that threatened to destroy Sister Aimee's career. Supposedly "kidnapped" while swimming at Ocean Park Beach, Aimee disappeared, was thought to be dead, reappeared in Baja California, and was taken to court on charges of fraud. Witnesses reported seeing Mrs. McPherson in Carmel, California, staying in a motel room with Kenneth G. Ormiston, a former Angelus Temple employee. Witnesses eventually contradicted themselves and the celebrated court battle was dismissed with Sister Aimee still the object of her devotees' admiration.

For twenty years, Aimee Semple McPherson generated news and controversy in the Los Angeles area. She returned to courtrooms for suits, divorce proceedings, and various
litigations throughout her lifetime. Estimates place the average number of articles appearing in local Los Angeles newspapers concerning Mrs. McPherson at three per week between 1926 and 1937.\(^5\) Seeming to thrive on any kind of publicity, Mrs. McPherson built up a congregation of many thousands by the time she died. Branch churches were established and a new Pentecostal/Protestant denomination, The Four-Square Gospel Fellowship, was created. The mystery of her life continued even with her death. A bottle of Secanol was found near her bed, with no accompanying prescription. A coroner's autopsy reported that Aimee Semple McPherson died on September 27, 1944, of an "accidental overdose of sleeping pills."

A closer look at the message, personality, and communicative delivery techniques of Aimee Semple McPherson will reveal the variables that made her a charismatic figure. Even today, thirty-six years after her death, her charisma, perceived by her followers and denominational offspring, seems just as potent.

**Charismatic Variables in the "Message"**

1. The "Revolutionary Message"

As was noted in chapter three, the "revolutionary" message of the charismatic leader is an effort to provide an alternative to current situational crises. The

"revolutionary" message aspects do not necessarily mean that a charismatic leader is a leader who gained power or office by revolutionary means. Aimee Semple McPherson preached a "revolutionary" message in the sense that her content differed from many mainline Protestant ministries. Her message also attempted to re-orient her listening audience to a simpler, more experiential faith.

In her sermons, Mrs. McPherson emphasized the need for repentance, acknowledgment of personal sin, and acceptance/identification with God through His Son, Jesus Christ. This aspect of the message was certainly not revolutionary. Other evangelical fundamentalist groups emphasized those ideas. But the experience of knowing God in more intimate terms and that this could only occur through total surrender to God's Holy Spirit, speaking in an unknown "heavenly language," and believing in "miraculous" healing of diseases and handicaps was counter to prevailing Protestant and Catholic religious culture. Potential followers who had been denied emotional outbursts and release in some Protestant churches found a revolutionary motif in Mrs. McPherson's message. Emotional outbursts were accepted and actively encouraged. The hungry and the poor were literally fed in food lines, sponsored by auxiliary ministries at Mrs. McPherson's Angelus Temple. Many who were

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sick or crippled by physical deformities received a moment's reprieve by believing that they had been healed through Mrs. McPherson's influence. The major "revolutionary" aspect of Mrs. McPherson's ministry is mentioned by editor Raymond L. Cox in the introduction to Mrs. McPherson's posthumous autobiography, *The Story of My Life*:

The secret of Sister McPherson's ministry was her unique ability . . . to make Jesus real to her audiences—to make Him so real that congregations recognized His wonderful presence in their midst, not just in theory but in actual fellowship.\(^7\)

"Religious theory becoming reality" was the key to the revolutionary nature of Mrs. McPherson's message.

2. Simplistic Message

The format of Mrs. McPherson's messages was also revolutionary. She mentioned her concern and the need for a new method to present the gospel and her healing message in an earlier autobiography, *In the Service of the King*:

Right at the outset, there was borne in upon me the realization that the methods so often used to impart religion were too archaic, too sedate and too lifeless ever to capture the interests of the throngs. . . . So I developed methods which have brought hundreds of thousands to meetings who otherwise would never have come.\(^8\)

The "gospel was ever fresh and up to date; but the musty

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modes of presentation were antiquated"—much too antiquated for Aimee Semple McPherson. She revolutionized the preaching format with her "illustrated sermons."

Mrs. McPherson discovered that "illustrations" captivated the minds of her listening audience. If her gospel message could be simplified by means of word choice and pictorial representation, the audience response would have greater impact than a formal lecture or sermon. With pictorial referents on stage during her "illustrated sermons" or banners reading, "Jesus Is Coming Soon--Get Ready!" or "Where Will You Spend Eternity?" Mrs. McPherson reduced the complexities of a religious conversion to simplistic terms. In chapter three it was noted that the charismatic communicator has the ability to "point [at actual referents] through imagery." Simplicity, aimed at actual referents, makes faithful followers believe the simple referent has come into being. Sister Aimee had the ability to use simple referents and "project" her audiences into the dramatic scenes she described. "When she described a scene, she placed her hearers in it; when she spoke of Jesus, it was with such intensity that the audience became

9McPherson, Story of My Life, p. 82.


half-persuaded he was in their midst."  

The moral of her "illustrated sermons" was simple and precise, described as a "moral in cartoon terms."  

3. "Figures of Presence" in the Message

Observers of Mrs. McPherson's word choice and composition did not mention the concept of presence, but their explanations supported the aura of her compositional language skills. In a survey of eight sermons written by Mrs. McPherson, Ebeling noted that 57 percent of the sermons' contents are comprised of "narration or dialogue within a narrative. . . . She used narration as her main form of support for amplification."  

Ebeling echoed the sentiments of Perelman and Tyteca when he stated that "such rhetorical technique added the realistic give-and-take of conversation as stimuli to the imagination of her listeners."  

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12 Thomas, Storming Heaven, p. 36.
13 Thomas, Vanishing Evangelist, p. xiii.
15 Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, The New Rhetoric (South Bend, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969), pp. 116-18. Perelman and Tyteca use the term presence to describe a rhetorical stimulus to the imagination. Certain use of words or literary figures ("figures of presence") are "essential element[s] in argumentation" because they induce in the imagination a feeling of proximity. Proximity seems to persuade people of the existence of an idea or concept.
In the appendix of this dissertation is included a sermon by Aimee Semple McPherson entitled "The Cat and the Canary," written and delivered in the 1930s. Examples of several figures of presence are noted:

**Onomatopoeia:**

And finally with one spring, the old cat said, "I've got you now." But the canary said, "Peeeep! Peeeep! Peeeppp! Isn't there any way back? I've fallen into sin. I'm deep in sin."

"No, there's no backing up. Now come on . . . follow me. Rrrowrrr. Rrrowwwrrr. Come on out."

**Repetition:**

But the cat said, "Come on, come on, come on, come on, come on, come on. Here's the money! Thirty pieces of silver! Hear them clinking! Come on! In my hand!"

**Sermocinatio:**

. . . some Delilah, or some Johnny will just simply talk you out of the whole thing, and say, "Well, maybe it wouldn't be so bad, just once. If I take this one bottle of liquor, or I take this one marijuana cigarette. . . ."

**Synonymy:**

"Out with coldness! And out with professional cordiality. . . . Out with the yielding to temptation and back with the love of God."

One observer noted that Mrs. McPherson's use of repetition had a "psychological effect" not unlike the impact an advertiser has on his intended consumer. Repetition, coupled with other "figures of presence," added to the charismatic appeal of her message.

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4. Focus on Collective Identity in the Message

That the devotees to Mrs. McPherson began to link their own identities with hers is evidenced by Mavity's observation that "they who are not beautiful or rich or magnetic receive a vicarious gratification from her beauty, her wealth, her success. As they have contributed to it, they share in her glory."¹⁸ This helps to explain how the devoted followers could justify the expenses generated by Mrs. McPherson in twenty years of her Los Angeles ministry. The "true believer" seems to experience wealth and possessions vicariously. If Mrs. McPherson looked rich or wealthy or "blessed by God materially," the devoted follower could also claim such a blessing.

Narrowing alternatives in group perspectives is encouraged when the charismatic figure's identity is linked with the followers. While Mrs. McPherson's secular reputation and prestige began to deteriorate with the kidnapping affair, two divorces, and numerous court appearances, she remained attractive to her faithful followers who refused to believe anything else but that Aimee Semple McPherson was the embodiment of their group identity.¹⁹ Illustrative of this group identity fanatical loyalty were the gala celebrations staged on Mrs. McPherson's birthday each year.

¹⁸ Mavity, Sister Aimee, p. xviii.
The sanctuary was filled with the faithful as they came to celebrate the party as if it were their own. 20

5. Polarized Aggression in the Message

Many faith-healing evangelists are likely to link evil or sinfulness or depravity with a humanized adversary, Satan. Mrs. McPherson packed into her sermons illustrations of polarized aggression. She advocated distinctions of what was "good" and what was "evil" or "of the devil." Unlike many other revivalists, though, Mrs. McPherson tried to downplay the "hell-fire and brimstone" fear tactics and stress the positive benefits of seeking "heavenly" goals. In one of her sermons, "Which Road?" she addressed Satan as "the serpent," "the father [of sin]," and "the devil." 21 This illustrated sermon pictured two opposite paths: one trailing off to the lower level of the picture and "a fiery Hell" and the other, a "narrow" but uplifted pathway to pillared gates and "Heaven." The polarization is made simplistically evident.

Occasionally, Sister Aimee deviated from the heaven-hell, God-Satan dichotomy to polarize her aggression to other adversaries. During 1926, while Mrs. McPherson was in and out of court proceedings regarding the "kidnapping affair," another prominent Los Angeles preacher,

20 Thomas, Storming Heaven, p. 331.

Rev. Robert Phil Shuler, began a personal vendetta in his Sunday evening services against Mrs. McPherson. Aimee responded with messages such as "The Greatest Liar in Los Angeles." *Newsweek Magazine* reported years later that "Aimee's dynamic showmanship still sways her congregation—with the help of three new devils (Hitler, Hirohito, and Mussolini) and a fluttering American flag."22 Aimee's detractors attempted to subvert her ministry, but most attempts failed. Her church attracted more seekers, and many of those seekers became devotees to Mrs. McPherson. Sister Aimee's use of "subversion" identified her enemies, linked them with Satan and efforts to destroy her ministry. This subversive rhetoric enabled Sister Aimee's followers to recognize enemies of the ministry.

Even a cursory examination of any of Aimee Semple McPherson's sermons or her extemporaneous utterances at the Angelus Temple revealed the rudimentary elements for a "charismatic" message. But some rhetorical scholars may see blandness or simplistic pronouncements if they look at the "message" elements in isolation. Aimee Semple McPherson was described as a "dynamic" personality and the claim that she represents a worthy example of the charismatic communicator is further supported by characteristics noted in her personality.

22"Aimee's Foursquare Behind the War," *Newsweek* 22 (July 19, 1943): 64.
Charismatic Variables in the "Personality"

1. High Status

The power of McPhersonism resides in the personality of Mrs. McPherson... There is no way to understand how a jejune and arid pulpit outpit has become a dynamic of literally national proportions but hear and see the woman.23

Mrs. McPherson was not originally a wealthy woman. But the wealth and expensive lifestyle to which she became accustomed added to her "status." During the Great Depression, she used some of the money given in church service collections to provide food and clothes for the poor. She remained wealthy, but in her willingness to give away her wealth in service to her devotees she added to the "high status" perception. One of her severest critics, columnist Julia Budlong, admitted that "to her followers she is simply the Lord's Anointed, sent to herald His Second Coming. To them, everything about her partakes of the miraculous and no further attempt is made to analyze the wonders of her works."24 So confident of her "high status" was Mrs. McPherson that she did not fear the bad publicity that dogged her throughout her life. Seeing that the "1926 kidnap trial" could not be continued, Los Angeles District Attorney Asa Keyes called for dismissal of the charges

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"to enable her to be judged in the only court of her juris-
diction—the court of public opinion." The "court of
public opinion" must have come out in favor of Sister Aimee
because her Angelus Temple constituents revered her more
after the trial. One of Mrs. McPherson's admirers revealed
the extent of her adoration in a letter written to the
antagonistic Rev. Shuler: "Call me a fool if you want to,
but if Mrs. McPherson should confess every word of the
Carmel story, it would not shake my faith in her. I would
simply say that she had the same weaknesses that God's
saints have always had." Sister Aimee knew that this
attributed "high status" was deep-seated. She is quoted as
saying, "I have the passionate devotion of thousands. If
the papers tomorrow morning proved that I had committed
eleven murders, those thousands would still believe in
me!" She also predicted that attempts to scandalize her
name and ministry would meet with defeat:

When all the lies and innuendo, the false witnesses and
planted evidence of this diabolic and absurd attack have
died away, the foundations and cornerstones of this
glorious Gospel shall remain more unshaken and immovable
than before,—yes, even stronger, I prophesy, shall it stand!  

Thomas, Vanishing Evangelist, p. 320.
Aimee Semple McPherson, "Foursquare," Sunset
Magazine 58 (February 1927): 82.
2. "Stranger" Qualities

The attraction of Mrs. McPherson to her followers and her critics may also be linked to her "strangeness." Certainly her Canadian accent added to her "foreignness," but it was the very fact that she was a woman faith-healing evangelist that added a quality of "strangeness" to her charismatic appeal. Women rhetorical figures were found infrequently among religious groups. Pentecostals seemed most receptive to allowing women preachers, so it is not unusual to see Aimee Semple McPherson's oratorical gifts being endorsed by the Pentecostals:

The "Prophetesses" have great possibilities open to them in the Pentecostal movement. Pastors' wives are largely overshadowed by their husbands. . . . [But] in the case of "women with theatrical talents" the basic feminine urge which is otherwise suppressed in the Pentecostal movement breaks out with great force, so that individual women with special talents can attain an extraordinary high status. . . . This shows that in the Pentecostal movement a manifest talent is of greater importance than rigorous fundamentalism. 29

Aimee soon realized that "woman preacher" was a novelty that would be an important factor in drawing people to her meetings. 30

3. Conquerable Imperfection

It is doubtful that Aimee Semple McPherson would have had the same impact as a faith-healing evangelist if


she had not experienced "divine healing." There is attributed charisma in overcoming a conquerable imperfection. At revival services during 1918, Aimee told audiences in Denver, St. Louis, Dayton, Washington, and Montreal of her "miraculous" healing experience, how her broken ankle had been instantaneously healed by prayer.  

She told of recovery and escapes from normal childhood mishaps and used these stories as examples of obstacles she had overcome. She revealed a tendency to promote a "martyr-complex" in one of her autobiographies:

Being called upon to endure hardness as a good soldier, and to bring back precious souls for Jesus, no matter how hard the conflict, the Lord has put that within me which causes me to go through, refusing defeat, refusing even to be discouraged.

Overcoming hardships seemed to enhance her charisma.

4. "Special Calling"

It has been mentioned that from her earliest childhood Aimee Semple McPherson was told that she was a "special child," destined for some great work in "the service of the Lord." A charismatic leader who believes that he or she is an integral part of some specific fate or destiny can point to specific life crises in which a "special calling"

31 Thomas, Storming Heaven, p. 20.
33 McPherson, This Is That, p. 24.
34 Ibid., pp. 16, 18-19, 26.
or "inner feeling" for leadership was experienced. Several evidences of this "special calling" Mrs. McPherson mentioned in her various autobiographies. She believed that various life crises validated her authority and leadership in the ministry. The greatest crisis seemed to be the struggle of "surrender to God's will" for her life:

In her own mind . . . Aimee believed that she had been saved at the very brink by the submission of her will to divine direction—a step she had resisted. . . . The effect when she told this mystical summons and surrender from her pulpit in later years was thrilling and convincing. Nothing was more fundamental to her belief than the reality of this long-resisted, and then absolute, submission to God's will. 35

Mrs. McPherson related that at the age of 17 she was skeptical of fundamentalist Christianity and experienced doubts because of what she had been taught at high school. But in 1907, with the arrival in town of the evangelist Robert Semple, Sister Aimee said that she was confronted with two irresistible forces: the gospel and the personal attractiveness of Robert Semple. Emotionally and spiritually imbalanced by a "hell-fire and damnation" sermon, Sister Aimee related her crisis experience that initiated her "special calling" to a life of religious ministry:

I was desperately afraid. I trembled with conviction. It seemed as though every moment which I lived outside of God and without repentance toward Him was lived in the most awful peril and gravest danger of being cast into hell without mercy. . . . Utterly at the end of myself . . . I threw up my hands, and all alone in that country road, I screamed aloud toward the heavens: "Oh, Lord God, be merciful to me, a sinner!" Immediately the

35 Thomas, Storming Heaven, p. 13.
most wonderful change took place in my soul. Darkness
passed away and light entered. . . . 36

This "conversion" experience became the major
characteristic of her own ministry in the years to come,
with one additional "experience" implemented to verify the
"true salvation" experience. Though Sister Aimee had
received her experiential "salvation," she desired a more
intimate, emotional, and cathartic relationship with God.
She was intrigued with Robert Semple's words concerning
the "baptism of the Holy Spirit," with accompanying ability
to speak in unknown tongues. Sister Aimee again sought a
special experience and related what occurred:

Each day the hunger for the baptism of the Holy Spirit
became stronger and stronger, more and more intense
until . . . all at once my hands and arms began to
shake, gently at first, then violently, until my whole
body was shaking under the power of the Holy Spirit.
. . . My lungs began to fill and heave under the power
as the Comforter came in. . . . Unintelligible sounds
as of stammering lips and another tongue . . . began to
issue from my lips. . . . 37

Pentecostals refer to this emotional experience as a
"second work of grace." The biblical Greek word for "grace"
is the same root word from which the word "charisma" comes.
This "second work" was a factor in the perceived charisma of
Mrs. McPherson.

Validations for her "special calling" to a ministry
continued. It made little difference to Sister Aimee that

36 McPherson, This Is That, pp. 39-40.
37 Ibid., pp. 42, 46, 47.
as a woman she would meet opposition regarding her usur­pation of male authority in the work of pulpit evangelism. Throughout her early life in the ministry, "evidences that she was under the protection of some super-human agency" were replete and provided money, meals, transportation, and shelter for her family and her faithful followers. She related that her "special calling" was a renewable commodity and she experienced continual evidence that she had a special mission for her people and anyone else who would listen. She said that "when the message comes, I feel the infusion of power just as does a copper wire when the electric current reaches it. I am revitalized, remade alive."  

5. Sexual Mystique

It has been noted that "sexual mystique" is an attractive and additive charismatic trait when it remains enigmatic. Mrs. McPherson's life was a source of scandal, innuendo, and sexual attractiveness, but no legal proceed­ings or divorces or slander suits could prove that she was guilty of any misconduct. Despite (or perhaps because of)
her notoriety, Mrs. McPherson's charisma following the "kidnap" trial seemed to be enhanced.

The "kidnap" trial made front-page news of Mrs. McPherson's sexual mystique. Witnesses appeared initially and related sightings of Mr. Kenneth Ormiston and her in a motel in Carmel, California. The court proceedings were instituted to prove Sister Aimee's kidnap story and subsequent financial collections were part of an attempt at fraud, perpetrated by Mrs. McPherson and her mother. Insufficient evidence and alterations in key witness testimony eventually led to a case dismissal. The taint of sexual misconduct was not conclusively proven and Sister Aimee re-appeared with a larger degree of fanatical loyalty from her followers. Mrs. McPherson married again several years following the "kidnap" trial. Her marriage to the Temple choir director and lead singer, David Hutton, ended in divorce also. She never remarried. Despite her unsuccessful marriages, she maintained her image in the eyes of her devotees.

Several observers noted the sexual attractiveness in Mrs. McPherson's image. One reporter called her "voluptuous" and described her as having "animal magnetism."41

Another observer noted that some of her converts were influenced and persuaded to "accept Christ" as much by her

"sex appeal" as by her biblical preaching. Carey McWilliams perhaps described her sexual mystique best:

... she suggested sex without being sexually attractive. The suggestion was to be found in some quality of the voice; some radiation of that astonishing physical vitality. ... Wherever she moved or stirred, sex was present. ... sex in headlines, sex emblazoned in marquee lights.

Aimee Semple McPherson retained her charisma and her leadership position despite scandals that would wreck a motion picture actress. She emerges triumphantly from grand jury investigations, trials, lawsuits, secessions, and personal attacks, ranging from the accusation of illicit love affairs to the accusation of grand theft.

6. Dramatic Acting Qualities

The model of charismatic communication mentions "dramatic actor" as one component of the charismatic communicator. It is a major ingredient which helped to create the charisma of Aimee Semple McPherson whose style of communication emphasized the dramatic.

As a young child, Mrs. McPherson was actively involved in school plays and enjoyed "acting out" Bible stories for her playmates. This gift for drama was confirmed years later in her preaching. Bissell referred to

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44 Mavity, Sister Aimee, pp. xvi-xvii.
her as a "superb actress." Her stage was Angelus Temple, and her roles were innumerable. In one of her autobiographies she stated the beginnings and implementation of her use of drama in preaching, a technique of her own devising called "illustrated sermons":

In the beginning the illustrations were quite elementary compared with their later development. My first sermon to be prepared in this way was "Weighed in the Balances." A large pair of scales was erected on the platform over which a structure of wood canopied by velvet was built. . . . As time passed by, these sermons were worked out much more elaborately and effectively. . . . Through the years these illustrated sermons proved to be a joy to the hearts of thousands. . . . The thought struck me that perhaps if people could see the messages as well as hear them, more would come to Jesus.  

Certainly "seeing" and "hearing" the message gave full vent to Sister Aimee's dramatic abilities. For one sermon she appeared riding a motorcycle down the main church aisle, garbed in a policeman's uniform, screeched to a halt, blew a shrill whistle, put up a hand-held "Stop" sign, and bellowed out, "Stop! You're going to hell!" Other sermons found her dressed as a pilgrim wife, a milkmaid, a football player, a Navy commander, and a fireman. Asked in 1928 to explain the secret of her ability to draw crowds into Angelus Temple, she stated: "The people can't get anything at the theater that we haven't got." Aimee hired a

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46 McPherson, Story of My Life, p. 228.  
47 Thomas, Storming Heaven, p. 114.
full-time staff to construct flats, scenery, props, and the paraphernalia of the theater for her Sunday night sermons.

Even her critics in the press had to admire her showmanship. One critic called her illustrated sermons "dazzling." Another referred to the Sunday evening services as "a complete vaudeville program." Sister Aimee preached to a throng that had been reared to believe that attending the theater was evil. She brought the theater to church and made it acceptable and appealing to the throng without any accompanying guilt.

7. Innovative Lifestyle and Approach

The "illustrated sermons" were also an aspect of innovation that Mrs. McPherson brought to the charismatic communication situation. The beliefs and structure of the Angelus Temple were set apart from other Protestant and even Pentecostal groups. Innovation was a factor in creating The Four-Square Gospel Fellowship, with sister churches emerging throughout the United States and the rest of the world.

Mrs. McPherson seemed to have a knack for knowing what novel approaches or innovational promotions would find responsiveness in her audience. Occasionally, however, her

50 Thomas, Storming Heaven, p. 114.
attempts at innovation failed. And with the failure came an immediate cessation of the attempts and a return to the successful. One such innovational failure that was short-lived was an attempt in 1927 to identify her work with a "nautical theme." The idea of a "Salvation Navy" intrigued Aimee. She required new Four-Square churches to be architecturally built so that one part of the church was shaped like a turret or lighthouse tower. Many Four-Square churches built in the late 1920s and early 1930s show this architectural feature. Sister Aimee had created for herself a Navy commander's uniform. The innovation was dropped when her "crew" quarreled over rank, the uniforms, and "promotions." Also, the United States Navy planned to return Sister Aimee to the courtroom for apparent misuse of the Navy's uniform. The innovational attempt failed, but did not deter Mrs. McPherson from making her unique contributions to the gospel ministry.

Though her delivery techniques and vocal usage were honed to a stereotype, Mrs. McPherson's content and illustrated sermons were always a novelty. A trip to Angelus Temple for an Aimee Semple McPherson sermon was a regular part of most every Southern California tourist's itinerary. "She introduced variety and an element of surprise into the public services of religion to catch the interest of those

\[51\] Ibid., pp. 91-92.
who desire novelty and she utilized spectacle and display
and stirring music."  

8. "Miracle-Worker"

Authentication of Mrs. McPherson's charisma primarily occurred through her feats of "miracle healings."
The illustrated sermons and the lively music attracted
crowds, but examples of "healing" by a touch or a word from
Mrs. McPherson solidified the loyalty of her followers.

Sister Aimee's audiences may have been composed of
a majority of unlearned and intellectually unskilled people.
But these devoted followers were moved and persuaded by what
they saw and heard. They needed only to see a "miracle" to
believe in Sister Aimee's charisma.  

A testimonial to Mrs. McPherson's supposed "miracle-
working" was offered by a Mrs. R. T. Gregg of St. Louis,
Missouri:

While attending the meetings in Moolah Temple, St.
Louis, I was wonderfully healed, saved and filled with
the Holy Spirit. Through the prayers of Mrs. McPherson,
I was completely healed of cancer of the stomach.
Almost instantly, as she placed her hand upon my
stomach, I could feel the cancer breaking loose...  

Critics doubted the longevity of these supposed healings,
but even her critics acknowledged that as long as she could

53 William Worthington, "Healing at Angelus Temple,"
54 Aimee Semple McPherson, Divine Healing Sermons
produce "miracles" that would be believed she would retain her followers' fanatical devotion.\(^55\)

9. Symbolizer/Myth-Maker

Aimee Semple McPherson was at one and the same time a "symbol" and "symbolizer" for her followers.\(^56\) The events and notoriety that surrounded Mrs. McPherson's private life were being justified and ameliorated in the Angelus Temple public forum. Mrs. McPherson created a myth for her followers that cast herself in a battle against "seen and unseen" enemies. Those who would attempt to impugn her moral character and ministry were jealous of her popularity or were instruments of the devil. One of Sister Aimee's biographers stated that once she was "to don a white robe and lift her arms at right angles to her body" her followers would know that she was "a saint and a martyr."\(^57\) Mrs. McPherson found followers willing to believe the myth of martyrdom and the end result was a stronger bond between preacher and audience.

The faithful members of the congregation may not have had resources of money or possessions. But collectively they could help create a "symbol" of that which they lacked. Mrs. McPherson became the symbol for the members of


\(^{56}\) Mavity, Sister Aimee, pp. xix-xx.

\(^{57}\) Ibid., p. xvii.
Angelus Temple. It mattered little to her followers that Mrs. McPherson had expensive clothes, cars, homes, and a flamboyant lifestyle. Vicariously, she symbolized what they were not and could not achieve. Yet, in being the instruments of maintaining Mrs. McPherson's symbolic stance these devotees gained some satisfaction and feelings of self-worth.

The structure and architectural layout and services rendered at Mrs. McPherson's church, Angelus Temple, have symbolic significance. The building was large, garish, and built to highlight Mrs. McPherson's ministry. Worthington alluded to the symbolic nature of Angelus Temple when he stated that "without question, [Angelus Temple was] one of the most important elements in the work of Mrs. McPherson. . . . She knows how to get her ideas expressed in concrete."58 The Angelus Temple was a symbol of her ideas and work. Staff were hired to administer food and clothing to the poor. "Canteens" were provided during the war years for servicemen's recreational needs. The $1,500,000 structure was erected from generous offerings from devoted followers, and so the building itself became a vicarious symbol for the congregation too. Thomas mentioned the role and symbolic importance of the Temple:

To her rapt followers, the Temple was the embodiment of earthly and heavenly glamour, the emotionally satisfying, exciting hub and inspiration of their otherwise

drab lives. In the triumphs of Sister they triumphed; with her they trod a primrose path to Heaven.\textsuperscript{59}

Many who remember Mrs. McPherson still sense a "symbolic" connection with Mrs. McPherson as they pass by the Angelus Temple today.

Charismatic Variables in "Speech Delivery"

1. Vocal Force

Audiences who came to hear Aimee Semple McPherson were seldom bored, but were held in rapt attention for hours during her preaching. Her natural gifts as actress found expressions in a captivating and vibrant speaking style. Several key elements of "vocal force" affected the perceived charisma of Mrs. McPherson.

Years of yelling, improper vocal projection, and forcing the volume levels in her messages without aid of a microphone eventually resulted in a harsh stridency and raspiness to her voice. This stridency, coupled with a rhythmic cadence which seemed to end on the same pitch, created a feeling of passion and emotion among her followers. Described as a "dynamo of energy," Mrs. McPherson seemed tireless in the pulpit.\textsuperscript{60} The congregation was swept into the emotionalism of the messages and Mrs. McPherson's sentences and phrases were often punctuated by overt

\textsuperscript{59}Thomas, \textit{Vanishing Evangelist}, p. xiv.

\textsuperscript{60}Thomas, \textit{Storming Heaven}, p. 180.
responses from a highly responsive crowd. Throughout the United States, the British Isles, and other parts of the world where she spoke, people gathered and passionately responded to her vocalized statements with enthusiastic "Hallelujahs" and "Amens!".61

2. Rapid Responses/Short Pauses/ Repetition

The sermon "The Cat and the Canary" was delivered, as were many of her sermons, in vivid phrasing and repeating signal word fashion. Lamirande describes her delivery as being rapid, utilizing short and staccato-like sentences, coupled with "an almost spastic style, moving from rapid-fire to slow-time and back with little hesitancy or fumbling for words."62

Mrs. McPherson had analyzed her audiences effectively. She seemed to have keen perceptions which kept her attuned to the types of delivery cues that would elicit the desired emotional responses from her audiences. Often times she suggested that her audiences respond in some overt manner: heads tilted back, eyes closed, arms out-stretched toward heaven, shouts, coming forward down the church aisles for salvation or healing, etc.63

61 Goben, Gospel Gold Digger, p. 7.
3. Non-Verbal Qualities

Non-verbally, Mrs. McPherson also attracted her audience members. She looked younger than her actual age at all of the stages of her pulpit career. Her followers ignored the rumors of cosmetic facial surgery. Modern hair-styles accentuated her bright auburn-colored hair. Critics and devotees alike considered Mrs. McPherson physically attractive.

Animated gestures were characteristic of Mrs. McPherson's delivery. She would sweep the air vehemently with her hands and captivate her listeners with postures of kneeling in prayer and jumping with exultation.  

Clothing was an integral factor in creating charisma for Mrs. McPherson. At the outset of her preaching career, her attitudes toward her pulpit garb were conservative. A simple white long dress with an unobtrusive pin was typical. She seemed to take pride in her simple style of dressing:

The secret of success in evangelism is to hide your own personality behind the Christ you are preaching, that the world will see no one save Jesus. It is for this reason that I rarely materially change the style of my simple uniform or even wear a pin or anything which might catch the eye, but try to be as unostentatious and inconspicuous as possible.  

64 Pictures in several biographies illustrate such non-verbal action. See: Thomas, The Vanishing Evangelist and Storming Heaven.

65 McPherson, In the Service of the King, p. 241.
Her views toward ostentation changed in later years. The "illustrated sermons" created natural settings for her to show off her garish wardrobe of costumes. When not costumed for a special sermon, she wore long billowy-sleeved white silk dresses, shimmering as spotlights focused upon her. An embroidered "cross" was emblazoned across the bodice of her dresses. She descended to the pulpit from a tiny doorway, high up in the great auditorium, with a Bible in one hand and a bouquet of red roses in the other. The scene was typical of her entrances and of her choice in clothing. An aura of "angelic purity" and "saintly image" was promoted in her choice of white gowns and billowing sleeves.

Tactile communication cannot be overlooked in Sister Aimee's ministry. Touching those who came to her for "miraculous healing" was regarded as an important means to aid the "healing" process. Mrs. McPherson's use of touch in her healing practices is described in the following passage:

She produces a small cruse from under the pulpit and as each presents himself anoints him with oil, touching the forehead and sometimes the affected parts with her fingertips, calling upon the disease to be gone "in the name of Jesus." She runs her hands up and down the length of a person. . . . If it is a case of deafness, she cups her hands over the deaf ear and shouts into it. She has a powerful and deeply resonant voice which seems to bring results of some sort. . . .


Visitors were personally greeted during her services and touching was a means to communicate warmth and love. A church service scene from 1932 was fairly typical: "This evening Sister called the newcomers to the platform for a personal welcome, and scores filed past, each of the women receiving a hug and each of the men a handclasp."68

The crowds which came to hear Aimee Semple McPherson preach were tightly packed into pews at the Angelus Temple. Often times overflow crowds were herded into adjacent rooms to hear Mrs. McPherson on the radio. Not adverse to manipulating an audience if the end result was "salvation" or "healing," Mrs. McPherson used the crowd closeness variables psychologically to sway her audiences. Thomas noted a case where

a visiting evangelist who was seated beside a Temple Bible School student, known to be such by the visitor, was startled when at Sister's invitation for all who wanted to "give their hearts to Jesus" to raise their hands, the student raised his and immediately was shepherded to the altar by an officious usher, where he knelt and was prayed over fervently by Aimee. The student later explained that his action was taught in the Bible School by Sister, that she called it good psychology, because it encouraged the timid.69

**Audience Reactions and Perceptions of Charisma**

She has the power and the grace . . . . From the very time she makes her entrance on a platform before an audience, everyone is held in her power. . . . She knows how to attract crowds to her tabernacle, and

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68 Thomas, Storming Heaven, p. 240.

69 Ibid., p. 135.
knows how to deliver her message so that it reaches the mob.\textsuperscript{70}

The "mob" of fanatical followers for Aimee Semple McPherson imbued her with charisma. For them, she demonstrated the factors necessary for the perception of charisma.

When perceived in the milieu of "situational crises," Mrs. McPherson received continual overwhelming support and emotional arousal from her admirers. The "identity" that Mrs. McPherson structured for her congregation was seldom questioned. Rules of moral conduct, deliverance from sin and illness, salvation, experiences of euphoria emotionally expressed as validation of the indwelling of God's Holy Spirit; all of these dimensions were homogeneously experienced by the faithful flock of admirers.

Sister Aimee's active potential as a speaker led to attributions of "greatness" by critics and admirers alike. The audience needed to know or believe only what they learned from Mrs. McPherson. A "reduced breadth of perspective" resulted and it allowed no room for criticisms or slander aimed at their beloved leader.

Aimee Semple McPherson was a charismatic communicator. "Her magnetism and her charm remained indestructible."\textsuperscript{71} Though her Temple remains and her denomination

\textsuperscript{70} Goben, \textit{Gospel Gold Digger}, p. 10.

\textsuperscript{71} Thomas, \textit{Storming Heaven}, p. 335.
flourishes, her charisma was not routinized or transferred to her successors:

Though there is subdued vitality, no shivers of excitement await the visitor to Angelus Temple today. The little door, high up in the balcony, through which Sister made her entrances, opens upon no comparable glamour under the rule of the epigone.\textsuperscript{72}

There was only one Aimee Semple McPherson; no one would pick up her mantle and attempt to duplicate her charisma, though many would follow who, utilizing similar techniques, would be called "faith-healing evangelists."

\textsuperscript{72}Ibid., p. 351.
CHAPTER SIX

APPLICATION OF A CHARISMATIC COMMUNICATION MODEL

TO ASA ALONZO ("A. A.") ALLEN (1911-1970)

This is Brother Allen in person. Numbers of friends of mine have been inquiring about reports they have heard concerning me that are not true. People as well as some preachers from pulpits are announcing that I am dead. Do I sound like a dead man? My friends, I am not even sick. Only a moment ago I made reservations to fly into our current campaign where I'll see you there and make the devil a liar.¹

The preceding taped radio message was broadcast nationally on June 14, 1970. In San Francisco on June 11, 1970, faith-healing evangelist Asa Alonzo Allen was found dead in a motel room at the age of 59. The cause of death, according to the coroner, was acute alcoholism.² In death as well as in life, A. A. Allen's ministry maintained a precarious position between the unreal and the miraculous.

Just as publicity hounded Sister Aimee Semple McPherson during the 1920s to the 1940s, so too did the skeptical press dog the path of Rev. A. A. Allen in the 1950s and 1960s. He was excommunicated from his parent


Protestant Pentecostal denomination in 1955 after being arrested for drunken driving. He bounced back from the rebuff, seemingly unscathed. In 1956 he formed his own wholly independent evangelistic enterprise called "Miracle Revival Fellowship." For the next fourteen years he traversed the country, preaching mostly in large tents to people interested in hearing and experiencing his message of healing.

A. A. Allen's claim to charisma is supported by the overwhelming evidence of audience adoration that he experienced in his tent revivals. Forsaking the large auditoriums and a stable church from which to preach, Allen pitched his tent in rural areas of the South, Midwest, and West. His ministry seemed geared to the poor, undereducated, emotionally stirred resident of the rural areas of this country.

Richard Quebedeaux's study of the modern charismatic movement indicates that "charisma" is a recognizable attribute of some Pentecostal leaders. These special leaders are recognized by certain audiences as "(1) possessing one or more of the spiritual gifts in special degree; (2) [having] a forceful personality; and (3) [being] able, through personal qualities, to exercise leadership." A. A. Allen is a prime example of the charismatic communicator in his leadership and power to influence masses.

Biographical Background

The flamboyant faith healer was born on March 27, 1911, the last of seven children born to poor tenant farmers in Sulphur Rock, Arkansas. Asa Alonzo and Leona Magdalene Allen were, by the younger Allen's testimony, the worst possible parental examples a young child could emulate. Allen's father and mother were both alcoholics and enjoyed watching their seven children get drunk as well.

A. A. Allen seemed to enjoy retelling the sordid story of his childhood because it enabled him to claim that God's mercy extended to all sinners, even those as depraved as he himself once was. After becoming addicted to alcohol before the age of five, Allen started smoking cigarettes at the age of six. Allen's natural father left the family at this time, and his mother remarried another alcoholic, John Bailey of Carthage, Missouri. Hating the dictatorial rampages of his step-father, young Asa left home at age eleven.

At the age of twenty-three he returned to Carthage. His twelve years of "drifting" included his first sexual experience with a woman at the age of twelve. He dropped out of school and formal education during his eighth-grade

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year. He lived at age eighteen for a year with a common-law wife. He was jailed for stealing corn. During the twelve-year span, A. A. Allen came in contact with several gospel preachers that confronted the impressionable young man. But he showed no indication of interest in religious pursuits.

It was while helping his mother operate a boot-leg liquor still that he decided to go with a local friend to a Methodist revival meeting. The preacher was a woman named Sister DePriestes. He did not turn to religion that first night. But he was attracted to the revival meeting that second night, and it was at that meeting that he was converted to Christianity. In his autobiography, Allen described his conversion experience as a life-changing moment:

God saved me in a moment! . . . I threw my cigarettes to the ground. . . . I have never smoked since. I have never cursed since. I was never promiscuous again. I never sinned in any way again.5

Two weeks later after his conversion, Allen was introduced to a Brother Hunter, an itinerant Pentecostal preacher. Perhaps drawn to the Pentecostals because of their emotionalism in worship, Allen departed the Methodist Church and joined the local Pentecostal fellowship. His initial experience of glossolalia came while attending a tri-state camp meeting at Miami, Oklahoma. The experience

5 Allen and Wagner, Born to Lose, pp. 70-71.
convinced him that he was called to be a preacher. He met
and married his wife Lexie in 1936 and set out to preach
wherever people would listen.

Without formal theological education or training,
Allen and his wife travelled mostly to backwoods communi-
ties. The churches and offerings were small, and Allen
longed for the "big meeting":

My ministry hadn't caught fire, and long years of small
meetings in small town after small town appeared to be
my fate. . . . I wasn't seeking fame for myself, but
from the moment of my conversion I had seen a vision of
a sea of faces, massed throngs before me eagerly
listening to my preaching, and hundreds, thousands
coming forward at each altar call.6

A closet "experience," described by Allen as a blinding
light, accompanied by an audible voice, provided him with
"thirteen requirements" from God, two of which were too
personal to reveal, "the price tag for the miracle-working
power of God."

Forsaking the itinerant preaching schedule, Allen,
now an ordained minister with the Assemblies of God,
accepted a pastorate of an AOG church in Corpus Christi,
Texas. It was not until 1951 that Allen left the local
church scene to begin an evangelistic revival campaign that
emphasized faith healing as a key feature. Allen was
attracted to the power of faith healing after witnessing
the impact of the healing ministries of Oral Roberts and
Jack Coe.

6Ibid., p. 74.

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Allen purchased Coe's old tent and the "A. A. Allen Revivals, Inc." organization commenced. Beginning in the little town of Brooks, Oregon, Allen gradually gained a national following as news of "miracles" streamed forth. Unlike other faith healers who eventually left the tents for the modern auditoriums and halls, Allen was one of the last major faith healers to speak forth his unique brand of gospel from beneath the canvas.

Faith healers attracted national attention in the 1950s, but most of the publicity was blatantly hostile. A. A. Allen initially seemed to thrive on the newspaper reports that branded him a "fake healer" and a con-artist. He denounced reporters as the pawns of Satan and proclaimed to his emerging faithful followers that reporters who criticized his ministry were demon-possessed. As the years of the Allen ministry continued, the hostility between Allen and the press became more intense.

A major crisis occurred in Allen's ministry on October 21, 1955. While holding a revival campaign in Knoxville, Tennessee, Allen was stopped and arrested for driving an automobile under the influence of alcohol. At the Knoxville police station, the inebriated Allen shouted at a photographer who took his picture, "I rebuke you in the name of the Lord." Bond was set at $250, and his

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hearing scheduled for four days later. When Allen's attorney requested a continuance of the case, the bond was increased to $1000, and a new hearing date was set. Allen never bothered to return to court. He forfeited the bond, whereupon the Assemblies of God Churches excommunicated him in the spring of 1956. The punitive action by his parent denomination did not deter Allen and his ministry. He did, however, begin a verbal attack on any church or denomination that opposed him or his methods.

In the fall of 1956, Allen announced the "Miracle Revival Fellowship," an incorporated organization of his own devising that would license ministers, support missions, publish religious magazines, tracts, and records, and provide him with a tax-exempt religious enterprise. Allen's magazine Miracle Magazine began publication and at the end of its first year had a subscription list of 200,000. Miracle Magazine became the major avenue of disseminating the news of Allen's fantastic claims of "miracles."

Allen's decision to jump bail created trouble for him as his revival caravan headed west. After meeting ministerial protests in Fresno and San Francisco, California, Allen pitched his tent in a vacant field just outside of Sacramento. Reporters from the local newspaper, The Sacramento Bee, came out to the Allen revival with the

8 Morris, Preachers, p. 15.
sole intent of exposing Allen as a charlatan. After a series of articles and pictures appeared in the Bee, Allen's men physically removed any reporter or photographer that came to the tent. The next year (1957) reporters from the Akron Ohio Journal were accorded the same treatment.10

The year 1958 brought what Allen designated as the "Great Miracle." During a Phoenix, Arizona, camp meeting, a rancher named Urbane Leindecker donated his 1300-acre ranch in southern Arizona to Allen. The overjoyed Allen promptly moved his headquarters from Dallas, Texas, to the barren desert ranch. He dubbed the vast area bordering Mexico "Miracle Valley" and eventually built a Bible school for preachers, recording studios for radio and television broadcasts, a publications center, and a retirement village.11

As the 1950s drew to a close, Allen had become one of the most popular, revered and reviled faith healers in the country.12 He even found responsive audiences overseas, especially in the Philippines. His radio and television crusade broadcasts were reaching major population centers throughout the United States.

Though little subsequent notice was made in the press, Allen won a major battle in the courts in 1963.

10Harrell, All Things Are Possible, p. 72.
11Morris, Preachers, pp. 23-25.
The Internal Revenue Service attempted to sue Allen for over $300,000 in back taxes. Claiming tax-exempt status, Allen repudiated the governmental interference and claimed a spiritual victory over the forces of Satan, as exemplified by the government agency. Buoyed by what he interpreted as a divine sanction for his ministry, Allen ventured out of the country again, this time far from the crowds of adoring followers who reveled in his charisma. In 1965 he and his ministerial entourage traveled to England and Wales. The response was hostile, and the crowds did not seem to respond to Allen in the manner to which he was most accustomed. He returned to the United States and focused his crusades in the South, Midwest, and Far West.

The "miracles" performed at the Allen crusades of the 1960s seemed more extraordinary than any seen in the 1950s. Allen claimed in 1965 to have raised persons from the dead. He subsequently backed off that claim, no doubt fearing that his mesmerized followers might ship dead corpses to Miracle Valley in the hope of re-instituting life into a loved one. Other "miracles" claimed during this time period included oil appearing magically on the heads and hands of people, shortened limbs being grown in plain sight, teeth filled with gold "by God alone," and vital organs being created or re-created.

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13 Harrell, All Things Are Possible, p. 197.
Allen, more so than most other faith healers before or since, was a master merchandiser. He sent prayer cloths with reported magical healing abilities to those who would send him their "tithes and offerings." When a new tent was purchased, remnants of the old tent were cut up and sent out as "Power Packed Prayer Rugs" to all who would send in donations of $100.\(^{14}\)

Allen's critics decried his pleas for money, feeling that he duped the poor, the ones least likely to afford his "donations." As his personal wealth increased in the 1960s, he advocated a rock-hard defense of wealth. "It wasn't a sin to have money," he preached. By the late 1960s, Allen was receiving an estimated $3.8 million in offerings per year.\(^{15}\)

By 1969, A. A. Allen had the largest faith-healing organization in the country. Fifty-five million pieces of literature were being sent out under the auspices of the Allen organization. Daily radio broadcasts were appearing on fifty-eight stations. Weekly television broadcasts showed the tempestuous Allen on forty-three stations. Allen was, from a business perspective, quite successful.\(^{16}\)

However, off the platform, away from the crowds, Allen was becoming increasingly moody. Family dissension

\(^{14}\)Morris, Preachers, pp. 30-31.

\(^{15}\)Spraggett, "Spreading the Word," p. 8.

caused his wife Lexie to file insanity proceedings against him on two occasions. In 1962, he shocked his followers by divorcing her, charging her with extreme mental cruelty.\textsuperscript{17}

By late 1969, Allen seemed to have been able to forget his personal problems, although he would continue to drink heavily in the privacy of his own quarters.\textsuperscript{18} He gave the outward impression of being elated when articles in major periodicals like \textit{Time} and \textit{Look} reported his crusades in an almost favorable light. He believed he had gained public respectability, which had for so long eluded him, with the publication by the respected Doubleday Company of his autobiography.

As 1970 progressed, however, aides to Allen began to notice a deterioration in the energy and stamina of the usually effervescent evangelist. Allen's main preaching assistant, Don Stewart, noticed that Allen complained of severe fatigue during the latter days of May, 1970.\textsuperscript{19} By the middle of June, he would be dead.

With Allen's death, Don Stewart became the new chief evangelist. The organization that bore Allen's name was changed to the "Don Stewart Evangelistic Association." The headquarters was moved from Miracle Valley to Phoenix, Simson, \textit{Faith Healer}, p. 99.

\textsuperscript{18} Harrell, \textit{All Things Are Possible}, p. 70.
\textsuperscript{19} Don Stewart (with Walter Wagner), \textit{The Man from Miracle Valley} (Long Beach, California: The Great Horizons Co., 1971).
Arizona. The faith-healing emphasis continued, but the style and approach reflected the youth-oriented seventies and a departure from the pattern established by its founder.

A. A. Allen was a communicator who had the ability to manipulate vast audiences. He was a man whose communicative and leadership skills reflected the phenomenon of charisma in operation.

Charismatic Variables in the "Message"

1. The "Revolutionary" Message

As indicated in chapter five, most faith-healing evangelists preach a "revolutionary" message compared to traditional Christian ministries. A. A. Allen's message contained elements even more radical than many other contemporary faith healers.

He preached and stressed the need for an "experiential" exhibition of true religious conversion. It was accepted behavior to encourage glossolalic outbursts and other exhibitions of emotionalism. His meetings fomented loud shouts, shrieks, and dancing as a revolutionary alternative to the comparatively tepid expressions of corporate worship in mainline denominations. Allen's revolutionary worship services even received criticism from Pentecostal denominations who considered them more like carnivals than church services.


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When the Assemblies of God Churches removed Allen from their membership in 1956, he made the event seem like an act of martyrdom. Allen reprinted many of the attacks by his many detractors as definite proof that the Devil was out to stop his ministry. Actually, Allen's isolation became an asset to his ministry. The "revolutionary" preacher consciously was forced to "cultivate a circle of loyal followers outside the framework of organized religion."²¹

Another revolutionary aspect of Allen's ministry was his emphasis upon "rooting out the Communists from government." A product of the anti-Red era of Joseph McCarthy and Richard Nixon, Allen frequently warned his followers of a Communist conspiracy. His adeptness at concretizing the concept of Satan frequently became interchangeable with "godless Communism." Pushing this anti-Communism message almost led to a major financial setback for Allen. But a libel suit against Allen by the Freethinkers of America was settled out of court in 1958. Allen only returned to his conspiratorial rhetoric in extreme circumstances after that incident.²²

Allen's messages called for complete dedication to the principles of Jesus Christ and to A. A. Allen. Faith in Jesus Christ could relieve the environmental stress of sickness and disease if that faith was transferred "to

²¹Harrell, All Things Are Possible, pp. 72-73.
²²Morris, Preachers, p. 28.
Christ's servant, A. A. Allen." The revolutionary nature of the rhetoric helped Allen's members make the charismatic transfer to Allen as Christ's minister.

2. Simplicitic Message

Allen's audience members in various locales represented poor and under-educated minorities. Since Allen himself was a product of just such a sub-culture, he understood the need to express his message in simplistic terms. His sermons were seldom longer than fifteen or twenty minutes. He chose simple one- or two-syllable words to express his thoughts.

The sermon was almost always preceded by a period of boisterous and raucous gospel music. The simple words in the gospel songs, coupled with the toe-tapping beat, provided another method to establish Allen's charisma. Many of the songs sung at Allen crusades were written by Allen:

The hymns of A. A. Allen have something genuinely primitive about them. Allen carries conviction not by his good singing, but by his total personal identification with the song.23

The simple messages of faith and personal devotion to Christ were absorbed by those who sang Allen's songs.

"Prosperity as one of the fruits of generous giving" was also a theme found in virtually all of Allen's crusade

meetings. One of his favorite sayings was "God will doubly repay whoever gives without limit." The concept held a simple message. Those who would not give all the money they had in their possession could not expect God's blessing or healing. Those who had no money could make a pledge to Allen, but were informed that God could inflict hardship and disease on any "who would rob God."  

3. "Figures of Presence" in the Message  

Though he was not an educated man, A. A. Allen was cognizant of that which could sway the minds of his loyal followers. He understood the power of language and even though he did not know the literary terms that comprise the rhetorical concept of presence, he knew what kind of language and word choice would elicit results.  

In the appendix to this dissertation, a 1954 sermon by A. A. Allen is included. It is entitled "The One Thing You Must Find Out." Excerpts from that sermon illustrate several figures of presence:  

Amplification:  

When He lifts your burden and takes out every pain and the guilt and the stain, YOU WILL KNOW! Do you know it tonight? If you do not, my friend, now is the time to find out. There are many things you may never know, and no harm done. But this one thing YOU MUST FIND OUT, if you ever make heaven your home. For if you are ready for heaven you WILL KNOW IT!

\[^{24} \text{Time} \ 93 \ (March \ 7, \ 1969): \ 67.\]

\[^{25} \text{Morris, Preachers}, \ p. \ 30.\]
Repetition:

Do you profess to be a Christian? Then if you are, and you have actually been born again, you love those that spitefully use you! You love those that persecute you! You love those that point a finger of accusation at you! You love those that say mean, cutting things about you. You love those who accuse you falsely! You love them.

Sermocinatio:

Ask many people the question, "Are you saved?" They will say, "I have been baptized" or "I am a member of a church." Or, "I am religious."

Dialogism:

"Well, John," he says, "I see you are a free man. You are out of prison!" What would you think of that man if he would reply, "Well, now, I just don't know whether I'm in or out. I hope I am out. But one can never be quite sure, you know. Perhaps some day we will find out." Why you would look at the man in amazement! You would say, "What's wrong with you, John? Are you crazy? Have you lost your mind? Man, you must be of all men most ignorant, not even to know that you are out of prison!"

This sermon also provides another example of Allen's use of "verbal magic."²⁶ "Boogy-woogy" is a term, used with disdain by Allen, to represent the pre-rock-and-roll music of the early 1950s. Allen links the term to the embodiment of evil and sin:

A man sits down to his piano. Does he beat out the old boogy-woogy that he once craved? No! Now, he is playing a Christian hymn. Why? He now plays what his NEW HEART desires. He no longer loves the boogy-woogy of the world. He cares for the things that are of Christ.

²⁶ The term "verbal magic" is used by Perelman and Tyteca (p. 117) to describe the persuasiveness of presence. See: Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, The New Rhetoric (South Bend, Indiana: University of Indiana Press, 1969), pp. 117, 157, 335.
The song service and sermon were not the only portions of an A. A. Allen crusade that utilized simplistic messages and responses. After the sermon was preached and the invitation offered for interested persons to walk the aisle to the front of the tent to "get saved," the healing part of the crusade meeting commenced. Pre-screened invalids would stand or sit in a line waiting to be called by Brother Allen. Allen would lay his hands on the sick people, shout, shriek, and proclaim them healed. In this process a repetitive rhythmic cadence of short phrases and slogans would antiphonally echo from Allen's lips to the emotional responses of the audience. After a supposed demonic exorcism from a young encephalitic boy, Allen repeated in chant-like fashion the epithet, "Thank you, Jesus!" The chant was echoed by the adoring crowd, but not without an alteration of syllabic emphasis. The result seemed to alter the English words into a paralinguistic incantation:

"You foul, filthy demon. I rebuke you . . . evil spirit, I command you to leave this boy. . . . Thaynnun kewjeeuzzus!" Allen screamed, jumping up and down, "Thaynnnnunn kewjeeezussus!" 27

Other phrases and prayer-like epithets would be uttered by Allen and then parrotted back by the audience.

27 Morris, Preachers, p. 16.
4. Focus on Collective Identity in the Message

For A. A. Allen the goal to be achieved was a transient one. Each town had another soul to save, another invalid to heal and another either to be tapped for a donation. In the early years of his ministry Allen longed for what he referred to as "the big meeting." When "the big meeting" happened for him, the man's drive and determinative obsession needed "bigger" crowds and offerings. Allen seemed to return to the thirteen requirements for God's power that he had received in his pre-crusade prayer closet vision. Included in the eleven (Allen never revealed two of the most intimate requirements) were (1) Any minister could never be accorded greater glory than that due to God; (2) A minister had to be perfect—never thinking or doing an evil act; (3) A minister must talk and act like Jesus Christ; (4) One must deny all that the self desires; (5) A preacher endures suffering and criticisms for God's sake; (6) One must have faith that all of God's promises can be fulfilled. 28

Allen's audience believed that since he was the only man capable of fulfilling those requirements, his goals and purposes should be their goals and purposes. The road to health, happiness, and eternal security lay in the direction Allen was headed. Allen's message offered hope and

prosperity to the hopeless and the poor. A fusion of shared identity made Allen and his faithful devotees reciprocally dependent on each other. Allen gained a sense of power and fulfillment; the audience gained a reason to want to survive.

5. Polarized Aggression in the Message

In the recipe of charisma, the message that polarizes aggression facilitates narrow alternatives for a group response. Allen was a master at making the distinction clear (polarized) between the loyal friends of his ministry and his enemies. His enemies were caricatured as emissaries of Satan. The concept of Satan is not an impersonal force of evil in Allen's universe. Satan and his large host of demons were ugly, grotesque, but nevertheless "humanized" adversaries.

Many faith healers prior to and following A. A. Allen claimed to cast out demons from people. Many faith healers viewed diseases as demon-directed. But A. A. Allen prominently displayed the exorcised demons for the gaping eyes of his faithful devotees. The Sacramento Bee described these humanized adversaries:

Grotesque animal organisms, pickled in embalming fluid, are a mainstay in the freak tents of shabby, fly-by-night carnivals, up and down the back roads of rural America. Demonologist Asa Alonzo Allen, the evangelist

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29Simson, Faith Healer, p. 88.
camped just outside Sacramento, gives them one better. His glass-jarred specimens are evil spirit demons. Critics claimed that Allen could have easily gotten the "things" from farmers whose dead farm animal fetuses and cancerous lesions could be passed off as any grotesque entity.

Allen, who seemed to thrive on adverse publicity, turned the tables on his critics frequently. Allen's own photographers, who took pictures for Miracle Magazine, had taken pictures of a Sacramento Bee reporter, and when developed three "demons" could "clearly be seen" clustered over his head. The reporter's credibility was destroyed for the faithful followers of A. A. Allen. They believed newspaper reporters were the pawns of Satan, bent on disrupting the godly ministry of A. A. Allen.

Allen linked the preachers and members of religious denominations opposed to him with Satan. He harangued against the "racketeering preachers" who questioned his healings and criticized his emphasis on giving money. In Allen's polarized schema, if one was supportive of the A. A. Allen Revivals one was Christ-like; if one was opposed, one was demon-possessed.

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31 Morris, Preachers, p. 17.
In one of Allen's nationally distributed tracts entitled *The Curse of Madness*, eighteen cartoon-like pictures of actual "demons" are reproduced. The pictures, drawn by a woman diagnosed by Allen as demon-possessed, are labeled by name and resemble humanoid dwarves. Any of Allen's devotees who read that tract (or others like it) would recognize the visage and form of a demon. Building upon these fear-filled premises and mental pictures, Allen addressed Satan as if he were a humanized adversary:

"Carol, do you want to be set free?"

"Yes."

"Tonight I'm going to command the devil to come out of you. . . . Satan, this is your night of defeat. You're going to lose Carol once and for all. Every force from Hell is going to be turned out of your mind, Carol. In the name of Jesus, say to the devil he's defeated. Ask Satan, Are you ready to come out?"

The audience may not "see" Satan in bodily form materialize out of Carol's body, but they are led to believe this activity has occurred because Carol begins hissing like a snake—Allen's fore-ordained sign that the devil is losing his power.

Not only does Allen personify Satan and his host as the source of all opposition to his ministry, he also uses the humanized devil as the source of fear or reticence to accept the Allen version of the gospel. The following

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34 Allen, *Born to Lose*, p. 32.
statement was typical of Allen's messages and was published in a tract:

Hundreds of sinners are going down all the way into the Lake of Fire because Satan has bound them by a demon of fear. . . . Among the devil's legions are countless spirits whose duty is to torment people mentally until they are no good to themselves or to their loved ones. . . . It is from this . . . Fear Demon that men and women need to be loosed. 35

Allen's attempts to polarize good and evil actually narrow the breadth of perspective for his audience. Audience members find it easy to objectify the devil and his demons. They have no objectified God, but they do have A. A. Allen, God's emissary and true minister. Allen begins to represent the embodiment of all that is good and Christ-like. Thus, to follow Allen is to follow Christ. In the transference process, Christ's message and symbolism becomes synonymous with Allen's message and perspective. The attribution process of charisma links the charisma of Christ with the person and message of A. A. Allen.

Charismatic Variables in the "Personality"

1. High Status

The charismatic leader may be held in awe by a select audience and reviled and called demagogue by another audience. A. A. Allen's critics viewed him as "charlatan," "carnival huckster," "con artist," "reprobate," and

"hypocrite." These and other invectives did not seem to hurt Allen's ministry among his poorer, less-educated, distressed followers. He had an uncanny ability to turn adversity and scathing opposition to his own advantage. He considered himself the most persecuted preacher in the world.\textsuperscript{36} This martyr-like quality, coupled with uncharacteristic (for a martyr) verbal aggression, led to a specific audience's perceptions of him as having high status. His audience perceived that anyone persecuted as much as Allen had to be suffering for a righteous cause and thus deserving of status.

For A. A. Allen, criticism and persecution were not the only badges of status. Just prior to his death, Allen claimed high status for himself as the most famous, the most celebrated, and the most active faith healer in the country.\textsuperscript{37} Oral Roberts had several years earlier left the tents to build and direct a Christian university in Tulsa, Oklahoma, and reorient himself to a broader, less economically deprived television and radio constituency. Kathryn Kuhlman was only beginning to develop a national following following on television and radio. A. A. Allen was, by his own admission, the most successful faith healer in America:

\begin{quote}
There are no evangelists left that offer us any competition. . . . We've got the field. Back in the 40s and 50s, Jack Coe, Oral Roberts, O. L. Jaggars, and 200
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{36} Harrell, \textit{All Things Are Possible}, p. 69.

\textsuperscript{37} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 194-196.
others, you know. There were 200 evangelists all praying for the sick, having healing revivals. Now they're non-existent.38

Allen survived and gained a loyal following mainly because he was a superb money raiser:

Allen was one of the first in the revival to gain support by appealing to the financial dreams of his followers. Implicit in the revival was a conviction that God could grant not only physical but financial healing to His children.39

Allen's wealth came as a direct result of his followers' donations. At the time of his death his estimated 400,000 followers were contributing about $3.5 million to him annually.40 Money and the vestiges of wealth with which Allen surrounded himself fulfilled vicariously the wildest dreams for people whose poverty would never allow them the opportunity to experience such luxury.

Allen's status was enhanced also by the use and implementation of negative psychology. By claiming to deny any and all connections with the source of healing ("I am not a healer. A. A. Allen couldn't cure a fly with a headache."41), Allen sought to create a "humble servant" image that was reinterpreted by his devotees as another factor adding to his status. In their view, a man who could

39Harrell, All Things Are Possible, p. 74.
40Simson, Faith Healer, p. 78.
41A. A. Allen, Born to Lose, p. 9.
be used by God to perform "such miracles" and still remain humble was a man to be revered.

Even some reporters, long dismissed and reviled as "demon-possessed" critics of his ministry, eventually added luster to Allen's status. A somewhat favorable article about Allen appearing in Look Magazine in 1969 elevated Allen's status above the average tent revivalist:

Though he's at least a blood-and-thunder fundamentalist, Allen is at least a practical zealot with a sense of style that sets him well apart from that frowzy nether world of mystical crackpot charlatans, snake handlers, wandering bush-league Bible thumpers, street-corner messiahs and questionable colleagues.42

In the early days of his ministry, Allen and his publicity directors initially sought to create status. By the late 1950s and 1960s, the status did not need to be artificially induced. Allen claimed what his publicity banners had advertized: "God's Man of Faith and Power."43

2. "Stranger" Qualities

"Foreignness" or "strangeness" is a component of the charismatic personality that fits A. A. Allen's character. His Ozark accent was familiar to his southern audiences, but his syllabic divisions of words (e.g., "Thaynnun kew-jeezuss!") added a uniqueness to his accent. His reported experiences with demonic and spiritual forces were

43. Time 93 (March 7, 1969): 64.
encounters that set him apart from the average preacher. Exoticized by his devotees, Allen never tired of relating the details of his "strange" encounters. His description of God speaking audibly to him in his prayer closet resembles a para-psychological, "out-of-the-body" experience:

Then the glory of God began to fill the closet. I thought for a moment that my wife had opened the door, as the closet began to grow light. . . . The closet was flooded with light. . . . Then like a whirlwind, I heard His voice! It was God! He was speaking to me! . . . It seemed that faster than any human could possibly speak, faster than I could follow mentally, God was talking to me.44

When not addressing Southerners, Allen's personality appeared stranger still and his charismatic appeal enhanced with selective groups.45

3. Conquerable Imperfection

Part of the charismatic attraction between Allen and his audiences can be explained by the "charisma of conquerable imperfection." Allen claimed to have been the most depraved sinner alive when he turned his life over to Christ. He described the sordid details of a debauched life, transformed by this conversion to Christ. Unlike many other faith healers who claimed to have conquered specific diseases because of their faith in God, Allen claimed to


45 For example, Allen developed a preaching style that attracted a large black contingent to his meetings. See: Harrell, All Things Are Possible, p. 99.
have been healed of all his bad habits and vices. In reality, Allen battled alcoholism throughout his life, eventually succumbing to its ravages. His success seems more notable because of his erratic personal behavior. Some of Allen's most loyal supporters "became reconciled to the idea that Allen might have 'a problem.'" Frequently, he would be too drunk to speak. The drunk driving incident in Knoxville, Tennessee, was overlooked by his staunchest supporters because they viewed him as a man bent on overcoming a vice that he was not responsible for. His ability to carry on despite his "problem" seemed to enhance rather than detract from his charisma.

For the rigid fundamentalist divorce is viewed as an almost unforgiveable sin. Allen's decision to divorce his wife Lexie stunned the Allen organization. But this "imperfection" in Allen's personality was ameliorated by claims that Lexie had not supported his ministry, had tried to have him committed to an insane asylum, and created feelings of mental anguish. Lexie was portrayed as the antagonist in the divorce proceedings, and the majority of Allen's devotees accepted and approved of his decision. Allen's

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decision to continue his ministry, even at the expense of his family, enhanced his charisma with the faithful.

4. "Special Calling"

The charismatic follower requires a "messiah," a leader blessed with a "special calling" that compels him to fulfill his or her destiny. Virtually all faith healers can point to a "supernaturally" instigated "call" to the ministry. A. A. Allen frequently mentioned his call to the ministry in his books and sermons:

From the moment I was saved, God began leading me. . . . From the moment of my conversion, I knew that I was meant to preach. I had heard an inner voice commanding me to spread the Gospel, an insistent, clear voice.\(^{50}\)

Allen's call, coupled with his prayer closet encounter with God, gave the audience the authentication they needed for the charismatic bond with their leader.

5. Sexual Mystique

Though Allen's critics could not and did not find evidence of sexual misconduct in the evangelist's life during and after his marriage to Lexie, his prior sexual escapades may have added some dimensions to Allen's aura of sexuality. Most of the faithful members of his audiences were women, who found their attraction to Allen not entirely based on his "miracle-working power." Willner describes the almost "pathological response" that charismatic leaders

\(^{50}\) A. A. Allen, *Born to Lose*, pp. 73, 81-82.
receive from women in their audiences. For these women, the leader who has not or is not married becomes a "symbolic lover" for women who have reacted with hysteria to his appearance.\textsuperscript{51} The youthful vigor, the provocative clothing styles, the dramatic presentation, coupled with Allen's reputation, aided in the evocation of a sexual mystique surrounding Allen's personality.

6. Dramatic Acting Qualities

Allen was asked on occasion what he had planned to do with his life before God called him to the gospel ministry. He frequently responded:

I can't remember a time when it didn't seem natural for me to sing and dance. One of the quickest and easiest ways I knew to make money was to sing for a few pennies on a street corner. . . . Music and rhythm were such early and overwhelming influences that my first ambition was to be an entertainer, a musician or a singer, perhaps an actor.\textsuperscript{52}

Allen may not have joined the ranks of professional actors, but he integrated dramatic elements into his services. A dynamic actor, Allen had the ability to stir emotionally his audience with his dramatic ability. With the instincts of a carnival barker, Allen would ingenuously create a mood of excitement and drama in each revival service. Each service was programmed to demonstrate Allen's dramatic


\textsuperscript{52}A. A. Allen, Born to Lose, pp. 43-44.
personality. Each service began with loud pulsating gospel rhythms to lessen the inhibitions of each crowd. The sermon followed the long service, and Allen would pace back and forth on the stage area, portraying characters in a hypothetical narrative or biblical story. The peak of dramatic emotion came as throngs joined the healing line for prayer and the touch of the "miracle-worker." As each "miracle" was proclaimed, a ground swell of enthusiastic reactions could be heard from the crowd. Allen was truly an "unparalleled showman" with "a compelling presence."\(^{53}\)

A. A. Allen's healing techniques were similar to many professional healers, but he understood more so than many of his contemporaries the "dramatic" essence of the faith-healing process:

He could lay a gentle hand on a poor cancer victim in a stretcher, but he could also fasten a double-handed grip around the head of an ambulatory patient strong enough to shock him out of a psychosomatic fixation. He might bend, grapple, feint, pull, wrestle or twist his wheel chair patients, but he could also gently and slowly help them to their feet.\(^{54}\)

7. Innovative Lifestyle and Approach

Faith-healing revivals that moved into the 1970s patterned themselves after A. A. Allen crusades.\(^{55}\) The faith-healing line utilized by such current faith-healing

\(^{53}\)Harrell, *All Things Are Possible*, p. 68.

\(^{54}\)Morris, *Preachers*, p. 12.

\(^{55}\)Simson, *Faith Healer*, p. 42.
evangelists as Ernest Angley and Leroy Jenkins was an innovation which revealed the influence of A. A. Allen.  

Allen's followers believed that their leader was too important a man to be confined to denominational ties. In 1955 when Allen formed his own revivalistic organization, he spoke to his followers as if he expected them to support financially his ministry like they would an organized church. According to Allen, the "organized church" was riddled with "hypocrites" and "demon-possessed clergy." Allen's "Miracle Revival Fellowship" represented an innovational alternative to the church and religious denomination. Allen's goal and mission were different from that of the Church and thus made the demarcation lines precise between truth and heresy.

Allen survived and built a successful empire because of his innovations and daring. He was one of the first revivalists to add gospel rock music (catered to his predominately black audiences) to the service. His miracle healings were spectacular and unmatched by any other healer. When other faith healers moved to large, plushly decorated auditoriums and church sanctuaries, Allen remained in his tent. From the very beginning of his ministry, he set out to be a "prophet of the poor people." He was the first minister to emphasize that his ministry was

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56 Harrell, All Things Are Possible, p. 226.
57 Ibid., p. 198.
interracial. No one matched the desegregation efforts of A. A. Allen in the 1960s. Allen was the first fundamentalist evangelist "to make racial liberalism an effective theological plank in his ministry." Black people thronged to his ministry by the thousands.\(^5^8\)

Allen made pronouncements from the pulpit that advocated an innovational and austere lifestyle. Though the music in his own services utilized a contemporary rhythmic beat, he railed against the sexual suggestiveness of rock-and-roll. Allen was one of the first evangelists to form an organization designed to get people off the habits of smoking, alcoholic consumption and drug abuse.\(^5^9\)

8. "Miracle-Worker"

Miracles validate the charismatic leader's position, and Allen claimed to perform "miracles" unmatched by any other healer:

Miracle became the key word in the Allen revivals; no one outstripped his supernatural claims... Allen seemed challenged to heal the hard diseases and frequently reported resurrections from the dead.\(^6^0\)

Allen's pronouncements of "miraculously" raising people from the dead were probably his greatest claims. After 1966, he did not promote such claims, however. It is quite possible that Allen feared that people would ship dead bodies to Miracle Valley and violate state laws. He backed

\(^{58}\)Ibid., pp. 68, 99. \(^{59}\)Morris, Preachers, p. 29. \(^{60}\)Harrell, All Things Are Possible, p. 69.
off reporting resurrection miracles, but he did claim other
unique "miracles" in his services.

Once while preaching, the marked outline of a cross
appeared on Allen's forehead. The mark was supposedly a
sign that God validated Allen's ministry.61 Other faith
healers discovered that this sign could be duplicated by
swabbing on the forehead a special chemical that would
remain invisible until activated to change colors by contact
with perspiration.

One of Allen's most unique reported "miracles"
occurred in 1956. "Miracle oil" began to flow from the
heads and hands of those attending the Allen revivals.62
The crude but clear oil seemed to appear magically on the
faces and hands of people attending several crusades since
that time:

To those who witness the outpouring of oil, there can be
no doubt of the validity of the phenomenon. It appears
before your very eyes. It's shining surface reflects
the light until it glistens. . . . It appears on hands, on
feet, on the face, from the crown of the head. . . .
We make no effort to explain why. This just happens to
be one way God is edifying His Church today!63

Most of the "miracles" claimed by Allen and reported in his
organizational magazine are never verified by physical
examination. One claim that seemed bizarre was reported

61 Ibid.

62 "The Miracle of the Outpouring of Oil," Miracle

63 "Miracle Oil Continues Flowing," Miracle Magazine
in 1961:

El Monte, California: Mary Jones needed healing for throat cancer and heart trouble. . . . As Brother Allen prayed for her, she did not think of the tooth with the big cavity . . . until it glistened in the mirror! God had filled it with gold!\(^6^4\)

One of the most resourceful salesmen in the religious world, Allen discovered that "miracles" could be achieved without his physical touch. Allen's charisma and healing power were imbued upon inanimate objects and sold to his audience. In 1962, Allen sent tent-shavings to all those who sent in $100. The shavings were to be poured over one's head for "a new anointing and a new power."\(^6^5\) In 1964, Allen purchased a new tent, cut up the old tent into strips of canvas, called them "Power Packed Prayer Rugs," and sent them to all those who pledged $100. Smaller pieces, small enough to fit in a billfold, were called "Prosperity Blessing Cloths." Allen told his people that a "miracle" would most certainly occur if the "sacred" cloths were draped across one's lap during a fervent prayer time.\(^6^6\) Sometimes Allen would not blatantly charge for these "prayer cloths," but strong pressure was applied to give money: "There is no charge for these blessed cloths. They are sent free to all parts of the world. However, your offering will


\(^{6^5}\)Harrell, All Things Are Possible, p. 200.

\(^{6^6}\)Morris, Preachers, pp. 30-31.
be gratefully accepted." Allen's devotees were subjected to constant verifications of their leader's ability to perform "miracles." Each spectacular announcement endorsed their belief in their leader's charismatic appeal.

9. Symbolizer/Myth-Maker

Another of the important personality characteristics of the charismatic leader is that he becomes a "symbolic leader," capable of being the major myth-maker for his devoted followers:

The leader who becomes charismatic knows how to tap the reservoir of relevant myths that are linked to its sacred figures, to its historical and legendary heroes, and to its historical and legendary ordeals and triumphs. He evokes, invokes, and assimilates to himself, his mission, and his vision of his society the values and actions embodied in the myths by which that society has organized and recalls its past experience. Allen was a rhetorical myth-maker. His pronouncements and insights created the impression of the character of God's heavenly host and the collective battle against the forces of Hell. Healing evangelists, like Allen, "live in a constant dialogue with angels and demons, the Holy Spirit and the spirits of diseases from the abyss." Allen himself realized that his audience looked to him to guide them in the battle against the demonic world:

67 A. A. Allen, The Curse of Madness, p. 83.
68 Willner, Charismatic Leadership, p. 73.
69 Hollenweger, Pentecostals, p. 356.
Trouble stalks the land. Demons have captured the rich and poor, the mighty and the meek, and they [Allen's followers] have given me the privilege of helping them fight the scorpions and the serpents that will not be banished until Jesus comes again and decrees Heaven on earth.70

The Allen mythology established that God was a God of love, not willing that any one should be sick or handicapped. Those who were afflicted were sick only because they had given their lives over to demonic control. God could and would heal them and cast out their demon if they believed strongly and had faith in God. An essential part of the rhetorical myth also included the consequences should a lapse of faith occur. After being healed, if a person returned to his previously unhealthy state, it demonstrated his lack of faith, not the incompleteness of the faith healer's miracle. Demons would return after being cast out and the second state would be intensely worse than before.

Charismatic leaders also frequently establish "conspiracy myths." During the 1950s, Allen, responding to the fears of Communism among his followers, attempted to build a rhetorical myth that predicted a governmental conspiracy directed at Allen's Christian audiences. Extrapolating from an innocuous "Alaska Mental Health Act," Allen pronounced to his devotees in 1962:

This anti-Christ bill provided that Christian Patriots may be picked up on the streets or removed from their homes, without trial, sent to Alaska for incarceration . . . . Could all this be a plan of Satan working

70A. A. Allen, Born to Lose, p. 3.
through men in high authority to rid the nation of all who oppose the plan of Satan?\textsuperscript{71}

The world that Allen portrayed was a world of fear and uncertainty. Only one leader understood the torment and was willing to lead his people through the torment to a successful and healthy life. A. A. Allen symbolized one who had made that trek and made it successfully. The man's charismatic personality would lead his faith-filled followers to a glorious future.

**Charismatic Variables in "Speech Delivery"**

1. Vocal Force

When he wanted to, he [Allen] could whisper of the goodness of God Almighty and the sweet love of Jesus, only to become a raging Savanarola an instant later, screaming of the terrible wrath in store for sinners, threatening with the awful consuming fire reserved by Almighty Jehovah.\textsuperscript{72}

A. A. Allen had effective delivery techniques of communication. He kept his audiences entertained, enraptured, emotionally unbalanced, and attuned to the narrow perspectives he wished them to have. His critics claimed that he induced "an atmosphere of mass hysteria, using his powers of rhetoric."\textsuperscript{73} His faithful followers loved and adored him, demonstrating this by verbal assents to his statements frequently during an Allen meeting.\textsuperscript{74}


\textsuperscript{72}Morris, Preachers, p. 12. \textsuperscript{73}Ibid., p. 38.

\textsuperscript{74}Hedgepeth, "Brother A. A. Allen," p. 25.
2. Rapid Responses/Short Pauses/Repetition

Allen's variety in the utilization of vocal force enhanced his charismatic perception. His voice, a rapid-fire, raspy Ozark baritone, could project a stage-whisper or bellow forth an exuberant scream. When exorcising demons, his vocal force would exhibit continually rising pitch, coupled with words pouring forth at incredible speed. Seldom appearing out of breath, the energetic Allen was a non-stop bundle of energy once he mounted the speaking platform:

[Allen] has shucked his coat and paces the platform like a cougar, waiting for a lull in the pandemonium. . . . He prowls the edge of the stage. His face is fierce, his gestures dramatic and professional. . . . He bares his teeth, his mouth turns down sternly. Pause. Shift. Now his eyes plead for goodness. Next, he whispers then shouts, waves, crouches, and plays a half-dozen different voices in a narrative about Sodom and Gommorah. The tentload of believers seems hypnotized, as Allen's voice becomes a net around their minds. . . . "Here's the third man out of his wheelchair," Allen screams. "It's Jesus, it's Jesus, it's Jesus. Is this real?" The audience loses itself in total thunderation. "YESSS," they respond. "Hallelujah" they shout again.

3. Non-Verbal Qualities

Certainly Allen's charisma is enhanced by his use of vocal force, rapid delivery, and repetition, but he exuded charisma non-verbally as well. Typical of his body language is the delivery of a sermon or exhortation while pacing back

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76 Hedgepeth, "Brother A. A. Allen," p. 31.
and forth on stage. Large flamboyant gestures also typified his use of body language. His flaming red hair has been mentioned as a unique factor of his body language.

Several observers noted the communicativeness found in Allen's facial expressions, especially his eyes. Willner states that

Some of the charm, magnetism, irresistible persuasiveness, or power attributed to charismatic leaders by those who have had personal encounters with them is related to the effect of their eyes and how they have used them upon others.  

Allen's choice of clothing also needs mentioning as a charismatic factor. In the 1950s, Allen was notorious for wearing garish outfits, an "iridescent lavender suit" that sparkled in the spotlights, or "a snazzy clash of camel-colored suit, yellow shirt, and orange tie." In the late 1960s, Allen sported a "mod" over-the-ears haircut and added this new look to his wardrobe of multi-colored suits. Such choices in bright clothing appeared to effect Allen's personal aura in the minds of his followers.

When an audience perceives a leader/communicator as possessing charisma, an almost magnetic attraction drives

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77 Willner, Charismatic Leadership, p. 71.
78 Time 93 (March 7, 1969): 64.
80 Morris, Preachers, p. 5.
81 Time 93 (March 7, 1969): 64.
devotees to want to touch the leader. Allen's intercessory relationship with God and his ability to serve as a conductor for God's healing power made touching activity even more special. Allen's followers, like other devoted followers of faith healers, claimed to experience a sensation like an "electric current" flowing from the hands of the healer to and through the touched person. Allen enhanced his perceived charisma by the use and implementation of a "healing line." This special formation allowed Allen to touch directly those who came forward seeking healing at his hands:

At various times he [Allen] lined up all who wished for a "touch." Down the long line he would move, slapping each sinner on the forehead. Some fainted, others sobbed or moaned.

Mention has already been made of Allen's preaching style which was characterized by nervous platform pacing and continual motion. This mobility added to Allen's charismatic perception. His gestures and body movements have been described as "dramatic, first crouching, then pointing, waving . . . his jutting jaw fixed sternly."

Space was at a premium in an Allen crusade meeting. The tightly packed emotional crowds created a contagion of

82 Willner, Charismatic Leadership, p. 23.
83 Hollenweger, Pentecostals, pp. 356-57.
84 Morris, Preachers, p. 13.
85 Ibid., p. 12.
hysteria. Allen exploited such feelings generated by the audience. Special music was chosen to emphasize dancing rhythms and "spiritual dancing" in the aisles became a characteristic of Allen's revival meetings. Segments of the crowd would rise spontaneously so as to create their own space for singing, dancing, shouts, praises, and hand-clapping. Allen constantly admonished his people, telling them that such exhibitions were scriptural and an example of proper emotional worship of God. For an audience characterized by austere and harsh views toward worldly pleasures (such as ballroom dancing), this was a welcomed acceptable emotional outlet.

Audience Reactions and Perceptions of Charisma

In the 1960s the traditional tent revival crusade began to fade out. Crusades became somewhat stereotyped and there appeared little difference in style and format among itinerant faith-healing evangelists. Some of the more sophisticated moved into hotels or ornate churches. This was not true of A. A. Allen. Allen remained faithful to the lower socio-economic, minority audiences that had long attended his crusades. He continued to augment his radio and television ministries with tent revival services.

Allen's success and his charismatic appeal were not just based on his sensational miracle claims. He preached

86 Harrell, All Things Are Possible, p. 8.
an old-time Pentecostal message with skill:

Allen also spoke the language of a prophet with rousing skill; ominous warnings of the "destruction of America" and "invasions from Hell" were well designed to stir the minds of the people.  

He also was perceived as being an authoritative symbolic leader, capable of healing sick people and giving them a momentary recess from the situational crises of stress, deprivation, and infirmity. Allen represented the solution in bodily form to incessant pain and mundane existence.

His followers remained loyal despite reports of Allen's indiscretions. Unfavorable press reports only appeared to rally Allen's audience members more in support of his ministry. Allen was aware of his followers' devotion to him: "The interesting thing, however, is that the more criticism I receive, the more people embrace my 'unfashionable' ministry." Allen's devoted followers imbued their leader with a sense of awe that external opposition could not diminish. Allen's abilities to reduce "breadth of perspective" and restructure the ideological universe ensured a faithful following.

A. A. Allen was an effective communicator who "rose from poverty to riches not only through his own personal charisma, but also through apparent organizational ability." He was a man who influenced the style and

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87 Ibid., p. 69.
88 A. A. Allen, Born to Lose, p. 162.
89 Simson, Faith Healer, p. 78.
format of faith-healing services developed in the 1970s and the 1980s. His legacy, designated as saint by some and demagogue by others, remains as an historical example of charisma personified.
CHAPTER SEVEN

APPLICATION OF A CHARISMATIC COMMUNICATION MODEL TO KATHRYN KUHLMAN (1907-1976)

Hell-ooo there, and have you been waaaa-it-ing for me?
I beeeeliEEEEEVE in meeericles. . . .

The former introduction was heard on every one of her radio broadcasts. The latter introduction began each of her television shows. Some found her excessively dramatic vocalizations phony and ludicrous. Others interpreted her vocal style as refreshingly genuine. Called a "psychic," "clairvoyant," and "hypnotist" by some, others revered her as a "Spirit-filled woman of God," a special minister of the healing power of God. Her name was Kathryn Kuhlman.

A contemporary of A. A. Allen in her ministry of healing, she did not compare in technique or methodology to the tent revivalist from Arkansas. Though some critics attempted to find similarities in the ministries of Sister Aimee Semple McPherson and Kathryn Kuhlman, the only common characteristic was that they were both women. At various times during their ministries, McPherson and Allen carried on an extensive tent revival ministry. Throughout her lifetime, Kathryn Kuhlman spoke primarily in established church sanctuaries or municipal auditoriums. McPherson
eventually organized her own denomination, and Allen set up a para-denominational corporation. Kuhlman established a non-profit foundation bearing her name, but maintained close ties with mainline denominations and religious affiliations. McPherson and Allen aimed their ministries at lower socio-economic Pentecostal minorities. Kathryn Kuhlman attracted an audience of a wider demographic strata. In addition to the deprived socio-economic minorities, Roman Catholics, Jews, agnostics, non-Pentecostal Protestant denominational members, and middle- to upper-income-class observers attended her services.¹

Kathryn Kuhlman hated to be called a "faith healer." She constantly down-played her role in the healing process, claiming that she did not know why miracles took place at her services or why some that attended were not healed. Her death on February 20, 1976, ended fifty years of ministry to a divergent audience, comprised of a majority of people who came to believe and accept the reality of her personal charisma. Unique among faith-healing evangelists, Kathryn Kuhlman clearly exemplified the charismatic leader-communicator. One of her biographers wrote:

Kathryn Kuhlman was a spirited, energetic woman . . . , possessing more drive and dynamism than many women in their twenties. . . . One would have to assume that this was her way throughout the years—a woman with

tremendous drive, supernatural energy, and a charisma that was difficult to define.²

Application of the proposed theory of charismatic communication objectifies this previously "difficult to define" concept.

Biographical Background³

Kathryn Kuhlman never told a reporter her exact birthdate. Even in the hospital right before she died, she purposely misled the doctors as to her correct age. The Los Angeles Times announced in her front-page obituary of February 21, 1976: "Kathryn Kuhlman Dies at 66." The paper missed her correct age by two years. Vain concerning her precise age, she revealed only to her intimate friends that she was born on May 9, 1907. Records of her birth in Concordia, Missouri, attest that she was born five miles south of Concordia on a 160-acre farm into the family of Joseph A. and Emma Walkenhorst Kuhlman. Kathryn was the third of four children born to the Kuhlmans.

Two years later, the Kuhlmans purchased an additional lot in the town of Concordia. A house was constructed in 1910, but the family did not move from the farm to the house until 1911. Myrtle, Kathryn's older sister by


fifteen years, married a young student evangelist named Everett B. Parrott in 1913, and ten years later Kathryn joined them, forming a traveling revivalist troupe.

Kathryn Kuhlman was spoiled by her affectionate father and severely disciplined by her authoritarian mother. Joe Kuhlman eventually became the mayor of Concordia. Although not a religious man, he maintained membership at the local Baptist church. He only attended church at Christmas, and on occasions when Kathryn would give a Bible reading or a musical recital. Emma Kuhlman belonged to the Methodist church in town and attended services regularly.

When Kathryn was fourteen years old, an itinerant Baptist evangelist, Reverend Hummel, came to Concordia for a two-week revival series at the Methodist church. Young Kathryn, having attended each of the first six services with her mother, began to cry at the close of the Sunday service. What ensued was an emotional point of conversion that years later Kathryn Kuhlman would point to as her first encounter with "the power of the Holy Spirit." She walked home with her mother, anxiously awaiting the opportunity to share with her beloved "Papa" that she had received Jesus Christ as her Lord and Savior. When told of his daughter's conversion, Joe Kuhlman's terse and emotionless response was, "I'm glad."

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4 Buckingham, Daughter of Destiny, p. 29.
Formal public education ended at the tenth grade in Concordia. Having completed the tenth grade, the sixteen-year-old Kathryn set out to minister the gospel as a summer assistant to her sister and brother-in-law, the Parrotts. The summer tour awakened a strong desire to preach in the young girl. This strong "call to preach" never departed.

Kathryn's sister and brother-in-law developed marital problems eventually leading to divorce and a dissolution of the Parrott Revivals. Encouraged by a Nazarene pastor in Boise, Idaho, Kathryn Kuhlman and her traveling companion and pianist, Helen Guilliford, set out to hold their own revivals. Kathryn was feeling more comfortable as a preacher, having been given several opportunities to speak and testify of her conversion experience by the Parrotts. She would frequently close her testimony by reciting a lengthy poem, replete with the dramatic vocalizations and gestures so characteristic of her speaking style. People responded heartily to the young lady preacher and liked her flair for the dramatic.5

Beginning in a run-down storefront church in Boise, Idaho, she spent close to twenty years ministering to small rural areas in Idaho and the upper Midwest. While holding services in Joliet, Illinois, two years after beginning her own preaching ministry, she was persuaded to be ordained as

5Ibid., pp. 36-37.
a minister by the Evangelical Church Alliance. It was the only ecclesiastical authorization she ever received.

Her revival services with Helen Guilliford could not be described as successful or large. For years the two lived wherever anyone would provide shelter and ate only what gracious hosts provided. Her message at this time emphasized a need for salvation and did not stress miraculous healing.

The year 1933 brought the two young revivalists to Denver, Colorado. Beginning in an improvised church sanctuary formed in a Montgomery Ward warehouse, Kathryn Kuhlman's revival messages began to attract larger and larger crowds. Soon after Kathryn began a seemingly permanent ministry in Denver, Joe Kuhlman died on December 30, 1934, the victim of an automobile accident. Kathryn drove back to Missouri, only to reach the town of Concordia in time for her father's funeral. Emotionally distraught by the loss of her father, she returned to Denver and poured herself into her preaching.

By 1935 she was preaching in a 2000-seat, renovated truck garage retitled "Denver Revival Tabernacle." Speaking in tongues became evident in the revivalist services during this time, but the emphasis on faith healings still was not accentuated. She invited many traveling revivalists to share the preaching duties with her. One especially
handsome evangelist was Burroughs A. Waltrip from Austin, Texas. Waltrip was married and had two sons. He and Kathryn Kuhlman fell in love. A divorce ensued, and despite the pleadings of Miss Kuhlman's associates at the Tabernacle, the two evangelists were married on October 18, 1938. The scandal that erupted virtually destroyed the Kuhlman ministry in Denver. Her closest friend, Helen Guilliford, resigned from the ministry. Eventually leaving the Denver area, Kathryn found hostile reactions to her ministry wherever she tried to preach in the Midwest.

Suffering from intense guilt over their marriage, Kuhlman and Waltrip remained married, though frequently separated until 1944. Kathryn decided to dissolve the marriage and devote her life to God's service. She left Waltrip in Los Angeles, traveling by train with a one-way ticket to Franklin, Pennsylvania. She never saw or heard from him again, except for a valentine he sent to her in 1970.

Unable to remove the stigma of her past, Kathryn Kuhlman found the return to the revival circuit tough going. Though the decision to separate from Waltrip was made, news of the scandal seemed to filter to each city where Kuhlman tried to preach. Eventually finding a sympathetic audience

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who did not seem to know about her divorce, Kuhlman began to rebuild her ministry in a town of 10,000 called Franklin, Pennsylvania. Early in 1948, Kuhlman was served with divorce proceedings and the marriage to Burroughs Waltrip was formally dissolved.

Seeking to find more "power from God" in her ministry, Kuhlman began to preach extensively on the "charismata," the spiritual gifts of the Holy Spirit. She did not directly call for healing in her services, but a woman came up to her after a revival service in which Kuhlman had preached on the power of the Holy Spirit. The woman claimed that on the previous night, April 27, 1947, she had been healed of a tumor while just listening to Kuhlman's sermon. Soon other people came forward to testify to miraculous healings. The healing ministry of Kathryn Kuhlman had begun.

The notoriety of those healings spread throughout the state. Kuhlman's radio ministry expanded from Franklin to Pittsburgh, parts of Ohio, West Virginia, Maryland, and the Washington, D.C., area. Encouraged by new found friends and assistants, Kathryn Kuhlman moved to a more metropolitan area, Pittsburgh, and established a base of ministerial operation that would remain for the next twenty-five years.

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8 Buckingham, Daughter of Destiny, pp. 102-03.
In the early 1950s, she held meetings in the Carnegie Auditorium and the sanctuary of the First Presbyterian Church. Occasionally traveling to Akron and Youngstown, Ohio, she became embroiled in controversy concerning the validity of the miracles occurring in her meetings. Reporters discovered her divorce. She denied that she ever took the marriage vows, claiming to have fainted before the actual pronouncement. A characteristic tactic throughout her career was the belief that the best way to face an unpleasant situation was to pretend it did not exist. Such rationalization seemed to salve her conscience whenever controversy emerged.

Though preachers and reporters dogged her path, Kuhlman's faithful followers grew in loyalty, support, and numbers. She established the Kathryn Kuhlman Foundation in Pittsburgh. Through the auspices of the foundation, twenty missionary churches were built, and missions centers established in eleven countries, scholarships for needy students were established at American colleges and universities, and other philanthropic ventures were accomplished. Her ministry was acquiring acceptance and legitimacy.

Incensed by most practices found in traditional healing services, Kuhlman refused to have a healing line.

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Instead, she "came under the power of the Holy Spirit," entered a trance-like state, and called out "miracle" healings as they occurred in the auditoriums. Only those who had received a healing were called to the platform to testify of their "miracle." Continually disavowing any ability to heal, Kuhlman only touched the persons who already claimed a healing. In characteristic responses, those touched by the woman evangelist had their legs and bodies buckle and collapse as they became "slain in the Spirit."

Her ministry began to escalate in the 1960s. Kuhlman's messages were being broadcast on radio stations throughout the United States and Canada. Pentecostal ministries in California invited her to the state for revival services and eventually a regular monthly service began at the 7000-seat Shrine Auditorium in Los Angeles, California. Ghost-written for Miss Kuhlman, books with titles such as I Believe in Miracles, God Can Do It Again, and Nothing Is Impossible with God sold in the millions. The books and interviews she gave to reporters documented case histories of varieties of people healed during her ministry.

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12 Simson, Faith Healer, p. 86.

Kuhlman's audience became the prototype of the emerging neo-Pentecostal or Charismatic Movement in the late 1960s. Prior to her ministry, few non-Pentecostal groups attended healing services. Her services truly represented ecumenical divergence of religious perspectives.

Her television show, "I Believe in Miracles," became quite popular in the 1970s. The format of the show was innovative compared to most religious broadcasts. A brief greeting from Miss Kuhlman, followed by special music from black soloist Jimmie MacDonald and virtuoso pianist Dino Kartsonakis, prepared the viewing public for the main thrust of each show. She would interview a person healed through her ministry and then end the show with a brief message.14

The strain of four-hour services, media commitments, interviews, Foundation responsibilities, and internal pressures began to take its toll on Kuhlman in the 1970s. Her doctors told her that she had an enlarged heart and that she should cut down her schedule of activities. She ignored their advice and added more speaking engagements to her already strained schedule.

By the 1970s, Kuhlman had become one of the most respected leaders of the non-charismatic revival. She had established a reputation for integrity and intellectual honesty.15 Patching up some past feelings of jealousy and

14 Hosier, Kathryn Kuhlman, pp. 148-51.
15 Harrell, All Things Are Possible, p. 191.
resentment toward Oral Roberts, she agreed to be the commencement speaker in May, 1972, at Oral Roberts University in Tulsa, Oklahoma. In the fall of 1972 the mayor of Pittsburgh awarded her the key to the city in commemoration of her twenty-five years of ministry in Pittsburgh.

But internal conflicts in her ministry revealed that the public's perceptions of Miss Kuhlman were not entirely accurate. She demanded loyalty from her staff and the right to approve or disapprove of personal companions or decisions. Her pianist, Dino, began to date and eventually married a showgirl named Debby Keener. Kuhlman did not approve of the match and threatened to drop Dino from the ministry if he did not stop seeing this girl. Soon thereafter in 1975, Dino's brother-in-law, Paul Bartholomew, brought a $430,000 suit against Kathryn Kuhlman for breaking a television contract with him. He filed charges that Kuhlman or her associates illegally took personal records from his Newport Beach, California, office. In September, 1975, the parties settled out of court. One of the stipulations of the settlement was that neither Dino nor Bartholomew would be allowed to publish anything in writing about Kuhlman until 1985. News was leaked to the press that she had a private vault in her suburban Pittsburgh home

17 Buckingham, Daughter of Destiny, p. 135.
and her antiques and art collections added up to $2 million in value, despite her annual income from the Foundation of $30,000.  

These staff defections and internal unrest seemed to sap the strength from her. The ceaselessly energetic Kuhlman became easily fatigued. In the summer of 1975, she was hospitalized with "heart flare-ups." Her paranoid fear of speaking to an audience "without the power of the Holy Spirit" was beginning to occur. The power of her charisma began to wane and with its demise so too went her health.  

On the surface she seemed to be at the peak of her career. Kuhlman was seen and heard on about fifty radio stations and sixty television stations in the United States. Internally, turmoil and dissension were wrecking her relationship with her long-time friends and associates. She became jealous of other healing ministries that might intrude upon her own ministry. She became a public recluse, choosing to confide in new-found friends, Tink and Sue Wilkerson, members of the board of directors at Oral Roberts University and independently wealthy business persons from Tulsa. No one knows for certain if the Wilkersons exerted

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19 Buckingham, Daughter of Destiny, p. 231.  
pressure on her, but they became the major beneficiaries when she rewrote her will in 1975.

Kuhlman died of pulmonary hypertension on February 20, 1976, in a Tulsa hospital. Speaking at a memorial service for her in Anaheim, California, Oral Roberts said that he had received a vision that there would be no heir to her ministry. At her death, the Kathryn Kuhlman Foundation was receiving an estimated $2 million in annual gifts. With her death, "the voice of one of the greatest charismatic Christian evangelists in America was stilled."

Charismatic Variables in the "Message"

1. The "Revolutionary" Message

Kathryn Kuhlman preached for fifty-three years. The first half of those years of ministry consisted of preaching a simple gospel message of salvation from sin. The message content was comparable to most evangelical Protestant denominations. However, in the last half of her ministry she departed from simply preaching the salvation message. Her message became "revolutionary," in the sense

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that it stressed the power of God's Holy Spirit in every individual's life. Salvation was still essential in order to hope for an eternal relationship with God, but miraculous exhibitions of the power of the Holy Spirit were to be expected just as they occurred in biblical times.  

Kathryn Kuhlman believed that her change of ministry in 1946, which began to emphasize "the miracle-provoking power of the Holy Spirit," revolutionized her ministry:

The Holy Spirit, then, was the answer: an answer so profound that no human being can fathom the full extent of its depths and power. . . . That [night] was the beginning of this healing ministry which God has given to me. . . . my mind is so surrendered to the Spirit, that I knew that it was the supernatural power of Almighty God.

Her "revolutionary" message claimed that miracles of healing defied natural laws and could occur today whether an individual believed or not. Miracles happening among those skeptics who neither believed nor had faith made her ministry even more "revolutionary." Observers noted that a regular feature of the Kuhlman meetings was the testimonies "of agnostics, atheists, or the merely curious . . . [who claimed] dramatic healings." For Kathryn Kuhlman, it

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27 Kuhlman, Glimpse of Glory, pp. 127-34.
sufficed that the Holy Spirit was responsible for claims of healing. She offered no reason as to how or why such "miracles" occurred in her ministry.

2. Simplistic Message

Kuhlman did not preach sermons from a manuscript. In her preaching she did not follow a logical organizational structure. In her earlier days she prepared notes to speak from, but abandoned them for "essay-like" ramblings in her later years. She said one time, "I don't know what I'm going to say--I never do. It just seems to come to me. I appreciate your coming tonight. I hope you will derive something from our service." What "came out" was a simplistic message that advocated spiritual healing (the conversion to Jesus Christ's teachings) first and physical healing second. The sermon included in the appendix is a transcript of a Kuhlman radio sermon. The loosely presented structure of the message draws attention to the impact of "miracles" in Kuhlman's life and ministry and how "healing miracles" can occur in the average person's life.

Kuhlman's messages were couched in phrases and slogans that have been labeled by critics as "pure corn." Her radio sign ons ("Hello there! And have you been waiting for me? It's so nice of you. I just knew you'd be there.")

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struck her faithful followers as "homey" and "endearing."\textsuperscript{30} Her description of her own simplistic and cliché-sounding slogans was "I'm still Missouri cornbread."\textsuperscript{31} Despite the seeming lack of sophistication in word choice or content of messages, she communicated the message of healing for our times that was easily comprehended by all those willing to listen to her speak.

Simplistic phrases and slogans that became identified with her communication, included her radio sign on and her television sign on. Other statements that she repeated frequently included the following:

"It's just like that."\textsuperscript{32}

"I tell you the truth. . . ."\textsuperscript{33}

"I've never healed anyone. Know that."\textsuperscript{34}

By means of such slogans and phrases, faithful followers of Kuhlman's ministry focused their attention on simple, non-complex images and concepts. Constantly hearing that which is predictable narrows the breadth of perspective for each audience member. The need for critical listening diminishes with simple word choices.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{30} Buckingham, \textit{Daughter of Destiny}, p. 147.
  \item \textsuperscript{31} Kuhlman, \textit{Glimpse of Glory}, p. xii.
  \item \textsuperscript{32} Ibid., p. 5.
  \item \textsuperscript{33} Kathryn Kuhlman, "Healing in the Spirit," \textit{Christianity Today} 17 (July 20, 1973): 5.
  \item \textsuperscript{34} Kuhlman, \textit{Glimpse of Glory}, p. 4.
\end{itemize}
3. "Figures of Presence" in the Message

Though it is virtually impossible to report the precise delivery patterns in her sermons, the sample message, "The Beginning of Miracles," found in the appendix, provides an opportunity to note the uses of various "figures of presence" utilized in a Kuhlman sermon. Examples of these figures indicate the impact of her use of "verbal magic" to enhance her charisma.

Onomatopoeia is created by Kuhlman in the dramatic and stylized pattern of speech delivery that was so characteristic of her speaking. Words which in and of themselves did not evoke sounds were given onomatopoeic qualities. Frequently she would dramatize a word or phrase by elongating such sounds as "essss" or "uh," added as a verbal trail when a word ended in a consonant such as "d" or "t."

This artificially induced use of onomatopoeia achieved the same results as did the actual use of words with inherent sounds.

Other examples of "figures of presence" include the following, taken from the sermon, "The Beginning of Miracles":

Repetition:

May I just say to you, won't you just turn it all over to the Holy Spirit? Won't you turn your ministry over to the Holy Spirit? Won't you turn yourself over to the Holy Spirit? Won't you turn your will over to the Holy Spirit?
Synonymy:
You'll have a new ministry. You'll be a new man. You'll have a new congregation. There'll be a vision there. You'll get results.

Sermocinatio:
I remember when I was still in my teens someone said of me, "My, but she's a lucky girl!" It wasn't luck, my friend. I know the price that I paid.

Amplification:
What does the Bread represent when you take Communion? His body, broken on the Cross. By His stripes we are healed. And there's healing through the Body of the Son of the Living God.

Dialogism:
[The Holy Spirit] was the power of the Trinity. Jesus knew it. Jesus had faith. . . . And so He turned first of all, me thinks, and said to [the Holy Spirit], "If You be with Me, if You come too, I'll go. I'll go." And, me thinks, the Holy Spirit nodded His head.

4. Focus on Collective Identity in the Message
Kuhlman symbolized as well as articulated for her audience the power of God's Holy Spirit and its capacity to transform human existence into miracle-producing relationships with God and man. Down-playing the physical healing manifestations of this god-like power, Kuhlman often said that anyone willing to surrender his or her total being, personality, and mental capacity to God could achieve this transcendent state of power which she demonstrated in her services:

Kathryn Kuhlman knows better than anyone else in the whole world that she of herself has no healing virtue—no healing power. And I know myself well. I, too, am human. . . . I know that I have no power to heal. . . .
When you give your entire being over to Him—your body, your mind, your lips, your voice, your consciousness—you become a completely yielded vessel.\(^{35}\)

Despite her denials, a symbolic power was attributed to her. Her faithful followers came to believe that contact with Kathryn Kuhlman, whether in an arena or by means of radio or television, meant contact with the source of God's message. Kuhlman espoused her belief in the message of God's power in a manner that devotees could not express. Once an audience member attributed power to her message the quality of shared identity, fusing leader and follower, became reality.

5. Polarized Aggression in the Message

Similar to most faith healer evangelists, Kuhlman had the ability to polarize the aggressions of her audience along a narrow perspective. Satan, as well as God the Father, God the Son, and especially God the Holy Spirit are "humanized." Unlike other faith healer figures mentioned in this study, Kuhlman attempted to create a "humanized" picture of God the Holy Spirit, the penultimate source of supernatural power for God the Father and God the Son. In the message, "The Beginning of Miracles," the person of the Holy Spirit is portrayed as sitting at a conference table, approving of the plan for man's salvation. Jesus Christ is portrayed as seeking the assistance of the all-powerful Holy Spirit. In Kuhlman's universe, the essence

\(^{35}\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 121, 123.}\)
of all that was good and powerful rested in the person of the Holy Spirit. Her faithful followers endorsed that perspective as well.

Charismatic Variables in the "Personality"

1. High Status

By many standards, a giant personality of our day, Kathryn Kuhlman was a fascinating and magnetic woman. Literally, thousands of people credit her for dramatic changes in their lives. Thousands found, through her, spiritual growth. . . .

I am not one of those people. Nor am I among those who never found her mannered earnestness occasionally cloying and sometimes downright funny. Nor do I believe that she was necessarily above the occasional dubious expediencies available to persons of influence. But when she talked I listened. She made you listen, because she so fully answered the call of the heart of man to express its deepest conviction with its deepest emotion. The hearts of people of less courage have lost an inspiration.36

Both her friends and followers, as well as her critics, could not deny that Kathryn Kuhlman had a dynamic personality that demanded attention. Charismatic personalities, such as Miss Kuhlman, elicit awe and attention because of many factors. "High status" is one such factor.37

Kathryn Kuhlman is credited as having created confidence and respectability for the faith-healing ministry in the late 1960s and middle 1970s. In 1967, she was awarded


the keys to the city of Pittsburgh to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of her ministry there. She was granted and received a personal audience with the Pope. Her books sold millions. Her voice was heard throughout the world on radio and television.\textsuperscript{38}

Though not viewed as the head of a denomination, Kuhlman was considered the top executive and spokesperson for the Kathryn Kuhlman Foundation. She never claimed or desired to be called "Reverend," although the faithful followers in Youngstown, Ohio, called her "pastor." Her personal status seemed to increase with each year of her ministry. One author noted that her claim of humility and non-involvement in the healing process merely augmented the awe and charisma her followers attributed to her:

\textldots in the light of Miss Kuhlman's declared profession that it is not she who brings about the healing, why then should people flock to her meetings? \ldots Why should they be invited to come by every available means \ldots to her? \ldots But no, it is Kathryn Kuhlman's appearances to which attention is drawn.\textsuperscript{39}

This imbued high status was constantly reinforced by Miss Kuhlman herself. She insisted on being the focus of her meetings. Observers have noted that she never sat down during her four- or five-hour meetings. Even during musical numbers, she was always upstaging the other performers by

\textsuperscript{38}Simson, \textit{Faith Healer}, p. 43.

forcing the audience to pay attention to her. "Kathryn knew there could be but one leader—and she was it. She never relinquished that position of authority." 40

2. "Stranger" Qualities

Kathryn Kuhlman seemed attuned to the spiritual realm in a manner that differed greatly from the average minister of the gospel. Her faithful followers believed her strange trance-like states during the healing portions were a direct result of her ability to encounter God and His power. Devotees viewed her as having an "aura" surrounding her, as the spotlights refracted the sheen on her long flowing dresses. As Moses was viewed by the Israelites as having a shimmering countenance after his encounter with God at Mt. Sinai, 41 so too was Kathryn Kuhlman perceived by her audience. 42

One aspect of this "strangeness" or "foreignness" quality of charisma is the trance-like state Kathryn Kuhlman achieved. Allen Spraggett describes what Kuhlman called "coming under the power" as an "altered state of consciousness." During this "strange" state she seemed caught up in a mesmeric trance in which she had no awareness of her surroundings. 43

40 Buckingham, Daughter of Destiny, pp. 184-85.
41 Exodus 34:29-35.
43 Allen Spraggett, Kathryn Kuhlman: The Woman Who
The charisma of foreignness was also affected by the fact that Kuhlman was a woman minister. Not since Aimee Semple McPherson had there been a woman preacher so prominent. She down-played the role, claiming that "God's first choices were men [and] someplace men failed. I was just stupid enough to say, Take nothing and use it." Throughout her ministry, she tried to protect herself from criticism because of her sex. She emphasized that she was not a pastor and that she drew a fixed salary of $30,000 per year from the Foundation. She continually attempted to clarify her views on women evangelists' roles in ministries:

I never think of myself as a woman preacher. I tell you the truth. I am a woman, I was born a woman, and I try to keep my place as a woman.... I never try to usurp the place of authority of a man—Never! That's the reason I have no church. I leave that to the men.... I do not believe that those who know me best think of me as being a woman preacher. I never do. Never!

3. Conquerable Imperfection

When anyone recalls Kathryn Kuhlman the initial remembrance focuses upon the exaggerated, dramatic vocal delivery patterns she used. These patterns, distinctive


45Morris, Preachers, p. 245.

46Kathryn Kuhlman, "I Believe in Miracles" (Logos International Recordings, n.d.).

characteristics of her ministry since the beginning, are probably a result of over-compensation for a speech handicap Miss Kuhlman had as a child. As she stated frequently, "I was a stutterer as a little girl. Over and over again my mother would stop me as I talked and say, 'Now, baby, talk slowly.' Even now I have to watch myself very carefully." Overcoming such a handicap, Kuhlman gave the appearance of being "healed" herself of the imperfection in speech. Empathy for her as a symbol for overcoming imperfection generated a feeling of charisma for her.

Though there is no evidence that Kuhlman personally experienced a "miraculous physical healing," she did overcome numerous attempts to scandalize or denounce her ministry. Her faithful followers forgave her for her divorce. Empathy for her devotion to God's service overcame her bad publicity. The decision to divorce Burroughs Waltrip is described emotionally by Kuhlman as the decision to forsake completely worldly desires for God's ministry:

I had a sorrow, I had a heartbreak. . . . I remember walking down a dead-end street [in Los Angeles] and realizing that my life was a dead-end street. It was four o'clock on a Saturday afternoon. It was at that time and in that place that I surrendered myself fully to the Holy Spirit. . . . That afternoon, Kathryn Kuhlman died. And when I died, God came in, Holy Spirit came in. There, for the first time, I realized what it meant to have power.50

48 Hosier, Kathryn Kuhlman, p. 22.
49 Buckingham, Daughter of Destiny, p. 46.
50 Spraggett, Kathryn Kuhlman, p. 114.
Such a willingness to give up a marriage, normal family life, and children for the sake of the Gospel was perceived as unselfish devotion to God. For the devotees, such devotion overcame any hint of scandal or wrong-doing. She was fond of saying, "You'll never know what this ministry cost me." But her audiences did know more than she credited them with knowing. The loyalty and devotion of her adoring followers intensified the charismatic perception.

4. "Special Calling"

Kathryn Kuhlman's report of her "special calling" to the ministry has been mentioned previously. The "calling" to the gospel ministry came as a young teenager:

My call to the ministry was just as definite as my conversion. You can say anything you want about me, as a woman, having no right to stand in the pulpit and preach the gospel. Yet even if everybody in the world told me that, it would have no effect on me whatsoever. Why? Because my call to the ministry was just as definite as my conversion. And it's just like that!

Driven by a consuming desire to preach, she was willing to choose the life of a preacher in order to satisfy her "supernatural" call from God. She told reporters, "I'm a loner. No, no, I have no social life. . . . No one will ever understand how alone I am. But it has to be that way. That's the reason I am a loner. It must be."

51 Kuhlman, Glimpse of Glory, pp. 120-34.
52 Ibid., p. 11.
53 Hosier, Kathryn Kuhlman, p. 92.
This supernatural call to the ministry and subsequently to a specific healing ministry gained adherents who saw in Miss Kuhlman the fulfillment of their desire for a symbolic leader who could be the mediator between God's healing power and their own diseased bodies. No humble apologies from Miss Kuhlman ("I am not a faith healer. . . . I have nothing to do with these miracles."\textsuperscript{54}) could deter her followers from coming to see her and follow her special calling.

5. Sexual Mystique

No reporter is on record as ever having asked Kuhlman if she felt she had sex appeal. She probably would have laughed the question away without a direct answer. Yet several observers referred to Miss Kuhlman's sexual mystique, a quality of charisma that is evident in her personality.

In her early days of ministry in Idaho, critics of her itinerant revivalist services claimed that she was selling a mixture of "sex and salvation."\textsuperscript{55} Whether contrived or not, her friendly exuberance and naiveté enhanced the "sexiness" of her own personality. Dressing so as to look younger than her years, Kuhlman attempted to maintain the sexual mystique surrounding her life, long

\textsuperscript{54}Kuhlman, "I Believe in Miracles," recording.

\textsuperscript{55}Buckingham, Daughter of Destiny, p. 41.
years after the divorce from Burroughs Waltrip. She enjoyed being accompanied to public gatherings by younger men. Added to this desire to dress and act young and sexy was the driving ambition to be a domineering "mother" figure. Spraggett referred to her as a "spiritual mother . . . a maternal image . . . combined with the paternal image of God."\(^5\) She alienated a few Foundation staff members by intruding into their own personal lives, hoping to provide good, sound "motherly" advice. For those followers seeking a maternal symbol she fulfilled the role admirably.

6. Dramatic Acting Qualities

Many of her friends and critics acknowledged her abilities as a natural actress. A former schoolmate, Fern Cullom, said in 1972, "She was the same dramatic Kathryn that I'd always known. She was always dramatic in the way she spoke and acted. She was an actress even in the fifth grade."\(^5\) Other friends said that when they were growing up in Concordia, Kathryn could tell stories like "a real spell­binder. . . . We knew nobody could entertain us the way Kathryn could."\(^5\)

Her flair for the dramatic captivated her audience and her ability to appeal to emotion maintained a fevered

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\(^5\) Spraggett, Kathryn Kuhlman, p. 134.
\(^5\) Hosier, Kathryn Kuhlman, p. 21.
\(^5\) Buckingham, Daughter of Destiny, pp. 146-47.
interest in her services, even those that lasted for four or five hours. One Hollywood movie producer who frequently attended her Shrine services said that she had the qualities of a star "since she was the only woman in the world, who could turn the word 'God' into four syllables." 59

Her healing services were programmed so as to accentuate dramatic entrances and emotional climaxes. Music was used at the beginning of each service to arouse emotionally the anxious audience. It was evident that the Kuhlman services were staged, directed, and produced by a true showwoman. 60 She refused to allow fanaticism and stifled attempts to turn her meetings into frenzied "holy-roller" tent meetings: "We have no fanaticism. None whatsoever. No one can ever accuse me of being fanatical. Nothing is unseemly in our services. It is done according to God's Word. It's scriptural." 61

One of her most outspoken critics was Dr. William Nolen, a medical doctor who wrote articles and a book denouncing her "miracle" claims. Though critical of her claims, he was forced to admit that her ability as an actress helped create a charismatic perception:

It is hopeless for me to try to convey her charisma. You have to be there to see her stride across the stage,

59 Ibid., p. 145.
61 Kuhlman, Glimpse of Glory, p. 18.
watch her gesture and pose with arms outstretched, listen to the emotion in her voice. Like all great evangelists she is, first and foremost, a wonderful actress.  

7. Innovative Lifestyle and Approach

Willner mentions that charismatic leaders have a flair for originality and innovation. This uniqueness among leaders attracts a specialized audience seeking a charismatic leader. Innovation characterized Kuhlman's ministry from the beginning of her healing services. She was a unique faith-healing evangelist.

Appalled by the fanaticism and deception of healing lines, Kuhlman did not allow healing lines in her services. No prayer cards were complete prior to the service. In the place of the healing line, Kuhlman said that she went "under the power of the Holy Spirit" and psychically diagnosed instances of "healing" in various parts of the arena. She did not place her hands on the sick until after her ushers had determined that a "healing" had occurred. "Something tells me . . ." would begin her diagnosis, followed by a non-medical description of the malady, the location of the "healing," and often more precise

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information about the one "healed." Most observers felt that this psychic diagnosis of diseases was the most sensational and innovative aspect of her services.

Numerous staff members would circle throughout the arena looking for people's reactions. If a staff member was convinced a "miracle" had occurred, he or she would lead the "healed" audience member to the stage to meet Kuhlman. After listening to them give their testimony, she would touch them on the forehead or back of the neck, and most people fell down prostrate—the response known as "slain in the Spirit" by Pentecostals.

Well-known faith healer evangelist Oral Roberts acknowledged the innovative ministry of Kuhlman when he said:

I recognized God was in this woman and she was unique in my eyes because God was using her in a different way. He had always used not only my voice, but my hands. But He didn't use her hands to heal people. She didn't have to touch the people the way God had me touch them. Unless I touched them there were seldom any miracles. But it was the opposite with Kathryn.

Kuhlman believed that the most effective means to spread the Gospel message was by means of radio and television. More than any other modern evangelist, she

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66 Morris, Preachers, pp. 244-45.


68 Buckingham, Daughter of Destiny, p. 209.

altered the stereotyped religious program. Seldom were her healing services filmed or recorded for broadcast. Her radio programs consisted of "Fireside Chat" rambling messages geared to a listening public. Her television show, "I Believe in Miracles," was even more innovative. Borrowing the "talk show" format from Johnny Carson and Merv Griffin, Kuhlman interviewed people healed in her services. Each show closed with a short sixty-second homily. This format demonstrated an intrinsic understanding of the television medium, and this particular medium sustained and guaranteed large audiences at her platform services.

8. "Miracle-Worker"

Throughout her years of ministry, two nightmares haunted Kathryn Kuhlman. One consisted of her stepping out on the stage of some strange auditorium and finding the building entirely empty. This fear resulted in a reluctance to move into any new facets of her ministry. She dreaded the possibility of failure to allure a crowd.

Nightmare two was that one day she would step out on stage, preach her message, and no healings would occur because the power of the Holy Spirit had left her body.

70 Hosier, Kathryn Kuhlman, pp. 149, 151.
71 Buckingham, Daughter of Destiny, p. 142.
72 Nolen, "In Search of a Miracle," p. 102.
Overcoming this fear was a major task for her in later years of her ministry. While the "miracles" happened at her services, her faithful followers believed in her charisma. She was fearful that her devotees would depart from her if ever she failed to produce the power to command "miracles."

Buckingham alludes to a little known incident at the end of Kuhlman's life that suggests that her worst fears may have come true. She maintained a grueling, physically demanding schedule that eventually led to her death by heart attack. A few months before she died she may have realized that her power to perform "miracles" was departing. Her charisma was fading.

At a convention of Christian booksellers in Montreat, North Carolina, Kuhlman spoke. Her phrases seemed empty. The crowd became restless. She touched people on the forehead, expecting the phenomenon of "being slain in the Spirit." No one fainted. She touched Buckingham, and he faked a fall so as not to embarrass her. But she knew the power of God was not in that meeting. She frequently said, "If I ever step out on the platform, and the anointing of the Holy Spirit is not there, I shall leave and never again hold a miracle service." Without the power, she psychologically had no desire to live. She could not cope with the possibility of diminished charisma.  

9. Symbolizer/Myth-Maker

Kuhlman symbolized for her staunch supporters the ultimate power of God demonstrated through a human channel. As perceived by her audience, she was one of the few human beings willing to pay the cost of total surrender to God. The "miracles" and mythology surrounding the means of healing reinforced her own personal charisma. David Wilkerson, author of The Cross and the Switchblade and national director of Teen Challenge, a drug rehabilitation program, said, "She had some kind of a charisma which was implanted in my mind even though I'd never been to one of her meetings." Spraggett said that when she appeared on stage, "charisma pour[ed] from her in almost visible rays."

Critics claimed she symbolized charlatanry and deception. In his book, Healing, Dr. William Nolen stated:

Miss Kuhlman cannot cure a paralysis caused by a damaged spinal cord. The patient who suddenly discovers at a Kuhlman service, that he can now move an arm or a leg that was previously paralyzed had that paralysis as a result of an emotional, not a physical disturbance. Neurotics and hysterics will frequently be relieved of their symptoms by the suggestions and ministrations of charismatic healers.

74 Spraggett, Kathryn Kuhlman, pp. 140-41.
75 Hosier, Kathryn Kuhlman, p. 71.
76 Spraggett, Kathryn Kuhlman, p. 17.
Her former business manager and pianist tried to destroy her charisma by claiming that she had amassed a personal fortune in antiques and art estimated to be in excess of $2 million.\textsuperscript{78} Reports of her drinking hard liquor also surfaced.\textsuperscript{79} But despite the opposition and criticism Miss Kuhlman's symbolic leadership role seemed untainted in the eyes of her devotees.

Her personality continued to attract followers. Observers considered her ability to overcome debasement and scandal as a miracle itself. Her charisma grew with each year of her ministry. Her personality traits created a "bond between Miss Kuhlman and the audience--some invisible line of communication, beyond the words which Miss Kuhlman spoke."\textsuperscript{80} As exemplified in her personality, this invisible line of communication was her charisma.

**Charismatic Variables in "Speech Delivery"**

1. Vocal Force

Message and personality variables enhanced charismatic perception in Miss Kuhlman's ministry. But her speech delivery techniques created an atmosphere that commanded a charismatic perceptual response from the audience.


\textsuperscript{80}Yates, "She Believes in Miracles," p. 40.
No modern evangelist seems to have had the physical stamina that Kathryn Kuhlman had. She could be on her feet, bellowing out verbal admonitions, for four- and five-hour services and look refreshed in her dressing room following the service. Energy and vigor as expressed in speech delivery are key components of charismatic perception.\textsuperscript{81} Nowhere else is this energy and vitality exhibited as well as in Miss Kuhlman's verbal and non-verbal communication.

Dick Ross, the producer/director of the Kuhlman television series, was quoted as saying that her 

\textit{ex-ag-ger-rated syllable for syllable way of speaking was just her. But it's also recognized as a very good teaching technique. There are people who deliberately do that to drive it into your mind and then will hit it from different positions--saying the same thing in different ways.}\textsuperscript{82}

She utilized much of her vocal range, volume range, and paralinguistic tone to share her messages. Her voice could at times be halting and slow, or emotionally stage-whispering. Some of her throaty, gutteral sobs sounded as if she was crying.\textsuperscript{83}

2. Rapid Responses/Short Pauses/Repetition

Written transcripts do not capture her use of rapid phrasing and unusual pauses. She would rush a sentence's

\begin{thebibliography}{8}
\bibitem{81} Willner, Charismatic Leadership, p. 62.
\bibitem{82} Hosier, Kathryn Kuhlman, p. 148.
\bibitem{83} Morris, Preachers, p. 239.
\end{thebibliography}
beginning only to stall on the first syllable of a long word. She would vary the rate of speaking in these unusual patterns.  

"Oh, I enjoy preaching. I'd rather preach than eat," she would say. Actually her sermons were little more than rambling essays, poorly organized, but dynamic and dramatic in their "humor and humanness." The repetitiveness of theme, phrases, and slogans is noticeable in the sample sermon found in the appendix. This use of repetition is characteristically found in many of her public addresses. Miss Kuhlman never bored her audiences. Her energy and vivacity captured the attention of all who heard her.

3. Non-Verbal Qualities

Just as dynamic as her verbal skills, Kuhlman's non-verbal communication enhanced her charisma. One observer noted that although she seldom turned to a passage from the Bible to read, she would raise her Bible above her head, holding it in a dramatic pose as if to say that it was the basis for her authoritative tone.

Vigor and vitality were suggested by her seemingly continual motion once she reached the stage area. Even her

84 Ibid., p. 240.
85 Kuhlman, Glimpse of Glory, p. 72.
87 Fisk, "Kathryn Kuhlman Episode," p. 11.
entrances seemed energetic. She said, "Each time the moment arrives, I compel myself to open that door and walk out on that platform. I go out smiling and walking very quickly. Many people have remarked about how rapidly I walk." Once she reached the platform she would pace from side to side on the platform, leaning forward, tilting slightly backward and raising her arms above her head in a dramatic pose.

On stage she looked tall, slim, glamorous, and youthful. Her long auburn colored hair was parted in the middle, in a style derogatively called "early Shirley Temple." The non-verbal elements of her appearance created the aura of youthfulness she so desired to cultivate. Vain about her age as well as her appearance, Kuhlman was a compulsive perfectionist about her appearance. Her lipstick was always on perfect. Her nails were precisely manicured. Every detail of her appearance had to be perfect or she would not go on stage.

Kuhlman especially liked to wear expensive dresses, tailored to fit in meticulous detail. She chose colors that would refract the intense light of the spotlights, giving a

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88 Kuhlman, Glimpse of Glory, p. 122.
89 Fisk, "Kathryn Kuhlman Episode," p. 11.
91 Morris, Preachers, p. 238.
sense of "phosphorescence" to her appearance. Characteristically, her dresses were long sheath, full-length gowns, with full puffed sleeves, anchored on her wrists by long, three-button cuffs. Her choice of clothing did much to enhance her stage presence. When she died she had more than seventy-five pulpit dresses hanging in her basement in Pittsburgh, not including many stage dresses she wore on television. "No one ever doubted that Kathryn Kuhlman loved the very finest in threads."

Though she did not use the non-verbal element of touch as a means of healing, Miss Kuhlman's touch on the forehead or back of the neck could cause persons, skeptics included, to collapse in a momentary state of euphoria. Possibly another explanation, other than "being slain in the Spirit," might have been the capacity to momentarily short-circuit the electrical impulses in the nerve endings. Like some psychics and ESP persons who can create "psychic energy fields," Kathryn Kuhlman may have unknowingly been able to transfer energy to her fingertips, causing split-second nerve impulse breaks. A reporter interviewed a person who collapsed under her touch and asked what it felt like:

95 Buckingham, Daughter of Destiny, p. 203.
96 Ibid.
Incredible. It's hard to describe. There I was telling her how I had been cured, then she touched my neck with her hands, which seemed very cold, and then I felt a strange warm sensation throughout my whole body. The next thing, I knew, I was getting up off the floor.  

Others have described this sensation as "like being hit by lightning," "a thousand needles going through you all at once," "a cool breeze blows over you and then you're out," and "an immense peacefulness."  

Her charisma of touch elicited reactions from the adoring crowd who came to see her. At one service, a young man in his twenties, wearing a cast on one leg, rushed down the aisle shouting: "Kathryn! Kathryn! Let me touch you! I need the Power." Such fanatical outbursts were not tolerated, even though some of Miss Kuhlman's ardent followers perceived her touch behavior as magical and powerful. 

She probably never read a study of the communication variables at work in a mob or closely packed crowd. Yet, intrinsically she knew that her ministry received greater results when personal space and territoriality were minimized.

"Kathryn Kuhlman was obsessed by crowd size."  

She needed to hear that thousands were turned away from her  

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97 Yates, "She Believes in Miracles," p. 45.  
98 Spraggett, Kathryn Kuhlman, p. 22.  
100 Buckingham, Daughter of Destiny, p. 204.
services. She preferred "limited access" to her meetings, even though her staff knew she could fill a larger facility. But she feared half-empty auditoriums and chose to stay in surroundings that allowed her to invade her devoted audience's "personal space." She depended on seeing the faces of the audience as they did upon seeing hers. She tried to induce intimacy and dependency in the closely packed seating arrangement of her audience.

Audience Reactions and Perceptions of Charisma

The charismatic healer can so overwhelm the situationally distressed listener that illusions of actual healing can become convincingly real. The music, the congregational singing, and the multitude of testimonies have an additive effect on the atmosphere at a healing service. These factors can elicit responses of psychosomatic healing from emotionally susceptible, sick, and handicapped persons. Others not wanting to disappoint Kuhlman convinced themselves they had been healed of handicaps and diseases. Dr. Nolen has stated that he believed

101 Quebedeaux, New Charismatics, p. 85.
102 Buckingham, Daughter of Destiny, p. 186.
103 Simson, Faith Healer, pp. 196-97.
104 Ibid., p. 176.
she unknowingly used hypnotic techniques and the power of suggestion to create illusions of healing.105

People would frequently come to see and hear Kuhlman as a last resort. They had reached the end of their physical and emotional resources. Doctors had given them little or no hope. In a desperate state, under the spell of her personality, many audience members found a brief reprieve from their misery. They were willing to think and respond to focused breadth of perspectives so that they could "feel" as if they were healed. Some critics of Kathryn Kuhlman found this "pseudo" reprieve to be a cruel joke foisted upon those who would have to put on their braces once again or face the inevitability of death from cancer once the charismatic drug had worn off.

Many of those healed did not remain "healed." Yet documented evidence shows that some healings credited to the Kuhlman ministry did occur and did last. H. Richard Casdorph, M.D., documents ten such cases in his book Miracles.106 Clearly, some "miracles" remain in the category of the unexplainable.


106 H. Richard Casdorph, M.D., Miracles (Plainfield, New Jersey: Logos International, 1976). Casdorph is a graduate of West Virginia University, Indiana University Medical School, and has training at the Mayo Clinic. He holds a Ph.D. in medicine and physiology from the University of Minnesota. He lives and practices medicine in Southern California.
Reactions to Kathryn Kuhlman's ministry differed regarding the veracity of "miracles," but few if any doubted her love for people or sincerity. She attracted all socio-economic and religious groups of people to her meetings. Her Foundation did much to help the blind and needy, as well as provide financial support for drug rehabilitation programs. She was corny, folksy, and always charming. People who met her were not treated with condescension or deference to their economic or social station.

Kathryn Kuhlman probably refused to believe reports that some of her purported "healings" were not as "miraculous" as they seemed. She denied any threat to the validity of her ministry by choosing to ignore criticism. She chose to remember the happy faces and ecstatic utterances of those of her faithful following who claimed "miracles" through her ministry.

Her authorized biographer, Jamie Buckingham, summarized her life and ministry. He said, "She was unique. No one else was ever like that. Many tried to imitate her platform mannerisms, but failed. They used the same technique, the same methodology. But there was no power."107 Kathryn Kuhlman was perceived by her devoted followers as possessing more than power. She had charisma.

107Nolen, "In Search of a Miracle," p. 107.
CHAPTER EIGHT

CHARISMATIC COMMUNICATION AND FAITH HEALERS:
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In any movement, one can find a few individuals who display an apparently charismatic power over others but who are committed only to their own position of power or financial advantage. These are the charlatans for whom the segmented and decentralized structure of a movement provides ample scope for maneuvering. There are individuals in Pentecostalism who have been known to manipulate the religious devotion of others to their own financial gain.1

Not all faith-healing evangelists are charlatans and "fake" healers. Most major faith-healing evangelists began their ministries with sincere convictions that they were doing God's will. Those faith healers who managed to escape the depressed rural areas, gaining a national following, did so at the risk of misusing the fame, wealth, and power that so quickly accrued to them. Faith healers often become the "victims of hero worshippers who demand super-father [or super-mother] figures. The evangelists frequently found little outlet for their human needs and weaknesses."2


Charisma carries with it a sense of power that often deceives the leader/communicator. As the head of an evangelistic organization, church, or foundation, the faith-healing evangelist is often left in a position so that he or she has no one higher in human authority to whom he or she must answer. Faith healers answer only to God and any human opposition or criticism of their ministry is perceived as a direct assault on God. Such unchecked power can be easily abused.

Occasionally, examples of abuse of this charismatic power reach the public. The "Elmer Gantry-stereotype" and the accompanying themes of greed, fraud, and exploitation were expressed in "Marjoe," a 1972 documentary film. The film was a confession of deception by former faith healer, Marjoe Gortner. The film traced the young minister's revivalist career, in which he freely admitted to duping his audiences into believing he was a healer. Though the film did not gross much money or gain much notoriety, it brought to the surface once again the skeptical comments of numerous critics.

The faith-healing evangelists with active ministries countered the attacks by stating that the few charlatans found among the ranks of faith healers should not be

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construed as a universal indictment of the profession.  
Kathryn Kuhlman downplayed the impact of the film, refused to debate Marjoe on a panel, and said, "That film ['Marjoe'] has not affected our ministry one bit."  

The legacies of McPherson, Allen, Kuhlman, and others have affected the healing revivals today. Those contemporary faith healers who preach from the stages of civic auditoriums or tent platforms are reminders that style and delivery techniques have changed little since the days of Aimee Semple McPherson. The "healing-line," utilized by such contemporary evangelists as Ernest Angley and Leroy Jenkins, reveals the continuing influence of A. A. Allen.  

Some contemporary faith-healing evangelists are claiming to diagnose illnesses or healings occurring in their services, much as Kathryn Kuhlman once did.  

Summary  
This study focused upon three evangelists whose ministries symbolized the bond of charisma between leader and follower. Their healing techniques and personalities represent the power of charismatic technique as well as charismatic perception. Techniques aid the perception of


6Harrell, All Things Are Possible, p. 226.
charisma, but charismatic communicators must also have an unwavering "faith" in their own charisma.

The list of rising faith healer figures seems endless. In the next decade, Frederick Price, Roxanne Bryant, and Jimmy Swaggart may acquire the power and prestige of attributed charisma. But judging by contributions, rally attendance, press coverage, and other success factors, none of these has reached the national attention as did Sister Aimee Semple McPherson, A. A. Allen, and Kathryn Kuhlman.

Faith healers are capable of eliciting loyalty and devotion that surpasses mere allegiance to normal leadership. But neither the healer nor the stress-filled audience member could long survive without the other. Charisma has bound them together in a mutually beneficial union.

Conclusions

The gospel revivalist scene, including the emphasis upon supernatural healing, represents a decentralized movement that demands charismatic leadership. However, charisma is not passed along by "divine right" to the one who accedes to the faith-healing leadership. Each "new" faith-healing evangelist attempts to find his proper audience, one that will recognize his charismatic potential. Unlike some political or religious offices, which gain some charismatic

status (e.g., Pope or President), once the charismatic faith healer dies or is permanently discredited, charisma routinization is seldom actualized. Some potential faith-healing evangelists seek charismatic attribution by communicative techniques that parrot previous charismatic figures. The model attempts to isolate these major techniques as "ingredients" for any charismatic "recipe." This elocutionary duplication is coupled with claims or mannerisms that set the potential charismatic healer apart from other evangelists also seeking power. Thus, the emerging charismatic faith healer learns to model the speaking style of Oral Roberts or A. A. Allen or Kathryn Kuhlman, coupled with his own speaking style.

One cannot conclude that charisma is a prescriptive list of message, personality, and delivery techniques or ingredients in isolation. One can conclude that each leader facilitates charismatic perception when the variables interact in a contextually sustained geschtalt. Finding a sample of each charismatic component is not necessary in order for awe to be attributed. But the more "ingredients" which are found in a leader, the more likely the perception of charisma.

The charismatic bond between leader and follower seems sustained by oratorical techniques, gimmicks, or oral suggestions. Faith-healing evangelists who perform "miracles" or elicit "testimonies of miracles" verify their charismatic appeal. In the three case studies, McPherson,
Allen, and Kuhlman exemplified prolonged, successful careers of ministry in which declarations of alleged "healings" occurred at each meeting. Charisma is maintained when the audience forgets the techniques and remains stunned by the continuing power and presence symbolized by the "miracle-working" faith healer.

It is the author's opinion that the majority of "miracles" that have allegedly occurred in the reported faith healing crusades are "hysterical reaction conversions" or psychosomatic cures. Despite logical or psychological explanations for most of these "miracles," a few cures remain in the unexplainable category. Whether or not organic cures can be instigated by a charismatic healer is not an issue. Charismatic attribution occurred because devoted followers believed that the "healings" were genuine. The source of the illness is irrelevant if the devotee believes a "miracle" has occurred.

No charismatic leader arises without a devoted following. The reason is simple. No leader/communicator has or possesses charisma. Charisma is imbued by the specific faithful followers, who perceive charisma as if they have special "glasses" which hone the focus on captivating personalities. Select audiences sometimes seem so desperate in their search for the charismatic leader that

\[8\text{See explanation of "hysterical reaction conversion" in chapter four.}\]
they gladly and resignedly reduce their breadth of perspective to make a leader/communicator fit their universe. Like a bonded relationship of leech and host, the potential charismatic communicator offers reduced perspectives, polarized to clear choices of right and wrong, so that the charismatic perception may be completed.

Another conclusion that seems apparent from this current study is that charismatic perception is connected with social/cultural context. In the social and cultural milieu of American Pentecostalism, the faith-healing evangelist found a familiar setting. He or she sensed the plights, the sorrows, the longings, the desperations, and the hopeless feelings of despair in the audience. Such an audience, highly susceptible to suggestion, adores and reifies a leader/communicator who speaks to their needs. Both leader and follower know what is expected behavior in the social context. But frequently, the faith-healing evangelist who ventured outside the confines of his devoted audience finds himself in strange and hostile surroundings. The ingredients of charisma manifested in the message, personality, and speech delivery of the speaker did not affect the other culture or social context.⁹ As an example, A. A. Allen's charisma with rural, under-educated Americans was not perceived in like kind by hostile

Englishmen during an unsuccessful crusade junket to the British Isles.

This model of charismatic communication attests to the charismatic attribution process among specific religious audiences. At least in three case studies the ingredients of charisma found attribution. In the particular application of charisma theory, the situational crises included a religious exigency, which found resolution in the faith and beliefs of awe-struck seekers.

For rhetorical scholars, this current model offers a structure for critical evaluation of message, personality, and delivery of charismatic leaders. Rhetoricians may use the model to assess communicative impact and predict potential charismatic attribution by applying the model's principles to specific people and contexts.

One possible misapplication of this model might lead to the conclusion that charismatic leadership tends to be manipulative or demagogic. The stress upon financial contributions emphasized by McPherson and Allen was frequently criticized by the press. McPherson and Allen retorted with statements that emphasized the "God-endorsed" benefits of giving. Solicitation, for them, was not manipulation, but an integral part of the "healing" ministry. The misuse or manipulation of charismatic power is quite possible, but not inevitable. Charismatic communication, like all forms of rhetorical discourse, is basically amoral. Moral intent
determines the manipulative nature of charismatic communication.

The charismatic leader/communicator errs in believing that he or she is the source of the power of charisma. Such belief sometimes leads charismatic figures to positions of unquestioning authority. If a charismatic figure has no higher authority to which he or she is accountable, then the potential for misuse is increased. The faithful followers in the congregation of the People's Temple imbued their faith healer-leader, Jim Jones, with charisma to their own destruction as he manipulated his audience into the belief that he alone was the sole authority. As this preeminent authority, answerable to no outside human authority, Jones had the power over life and death. His devotees chose death rather than questioning the misuse of charismatic power.

Based upon the three case studies, successful faith-healing evangelists are talented performers who have sought crowd approval and have generally accepted charismatic attribution. But enormous pressures accompany charisma. Like addiction to a drug, some faith-healing evangelists wrestle with insecurities, and fierce competition and thus must constantly have crowds to ensure their own usefulness, self-worth, and power. Family life is disrupted because the love of the crowd is deemed more satisfying than the love of husband, wife, or children. Not all successful evangelists have disrupted family situations, but the divorces of
McPherson, Allen, and Kuhlman give significance to the pressures connected with the decision to become a faith healer. Schedules of speaking oppressively drive leaders to poor health or premature death. Fear of loss of charismatic power becomes an obsession or nightmare. Psychological demands create extreme stress. Though most faith healers give God the credit for the healings, they seem paranoid that their devoted followers will depart the ranks to follow someone else who seems closer to God's power.

For the faith-healing evangelist, the ministry of healing begins with a definite "call"—an inner compulsion to preach the gospel of healing. The "call" becomes an obsession, driving the evangelists to exhausting schedules and meager initial financial returns. Living for years without benefit of stable homes or possessions helps to explain the affluent life-style of McPherson, Allen, Kuhlman, and the more successful faith healers. They believe that their present affluence is a reward from God for years of menial and subsistence-level existence and faithfulness to the "call."

This obsession with "the call" has rhetorical implications as well. McPherson, Allen, and Kuhlman spoke of "the call" as if an audible "Voice" spoke in comprehensible words telling them to preach the "healing" gospel. Such a "supernatural" rhetorical imperative finds endorsement in several theories of charisma, most notably in the
writings of Max Weber. One cannot affirm or deny "the call," but its persuasive nature apparently has power to motivate these ministers for years of service.

Faith-healing evangelists have been noted for their flamboyant personalities, affluent life-styles, exaggerations, and high-pressure techniques in soliciting contributions. Loyal followers have perceived them with awe, attributing supernatural power to them. Critics have accused them of being demagogues and charlatans.

Most people consider the faith-healing evangelist to be a composite stereotype of the aforementioned characteristics. Though most faith healers use similar communicative techniques in their ministries, they have unique personalities that defy an encompassing generalization.

The three case studies presented do generate some conclusions concerning similarity and contrast of charismatic speaker-source characteristics. Three cases do not represent a large sample, but some inferences may find endorsement in the lives and ministries of other successful faith healers.

The manner in which McPherson, Allen, and Kuhlman structured their messages shows similarity of technique.

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11 Simson, Faith Healer, p. 196.
Each evangelist emphasized the belief in confession of sin, reception of salvation from sin, and supernatural exhibitions of more intense faith: glossolalia and physical healing. The latter emphasis placed them at odds with traditional Christian perspectives and created the "revolutionary" nature of the message. Simple words, phrases, themes, and dogma characterized each evangelist's rhetoric. Similar uses of "figures of presence" are discovered in their sermons. Focus on collective identity and polarized aggression find examples in each evangelist's messages. Contrasts reveal the unique personalities of each case. McPherson and Allen thrived on characterizations of Satan and his emissaries. They made the "enemy" clearly known to their public. Kuhlman, in contrast, humanized God's expression the Christian Trinity, giving special attention to the qualities of power and goodness in the Holy Spirit.

As representative of faith-healing evangelists, McPherson, Allen, and Kuhlman show similarity in charismatic personality variables. All three came from humble beginnings and small, ineffectual ministries to the peak of national notoriety and status. McPherson and Kuhlman found acceptance in the "strange" roles of women preachers. McPherson and Allen gained attributed awe for conquering their own illnesses or imperfections. Each claimed to have had a definite call to the ministry. McPherson's sexual mystique may have superseded the others due to the scandals
and publicity, but observers noted sexual attractiveness in the demeanors of Allen and Kuhlman as well. McPherson, Allen, and Kuhlman demonstrated dramatic acting qualities in their services and each one seemed to be aware of his or her dramatic abilities, even desiring to have been actors and actresses had he or she not chosen the ministry. Each evangelist instituted innovative approaches to his or her ministry, but all three left a different legacy. McPherson introduced the "illustrated sermon" communication format; Allen introduced the "healing line," with dramatic and emotional scenes of "miracles"; Kuhlman became trance-like and diagnosed healings in her audience without benefit of her physical touch. "Miracles" abounded in their services and the three "miracle-workers" maintained their status positions from awe-struck devotees. Symbolizers of the faith healing ministry, they represented special people, imbued with "power from God."

One conclusion that seems remarkable is the striking similarity in speech delivery techniques of the three evangelists. The elongation of certain syllables in words, the rapid delivery with slight pauses, and the use of repetition appear as a stylistic prerequisite for the rhetoric of faith healing. Large, sweeping gestures, accompanied by overt and animated facial expressions, are features found in the body-language of McPherson, Allen, and Kuhlman. Though practiced by most effective public speakers, these evangelists used such movements in exaggerated fashion and attracted devoted
followers. Flashy, striking, refractive clothing was worn by all three evangelists in their meetings. It is only an assumption by the author, but such refracting clothing could artificially induce an aura of light surrounding each evangelist and thus be a compelling reason for choosing certain clothes as a device for non-verbal persuasive impact. McPherson and Allen felt "tactile communication" was essential for healing to occur. They could not be "channels" for the "healing power" unless they laid their hands on the sick and infirmed. Kuhlman saw tactile communication as a device to verify devotion to God once the healing had been accomplished. Thus, she seldom used touch as a means to heal, but as a stimulus to fainting or "being slain in the Spirit." All three evangelists tried to restrict space and territoriality in their meetings. The compactness of the crowd generated more emotional arousal and general susceptibility to suggestions of healing.

One final conclusion to be noted is that faith healers, as represented by McPherson, Allen, and Kuhlman, signify an influential group of communicators. Millions of dollars pour into offering plates to sustain the ministries of faith-healing evangelists. Many may criticize their techniques, but none can ignore their rhetorical impact. The "Sunday ghetto" on television is their time slot now and they are moving out of the tents and into our living rooms. One can choose not to watch the rhetorical behavior of faith
healers, but one cannot choose to overlook them or their charisma.
"The Cat and the Canary" is a theme tonight. We're turning to the precious Word of the Living God. "Satan hath desired to have thee, but I have prayed for thee." Jesus Christ provides for everyone a safe haven, a protectorate which shall always be held inviolate. Yet we must recognize this definite fact that we have an Enemy of our soul's salvation. And that Enemy is the Devil. Oh, how he hates sinners. Oh, and you say, "What have I ever done that he should hate me?" It's because hating God he desires to hate the heart of God. The Devil knows that God loves you, loves me, loves us so much in fact that when He only had one Son He gave that Son to be a missionary. Jesus Christ died for us on the rugged cross of Calvary. Praise the Lord for Jesus!

And our Enemy lying in our wait is likened tonight to a cat. Many superstitions over many hundred years about the old black cat! I don't think I'm superstitious. If I ever forget anything, go home after it, they always pop me
with bad luck to go back after anything. I'm not superstitious, but I do sit down on a chair and lift my feet up and count ten and then run. I'm not superstitious . . . I just don't take chances that way. And I don't walk under ladders if I can get away from it. I'm not superstitious. Uh, and there are some superstitions about the black cat. They say, "Look out if a black cat crosses your path. Stop, turn around, and go back. Don't do what you're gonna do today." I say if everyone would see the Devil cross their path, would stop right now--STOP, LOOK, AND TURN BACK when you see the Devil walking down that way how much different it'd be.

When I was a little girl they used to be some fantastic story--I haven't heard any lately like that, have you?--about being very careful that the cat could never be in the room where the baby is sleeping, because the cat would lie upon the baby's chest and suck its breath. And the soul being in the breath--I presume, God breathed into us and we became a living soul--that cat was supposed to have this strange power. The witches' cat that we see cut out at those special Halloween days that we've never forgotten.

And then that strange fact that they say a cat has nine lives. Certainly likens it to the Devil, doesn't it? I declare you think you've beaten the Devil and gotten the best of him in Chicago and then he turns up in New York. And you have a good revival and he pops up in Los Angeles.
And with all the preachers fighting and all the evangelists preaching and all the radios sharp-shooting for the Devil he still lands right side up and says, "Rrrowwwrrr. Here I am." Hey, the Devil certainly has more than nine lives. And somehow he's landed right side up.

But the one grand thing to remember that in the last analysis, God will drop the old Devil into the Bottomless Pit and at last into the Lake of Fire and His own songbirds will be free to sing amid the glory highlands for ever and we shall have a song out of a canary and a song on our lips.

Eve, the mother of all living, was in the Garden one day when the Caller came to see her—that old Serpent! And he said, "Take of the fruit, it will not harm thee." And up till the time when Eve said, "And God is a liar. Then God's Word is not true?" And he said, "Of course not, you can do anything you like. Live any kind of life you like. God's simply trying to rob you of the beauty of life. The thing to do is to try everything, get a thrill out of it. And then you'll see a good thing when you see it."

Brother, that's the wrong thing to do. Some people say, "Well, I'll never teach my child until my child is old enough to have responsibilities of her own, his own." If you let your garden grow like that, it'll be full of weeds. Look, look the little canary, as it were, is turned by the old cat: "Rrrowwwrrr." The cat turns on his headlights. And immediately he says, "Come here. Come here." And poor Eve, the mother of all living, that first day was charmed by
the old Serpent. And finally with one spring, the old cat said, "I've got you now." But the canary said, "Peeep! Peeep! Peeep! Isn't there any way back. I've fallen into sin. I'm deep in sin." "No, there's no backing up. Now come on ... follow me. Rrowwwrrr. Rrowwwrrr. Come on out ... come on out." And little by little the cat has turned the canary ... and all you see coming back are a few feathers, left to tell the tale.

And surely when Eve in the Garden of Eden listened to the old Serpent she fell into sin. God help us to say, "Christ, take my life. And let it be consecrated, Lord, to Thee." Here were the steps of a pure songbird, Eve, who had communion with God who was able to walk daily with Adam, with God. Think of the companionship! And yet that shows that people can even backslide in a church. Some of the angels even backslid in heaven. Satan backslid. Brothers and sisters, hold onto God. Don't simply rest back and say, "Well, once in grace, always in grace." That's not so. Although the grace of God is able to keep you, still Paul says, 'You pray for me that while I preach to others, I myself am not a castaway.' Amen?" [Audience response]

In other words, we must go through with Jesus. Brother, it doesn't pay to build on this world's earthly foundations. Build upon the Rock, Christ Jesus.

Here's Samson. Delilah said, "Samson was once a mighty man. Samson ... huhh, once he could slay a thousand Philistines." "And I'm the preacher. Why, in my
meetings you should have heard how I could call down the glory and the power of Almighty God." Brother, it doesn't matter what you were yesterday, what are you today? It isn't what you were last year, what are you tonight? Let's get close to God.

One little boy, a Sunday school teacher asked him, "What do you wanna do when you get to heaven?" He said, "The first thing I wanna do is go up to Samson and feel his muscle." I never would have thought of that, not being a boy. But that was on his mind. He said, "I just can't believe a man could be that strong to lift those gates right off the bars."

But when the Temptress, Delilah, that was the cat in the case, got hold of Samson, and pried him with wine, and said [singing], "Oh, Johnny, oh, Johnny, how you can love," he was just a limp thing in her hands. And he said, "Oh, tell me again." "Oh, Johnny, oh Samson, heaven's above. And finally it makes my poor heart leap with joy. Oh Samson, oh Samson, mmmmmmmmm." And in the meantime, she found his secret. The hair on his head was shorn off. The little canary, Purity—the Nazarite vow, swept over toward the cat. The cat and the canary... the cat may not always be a masculine "tom"; here it was the feline, in feminine form. And Samson was absolutely demolished and destroyed.

Do you remember they poured in through the windows and in through the doors? Men who were pleased to see the
seizure of Samson. His locks were cut off. And he was imprisoned. His eyes were burned out with burning irons. Brother and Sister, our seven locks upon the head of the Church today individually and collectively should still be, as I often liken them, to the following: the first lock, salvation. Have you a good born-again experience? Secondly, a testimony. Once you're saved, publish it. The Lord didn't say we're to be a candle with a bushel basket over us. He said we're to be a "Light set upon a hill." Thirdly, we need the lock of the Holy Spirit. Oh, brother, if you had the baptism of the Holy Spirit what you could do! Prayer! Victory! Faith! Praise! These are locks that we need very, very deeply. And without them, some Delilah, or some Johnny will just simply talk you out of the whole thing, and say, "Well, maybe it wouldn't be so bad, just once. If I take this one bottle of liquor, or I take this one marijuana cigarette or any other kind, or take this or that or the other. Oh, I want to be a good sport. I don't want you to think I'm prudy and prim. I'll go your way just once." Brother, you're starting in wrong. You'll wind up with your eyes burned out. And your hair will be cut short and your strength depleted.

But one thing did happen to Samson. While he was in the prison grinding, round and round, his hair began to grow. And one day when the men of this world were making sport and they said, "Oh, ho, ho, ho, let's bring that strong man out. The one we burned his eyes out. Put him
between the pillars of the temple and see what he can do. Let him make sport. He'd be a good clown. He's blind!"
And Samson said, "Oh, Lord God, remember me!" And, believe me, he got down to what America should get down to and the world should get down to and all Christian people should get down to . . . it was real old-fashioned praying. And he began to push on the pillars of "sin" and "unbelief" and the whole building came tumbling down and the cat never did get that canary. Praise the Lord! The Lord had the victory and Samson the triumphant . . . and all that were killed by his death were more than those that were slain by the Lord in his life.

By the grace of God, I want to learn how to pray. What the people want in the Church is a Bible, the good old Word of God and a Holy Ghost revival in our soul. Brother, let's get back the old-time fire! Amen!

You say, "Sister, my preacher's too cold." Well that's all right, you set him on fire. Perhaps your preacher'd like to let go, but he's scared of you. You know, there's nothing like a good audience to set a preacher on fire. You people are so cold. Brother, I think what we should do is get up and say, "Out with coldness! And out with professional cordiality. Back with the old-time prayer meeting. Out with the yielding to temptation and back with the love of God."

Now one reason we've lost so much to the "cat," the Devil as it were, is the love of money. Matthew 26:13 tells
us a story of one who was called Judas Iscariot. The cat ... and the case was money. He wasn't expected to betray his Lord. No one, even the high priest, dreamed that one of twelve men right close in ... the chosen people, right around the Lord would be the one to betray Him. Why it would be like one of my elders here would betray me. Why, they would rather die than do it. Or one of my preachers, my close friends upon whom I lean, the teachers in the college, the Sunday school teachers, or those dear friends who stood by through the years. And yet that is just what Judas did. All because the old cat, the old Devil, offered a few measly dollars. Oh, Judas said, "I've been going the other way. I don't want to turn and go back." But the cat said, "Come on, come on, come on, come on, come on, come on. Here's the money! Thirty pieces of silver! Hear them clinking! Come on! In my hand!"

And finally, Judas, as the cat drew the canary, was drawn over until he finally subsided into the clutches of the Enemy. And Judas when he had the money didn't want it. Like a poor bird fluttering, he beat his wings. He came back again and he said, "Take your money. I don't want it. Money isn't everything. Now that I have money I can buy land, but I don't want it. What's a house! What are empty walls! What is money without God." "What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul."
That's one of the reasons that Angelus Temple stands here, a brother and sister to everyone in California that needs a helping hand. Makes me feel that there's only one thing in this world worthwhile and that's living for Jesus Christ. I don't know what your particular temptation will be, but I believe there'll be one. But it makes no difference if you look at the Devil you're bound for failure. But if you look to the Lord Jesus Christ and pray to Him, He'll take you through. He'll make you a victor. He'll make you more than victorious.

But friends, when it comes to going over to the other side you need Jesus. Don't sell him out for money. Don't sell him out for any earthly temptations. I'll take Jesus for mine. Amen!

All that was left of Judas when the old cat got through with him was just a rope, a broken rope. Youth doing some things is quite a problem in the United States. The upswing in lawlessness is increased some 54% recently. And liquor is sold openly in many of the states, openly sold to even minors. The smoking of marijuana is blocking the efforts of the most thoughtful in law enforcement. They say, "Oh, one little smoke with marijuana won't hurt you. Come on, let's get high! Let's see what she feels like." And very soon, it has the grip. The eyes begin to be black and sunken and the body becomes desirous of more. And the cat has caught his canary. Think of it, when you look upon American youth. Out for the party, out for the gay evening.
"You don't know, Mrs. McPherson." It is when you leave God out of the picture. The United States is one of the wettest countries under the heavens right now. Oh I shouldn't say anything, but I can't help it when you can't send your youngster up to a grocery store to buy a dozen eggs without falling over the beer and whiskey and gin, I think it's about time we put that stuff by itself and let the old drunks go and get it by themselves.

Approximately, one thousand five hundred cars stolen in Los Angeles alone a year, right here in our own county. Crime costs us annually in the United States $15 billions. How'd you like $15 billion? Or would you be satisfied with $15 million. It costs 15 billion and one and a half million major crimes committed every year. You say, "Sister, what's the answer?" It's the same answer that's the answer to Europe. The same answer around the world. You'll find it in Joel, the second chapter. It tells exactly, entirely of the Russians, the Russian Army, and calls them the Army of the North. And the fierce attackers and the fighters. It's when the birds fly, that's your airplanes. How the people will stand up in fear and trembling. And it tells of the noise that will be made by the tanks that cross over from one hillet to another. There's never been such a sound and never shall be for many generations. It tells of the many dead lying in the streets and how there's mourning everywhere. It tells how stocks and bonds are shaking and quavering. And then add this wonderful injunction and tells
us the one thing that we must do and that is call upon the name of the Lord. That if the people would pray, that the Lord would still hear them for He is not hard and unjust, but He is willing and anxious to turn. So he said, "Rend your hearts, and not your garments. Turn unto me with fasting and with prayer" and let the priests and the Lord's ministers, the choir, the band members . . . all of us, let's get down before God with fasting and prayer and then God would no longer stand and let people say, "Where is God anyhow?"

You see, these little nations have eaten like a cat takes a canary. How, where is your God? Then God would turn and "I would send you corn, and wine, and oil and you should be satisfied therewith. And upon your young men and upon your young women I will pour out my Spirit. I'll remove far off the Northern Army." That's a threat to us today. "I'll remove it." Praise God!

Here they are on their knees! Oh cat, you better back up. The canary's going the other way. The canary's going the other way. The old cat says, "Rrrowwrrrr. Ain't you comin' out? Ain't you comin' out? Ain't you comin' out?" all he likes. And he can sit there and sing, "Oh, Johnny, oh Johnny," til daylight, but he'll never get our foursquare, young people. Because if we have the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, we have something so much better, so much more exciting, so much more emotional glory to it than
anything the devil has. And friends, there's no comparison. Glory to God!

Maybe the man with the mandolin gets you. I don't know what your particular "cat" is, but there's nothing going to get us out of the foursquare fold. We're Foursquare Now. One of my personal friends said, "Well, what in the world does that mean?" Why it means that we believe in Jesus as Savior. Well, he says, "That's good." We believe in Jesus the Baptizer of the Holy Ghost. He said, "Well, that's good too. I never heard much about it, but that's fine." We believe in Jesus Christ the Great Physician. He's able to heal the sick today. Do you believe that? That's the third side, but there's a fourth side too. Jesus Christ the Coming King. Which makes up the Foursquare Gospel: Savior, Baptizer, Healer, and Coming King. Glory to God!

Brother, what this nation needs is an old-fashioned turning back to God. Some people have no idea of the Bible and I would surprise you if I told you that right around here at Angelus Temple are people who have never been to church. We should get after you for bringing them out with us. Talk to some people about the Sermon on the Mount, they think you're talking about some traffic officer on a horse. Really! They don't know what the Sermon on the Mount is.

We need an old-fashioned revival. Some of you people need it too. Do we have any gossips here tonight? Are there any people who listen to anything about other
people? Makes me annoyed when they always talk about women carrying tales. I think men are just as bad as women at that. I do. Someone was commenting on a woman tonight and they said, "You know, she has steam-shovel ears." And I said, "She what?" And they said, "She has steam-shovel ears." And I said, "What in the world do you mean?" "She picks up all the dirt." And I said, "Well, isn't that something." Why does it always have to be a woman that they talk about? I don't know. But I know this. We all need Christ. We all need an old-fashioned born-again experience.

You don't think so much of people who have to beg, do you? Step up to your door, and say, "Good morning, lady. Could you help a poor cripple?" You say, "Well, sure I could." But what if you had to step up and say, "Could you help a poor cripple?" I'd say, "Well, how are you crippled?" You'd say, "Spiritually." I wonder how many spiritual cripples are right here tonight. How many of you haven't been to a prayer meeting in ten years? How many of you here haven't risen to give your testimony for a year? The old year is almost dying now. How many here have the victory in your soul? How many here are soul-winners for Jesus Christ? If not, you're a spiritual cripple. My Lord help us to be victors, triumphant and more than conquerors. Praise the Lord!

Help us to get our song back. I see America standing. The old cat says, "I think I can get in here. I've gotten into some lands. I've got my Communistic set-up
and I'm going to get my Bolsheviks in here and I'm going to blast God off your money and God out of your songs and the blue and white out of your flag and make it all right."

Oh yes, the cat is definitely threatening other nations, not just the Communists, there's others joining in, but with a down, definitely down on the preaching of the Bible and repentance and a born-again experience. But America has always stood for the Cross, has always stood for the Bible, has always stood with a sword of truth in her hand. I see other people coming into America and they say, "Here are some fine leaflets for your children." I hear on the radio that Church and State can't afford their history books. Other nations have offered free history books, selling history as they would see it. But I believe America is very much on the job. I know that out here on the coast, and perhaps on the other coast, you'll meet some radicals. But I know, after returning from Florida, Louisiana, on up through Texas, on up through Arizona, talking to people and finding them along the way, that in their hearts the United States of America believes in God and wants an old-fashioned prayer meeting. And is not blind to the fact that the "cat" is hungry at our door.

He says, "I want your young people for war. Rrrrowwwrr. I could scratch your eyes out." I say if we want to keep America out of war, brothers and sisters, let us start tonight, right now, and old-fashioned, all-night prayer meeting. Let's wait on God, let's really pray.
I don't mean to hit your knees for a minute. I mean to get down before God. May the Lord bless you tonight.

I'm going to give a call right now. I just feel around my soul. Oh, Glory to God. I speak to you just as one bird living in a country to another. Let us turn to God.
"These things have I written unto you that believe on the name of the Son of God; that ye may know that ye have eternal life." I John 5:13.

In my hand tonight, I hold a Bible, the word of God. I have just read to you a portion from that book which declares that God has given us this word for a purpose--THAT WE MAY KNOW THAT WE HAVE ETERNAL LIFE! Between the covers of this book, many things are written. God has left these things on record for us today that we may be SURE that we have eternal life, that we may KNOW that we are saved.

God didn't say that we may hope or think we are saved. Definitely, he said that you may KNOW!

"We KNOW that we have passed from death unto life." I John 3:14.

And in this message tonight, I am going to give you not only one, but a number of scriptural ways in which we may know that we are children of God. Ways that you can know that you have been born again. That you have passed from death into life!
My friend, you cannot have experienced such a glorious transformation as salvation without knowing it! And if you listen to me preach tonight and do not have the knowledge that your sins are gone—do not know you are saved—it is evident that you do not have the experience necessary for life eternal! For the scripture declares that before I can be a child of God, I must be born again. I must pass from death into life. I must become a new creature.

You say, "How am I to know that I have been born again? How can I know when I have passed from death unto life?"

"We know that we have passed from death unto life BECAUSE WE LOVE THE BRETHREN." I John 3:14.

Let me ask you a question here in the beginning of this message. Do YOU love the brethren? My Bible declares that if we do not love our brother whom we have seen, we certainly cannot love God whom we have never seen!

He that loveth not his brother abideth in death. Whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer: and ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him."

Jesus said, "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another. . . . By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." John 13:34-35.
This was a dark old world until Jesus stepped upon the scene. But the message of his love shed a light abroad into the world that has changed many things. And if this old world ever gets any better, it will be the message of His love that makes it better. The world we live in today is a world that is starving for love. And true love, real love can never be found in the cheap published periodicals and melodramatic novels found on the news stands. Much of what the world terms love is merely passion. Jesus said that true love would be found in the lives of his disciples.

Let me define love for you tonight, according to the scripture, and we will see whether or not you have inherited eternal life, and whether or not you have passed from death into life.

"Love worketh no ill to his neighbor." Rom. 13:10.

"Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us: and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren." I John 3:16.

"Charity (literally, love) suffereth long and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. Charity (love) never faileth." I Cor. 13:4-8.
"Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." John 15:13.

In the world there are four kinds of love. First, there is the friendship love, then parental love, and then sweetheart love. All these are natural. Then there is the godly love, which is supernatural, and transcends them all.

Everyone knows what friendly love is. Every true mother and father knows what parental love is. No doubt the strongest love that the natural realm will ever know is a mother's love. And I am quite sure that every reader of this book knows to what I refer when I speak of sweetheart love. In its purest state, this love is the basis for most of the happiness found in this unhappy world—the anchor of the home, and the light in many a darkened life. This is the love chosen by Christ to teach us by example, advancing from the known to the unknown, of the love which he himself has for his church.

But natural love in all its forms has been known to fail. One who seems to love as a friend may love for a certain length of time, and then stop. They may love so long as they get love in return, but generally when there is no love in return, the love soon dies. Then friendship ceases.

Too often, sweetheart love ends in a quarrel—or in an infatuation with somebody else!

Even a mother's love has been known to end, as she places her little one in a basket and leaves it upon the
doorstep of a stranger.

But godly love is supernatural. It goes on loving when it gets no love back in return. It goes on loving when it is hated and abused. This is the kind of love shown by Christ for us. While we were yet in our sins, he died for us on the cross of Calvary, with a prayer on his lips for his murderers, "Father, forgive them. They know not what they do."

Some may say that only Christ could ever know this kind of divine love, but this is not so. The first Christian martyr, a man called Stephen, when he was being stoned to death, manifested the same supernatural love that Christ had shown when he died upon the cross. Even while the stones flew from the hands of his persecutors, he cried out in prayer, "Father, lay not this sin to their charge." Acts 7:60.

Stephen proved by this demonstration of love that he had real salvation. This is what happens to a man's heart when he passes from death unto life. When a man is born again, the old heart is changed. Instead of just a natural love, which loves that which is lovely, and loves when love is returned, God gives us a DIVINE LOVE. Here is one of the surest scriptural evidences that a man is saved and is a Christian, that he goes on loving when he gets only hatred in return.

My friend, do you have this kind of love in your heart tonight?
Do you profess to be a Christian? Then if you are, and you have actually been born again, you love those that despitefully use you! You love those that persecute you! You love those that point a finger of accusation at you! You love those that say mean, cutting things about you. You love those who accuse you falsely! You love them.

Why?

Because you can't help it. Because the love of God is in your heart.

Yes, you can know that you have passed from death unto life. You can know because you have a changed heart.

Amen!

Here is another evidence of salvation. "He that believeth on him is not condemned; but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed on the name of the only begotten Son of God." John 3:18.

According to the Word of God, if a man is saved he is no longer condemned. The person that is not saved is living under condemnation. By being condemned, I mean that a man does not have peace in his soul. He does not feel sure he is ready for the coming of Jesus.

My friend, so long as you are doubtful, it cannot be that you are ready for the coming of the Lord! The very moment that a person prays through to old time salvation, his doubts are gone. He is joyfully telling his friends that now he is ready for the rapture. Every person lives under condemnation until he has made a full surrender to
God, till he has turned from every sin, till he has repented of every sin. There is no need for anyone, until he is born again, to say that he is not under condemnation. The scripture says, "He that believeth not is condemned already." Of course, multitudes of people SAY that they are not condemned. But the word of God declares that they ARE! Who is right, God or man?

"Yea, let God be true, but every man is a liar."
Rom. 3:4.

From Romans 8:1, I quote: "There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit."

Would you tell me that a person cannot KNOW when the terrible condemnation leaves his soul? Never will I forget the night, in a little Methodist church down in southern Missouri, at the close of an old fashioned sermon on the judgment of God, preached in the power of the spirit, when I knelt at an old fashioned altar with tears streaming down my face. God had made the judgment and hell real to me through the preaching of the word. Condemnation had gripped my soul. I KNEW that I was a sinner and without God. I knew that I was lost without a hope in the world! Bitterly I cried, confessing every known sin to God.

Then suddenly the load lifted. The burden was gone! Peace flooded my soul, and the condemnation vanished.

You mean to tell me I didn't know when that took place? My friend, you WILL know when this marvelous
experience comes into your life!

Many people today are taught that one cannot know in this life that he is a Christian, that he is saved, that everything will be all right in eternity. They say, "Well, you know we can't really know here, but some day when we get beyond this vale of sorrow and tears, then we will know."

Listen, my friend. It is time that you find out NOW whether you are saved or not! When you stand before God at the judgment bar, it will be too late then to repent and be saved. "In the place where the tree falleth, there it shall be." Eccl. 11:3. Should you pass out of this life without having had a born-again experience, and a change of heart, it would then be too late to repent. You must be saved NOW! "Behold NOW is the accepted time; behold now is the day of salvation." II Cor. 6:2. "Seek ye the Lord while he may be found. Call ye upon him while he is near." Isa. 55:6.

My friend, if you do not know that you have passed from death unto life—if you are not sure—that is an evident sign that you have not had that marvelous experience which the Bible teaches that you can have.

I repeat again that a person cannot have passed from death unto life—he cannot have been born again—WITHOUT KNOWING IT! This is the greatest thing that can be experienced by the human soul. And would you tell me that the greatest experience given to man CAN'T BE RECOGNIZED? Nonsense! That is the most foolish thing that I ever heard! That a person can't know! That a person will have to wait.
until he dies, and passes into eternity, beyond the possibility of doing anything about it, before he can find out where he is going!

   Listen, my friend! YOU had better find out TONIGHT! You had better find out NOW! For certainly God has revealed to us the means whereby we can KNOW!

   "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God." Rom. 8:16. This is a marvelous experience, this realization of the witness of the Spirit.

   And, of course, this is a thing that you can FEEL! Some declare that they have no feeling. Some say there should be no such thing as feeling or emotion connected with religion. Well, surely a spirit isn't something that you can SEE. It definitely isn't a thing you can SMELL. It cannot be apprehended by TASTE. The only human sense by which it can be known is the sense of FEEL. And thank God it CAN BE FELT! I want to say to you, my friend, that if you haven't felt anything, you certainly haven't experienced anything! How could the spirit of the Lord bear witness with your spirit without you feeling it? There is no other way you could know it except you feel it!

   Say amen with me now! That's more like it.

   Let me quote further. "He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself." I John 5:10. Surely the person who gets a witness IN HIMSELF is going to KNOW something about it!
You don’t know? Why, then, my friend, that witness is NOT WITHIN YOU! As sure as that witness is in you, you are GOING TO KNOW IT! I fear greatly for the many people—multitudes, in fact—who say it is impossible to know that they are saved.

Ask many people the question, "Are you saved?" They will say, "I have been baptized." Or, "I am a member of a church." Or, "I am religious."

They say, "My preacher told me it is impossible that a person could know. He says we must just do our best, and wait until we get over on the other side, beyond this vale of tears, and then sometime, somewhere, we will find out."

Why would a preacher tell a member of his congregation such a thing? I’ll tell you why. Because HE HIMSELF DOESN'T KNOW! When a person has the witness in himself, he no longer doubts. It is no longer A HOPE SO, or THINK SO, or MAYBE SO with him! He KNOWS!

Listen to this!

"The spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound." Isa. 61:1.

Note here that Jesus came to "proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound."
The person who is bound by sin is like unto a person in a prison—a man in bondage. He is not his own. He is dominated and controlled by a power that keeps him in captivity. Yes, he is bound by wickedness. He is bound by sin. He is bound by every wicked way. He is bound by habits—habits that he cannot break! But when Christ comes into that man's heart and that man is saved, he is liberated from that bondage. The chains are broken. The doors of the prison where he was bound are now open, and he is FREE! No longer in bondage! No longer in captivity! He is free forever, if he will claim the promises of God.

So we find that salvation is more than signing a pledge. It is more than joining a church. It is more than water baptism. It is more than being religious. It is more than ceremonies, ordinances, and rituals. It is a glorious liberation. It is being set free from everything that binds us. When Christ cleanses us from our sins, He LIBERATES us, He OPENS THE PRISONS, and sets us free!

Today there are church members who are religious, but nevertheless have never been born again, and are still in bondage to sin. They do not know what real victory and liberty is! They excuse themselves by saying that their habit is merely a weakness—that everyone does these things. But I want to tell you, my friend—you that are bound, you that are in captivity—when Christ sets you free, you will KNOW IT the moment you are set free!
Do you mean to tell me that when a man is literally placed in prison or in jail he is not aware of the fact that he is not free? No, indeed. Every man who is in jail knows that he is in jail! Men who are in prison KNOW they are in prison. They know they are not their own. They know they can no longer do as they please. They must be submissive to those who have the authority over them.

Now let me ask you another question. Do you mean to tell me that if a man has served several years in prison, that when he has completed his last day, and marked it off on the calendar—when the warden swings wide the prison door, and tells him he is free—do you mean to say that when that man walks out into the open air, and the last barred door is behind him, that that man doesn't KNOW whether he is out, or still inside?

I picture him in my mind as he takes a deep breath of the free, fresh air. The sunshine once more is upon his head. The prison house is in the background. And then an oldtime friend approaches. "Well, John," he says, "I see you are a free man. You are out of prison!"

What would you think of that man if he would reply, "Well, now. I just don't know whether I'm in or out. I hope I am out. But one can never be quite sure, you know. Perhaps some day we will find out."

Why, you would look at the man in amazement! You would say, "What's wrong with you, John? Are you crazy? Have you lost your mind? Man, you must be of all men
most ignorant, not even to know that you are out of prison!"

Listen to me, my friend. As sure as a man can know that he is outside prison walls, you can know when Jesus sets you free. You will know the very moment that you are liberated from bondage and captivity. You will know then you are a free man, and no longer in subjection to the devil and his controlling power.

Remember that Jesus came to set at liberty those that are captive. He came to open the prisons to them that are bound. He will open the prisons for you. He will let you out of bondage, and out of captivity. Why don't you let Him do it tonight?

When this marvelous experience is yours, and God opens the prison house and lets you out, another supernatural thing will also take place. You will receive A NEW HEART!

"A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh. And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do them." Ezek. 36:26-27.

What's this? Why, my friend, it is the NEW HEART!

Surely, it isn't necessary for me to tell you that you need a new heart. That stony heart of yours is as hard as flint. It is as cold as ice. Need I remind you that God
has promised you a new heart, and that when God gives you that new heart, you are going to KNOW IT?

Jesus, speaking of this old, stony heart said, "For out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies: These are the things which defile a man." Matt. 15:19,20.

Why does a man need a change of heart? Because these things are in the old heart which has never been changed.

Why does a man have evil thoughts? Why does a man commit murder? Why is he caught in adultery and fornication? Why is he a thief? Why are his lips full of blasphemy? Jesus said they would come out of the heart! And until a man has a change of heart, these evil things will continue to proceed forth from that heart. But when he has a new heart, lo and behold, it is all different. Things he once did he will no longer do. Things he once loved, he will hate. And things he once hated, he will love.

Why?

Because his heart is changed!

Does he know it?

Yes, a million times yes! He knows when his heart is changed.

"Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new." II Cor. 5:17.
What more evidence would you want than this? A man now loose from his prison house! His evil habits gone, because now he is free, instead of bound! He has a new heart! No more fornication! No more committing adultery! No more false accusations! No more lies! WHY? Why, he has a new heart!

The old things have passed away, and all things have become new. When these old things pass away, and all things become new, a man knows something has happened. It cannot happen WITHOUT HIS KNOWING IT!

The change reaches all the way through his daily living. The things he used to do (when he had the old Adamic nature—the old sinful heart of stone), he no longer does, because they are passed from him.

He sits down to his piano. Does he beat out the old boogy-woogy that he once craved? No! Now, he is playing a Christian hymn. Why? He now plays what his NEW HEART desires. He no longer loves the boogy-woogy of the world. He cares for the things that are of Christ.

He switches on his radio. What kind of program does he listen to? Definitely, there are certain kinds of programs which no longer interest him, because the old desires are gone, and all things have become new.

He meets a group of his old friends. Does he join them in telling "smutty" stories now? Indeed not! He won't even listen to them!
What has happened? The man has a new heart. Old things have passed away. All things have become new. That man has been BORN AGAIN! He has PASSED FROM DEATH UNTO LIFE!

When old things pass away, with their passing goes the desire for those things. The secret of it all is, this man no longer desires these things. As one man said, "I still drink all the whiskey I want--only now I don't WANT any!" He says, "I smoke all the cigarettes I want--but now I don't want to smoke cigarettes!" Salvation has taken the want-to out.

My friend, has this happened in your life? Have the old things passed away? Are you a new creature? Have you a new heart?

How easy it is to know whether a person is saved, when we understand what salvation actually is! The reason many people say that they do not believe that they can know what such a marvelous experience as salvation really is. They actually do not know what it is to be born again.

Listen to Jesus calling, as He says, "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Matt. 11:28.

To whom is He calling? To them that labor, and them that are heavy laden. To the multitudes that are bowed down beneath the burdens of their cares, their sorrows, their ears, their sins.
What would Jesus do? He would lift that heavy burden. He will give you rest.

Picture with me (and this is the picture in the scripture), a man struggling under a heavy burden, as he tried to carry it up the street. A friend, much stronger than he, sympathizing with his struggle, lifts the burden from his shoulders, and carries it himself. Do you mean that the man who has been relieved of that terrible burden will not know that the load is gone? Listen. The very moment the load is gone, that man will know it.

Hear me, my friend! When your burden is lifted, you will not only know it: you will also feel it!

A certain woman, which had an issue of blood twelve years, and had suffered many things of many physicians, and had spent all that she had, and was nothing bettered, but rather grew worse, when she had heard of Jesus, came in the press behind, and touched His garment. For she said, "If I may touch but his clothes, I shall be whole. And straightway the fountain of her blood was dried up, and she felt in her body that she was healed." Mark 5:25-29.

Here is a woman who felt something. But before she ever felt anything, she believed, and she pressed through, and she touched Jesus. I challenge any person to touch the Lord by faith, without feeling something when he does! This woman touched Him, and felt something. You too, my friend, can feel something when you touch Him.
I feel sorry for the multitudes of people who, because they are church members, because they are religious, because they have observed some "sacred rite," think that they have touched Him, and yet they have never felt anything. They have no knowledge that their sins are gone. They know nothing about the new birth.

My friend, touch Him tonight. You will know when you have touched Him, because when you feel the touch of God in your soul, you CANNOT HELP BUT KNOW!

Did you ask, "What will I feel?"

That question in itself is evidence that you have never touched Him, for if you had, you would know what you would feel. But this I will say. You will feel VICTORY. You will feel LIBERTY. You will feel JOY AND PEACE. You will feel like the son of the King! And indeed a son of the King you will be, even King Jesus!

Here is a parable Jesus told.

"A certain man had two sons: And the younger of them said to his father, Father, give me the portion of goods that falleth to me. And he divided unto them his living.

"And not many days after, the younger son gathered all together, and took his journey into a far country, and there wasted his substance with riotous living. And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land; and he began to be in want. And he went and joined himself to a citizen of that country; and he sent him into his fields to
feed swine. And he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat: and no man gave unto him.

"And when he came to himself, he said, How many hired servants of my father's have bread enough and to spare, and I perish with hunger! I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee, And am no more worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants.

"And he arose, and came to his father. But when he was a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him.

"And the son said unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son.

"But the father said to his servants, Bring forth the best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on his feet: And bring hither the fatted calf, and kill it; and let us eat and be merry: For this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost and is found. And they began to be merry." Luke 15:11-24.

Now, let me ask you a few questions. Did this boy KNOW when he climbed over the old pig pen fence, and started down the road to return to his father's house? Did he KNOW when he came to himself? Did he KNOW when he met his father? Did he KNOW when his father fell on his neck and kissed him? Did he KNOW when he said, "Father, I have sinned against heaven and in thy sight, and am no more
worthy to be called thy son?" Did he KNOW when he heard the father say, "Bring forth the best robe and put it on him. Put the ring on his hand and shoes on his feet. Bring hither the fatted calf, and kill it, and let us eat and be merry?" Did he KNOW when he heard the welcome words, "My son that was dead is alive again. He was lost and is found?" Would you ask me to believe that boy didn't KNOW when he sat down to his father's table once again, and saw before him that lovely china plate of tender, young, roast beef, or that he didn't KNOW when his mouth was full of that delicious morsel? Do you think he was in doubt about whether this was his father's table or his task master's pig pen?

Listen, my friend. That boy KNEW! He knew when he was back among the hills of home. He knew when the ring was placed upon his finger, making him once again officially a member of the family. He knew when shoes were put upon his feet, and a clean, fresh, robe placed about his body. He knew when he was suffering from famine in the pig pen, and he knew the change of diet when he placed his feet under his father's table and was served the fatted calf. Yes, when the music started, and everyone began to make merry, he knew that he was back in his father's house, and that he was welcome, and that everyone was glad that he had come. He felt the love and warmth all about him, and the blessedness of being HOME, and knowing that it was not just someone else's house. It was HIS HOME.
And my friend, let no man deceive you. You, too, will know when you sit down to Father's table. You will know when you share in the warmth of Godly love for the brethren. You will know when you have passed from death unto life. You will know when the condemnation leaves. You will know when you dwell in Christ, and He dwells in you. Yes, and you will know when the Spirit itself bears witness with your spirit that you are a child of God. You will know when you have the witness in yourself. Yes, and when Jesus opens the prison, and lets you out, and gives you a new heart, and old things pass away. Yes, when He lifts your burden, and takes out every pain, and the guilt and the stain, YOU WILL KNOW!

Do you know it tonight? If you do not, my friend, now is the time to find out. There are many things you may never know, and no harm done. But this one thing YOU MUST FIND OUT, if you ever make heaven your home. For if you are ready for heaven you WILL KNOW IT! If you do not know, then, my friend, that in itself is an evident sign YOU are not ready for heaven. There is only once place left for you. That place is HELL. But you CAN KNOW TONIGHT that you are ready for heaven.

Do what I tell you tonight and you will know before you leave this tent, that you are saved— that you have been born again— that old things have passed away!
This is going to be one of the most practical, heart-to-heart talks that you and I have ever had. What I say will come from the deep recesses of my heart. And I pray that yours will be open to what I have to say.

One of the very first questions that any reporter will ask me: "Kathryn Kuhlman, just how did these miracles begin happening in your ministry? Have you always had these miracles?" And then I try to answer the questions the best I know how—even as I shall try to answer the questions for you.

I began preaching when I was young. All that I knew, of course, was a new birth experience. And one can never give to anyone else any more than one has experienced themselves. And for a number of years, all that I could give to anyone as I stood behind the pulpit was just the gospel regarding the experience of being born again. I knew that I had had that wonderful spiritual experience—an experience that I have never doubted, from the time that
experience was real in my life as I sat in that little Methodist church in Concordia, Missouri, at the age of fourteen I have never doubted my experience of salvation. It was that real. It was that wonderful. That was my very first contact with the Holy Spirit who at that time I didn't even know there was a Holy Spirit. I had never seen any manifestation of the power of the mighty Third Person of the Trinity. But that Sunday morning in that little Methodist church—a little church that probably doesn't hold anymore than maybe a hundred people—I was back there recently and I was just amazed at how small the church had gotten. For when I was fourteen it seemed so large. The same pews are there. The same pulpit is there. I think it's the same piano. I really do. But that Sunday morning at the age of fourteen, sitting next to Mama, sharing the same Methodist hymnal, the last closing hymn having been announced, something happened to Joe Kuhlman's girl. I began to tremble. Oh I had relived it over and over and over again. Little did I know that it was the mighty power of the Holy Spirit. Little did I know that this was my very first contact with the Third Person of the Trinity. I began to shake so that I could not hold the Methodist hymnal in my hand and I laid it down. It was the power of the Holy Spirit. The same power that I have experienced over and over again in even a greater way—a thousand times since that time. And in that moment I knew I needed Jesus to forgive my sins.
Not knowing what to do—I had never seen one accepting the Christ as their Savior. Oh sure, I had seen them take in members of the church, so I did the only thing that I knew what to do. I slipped forward and sat down in the corner of that first pew of that little church. It wasn't a struggle. It wasn't even praying. It was a personal experience.

In that moment the blood of Jesus Christ, God's Son, did cleanse me from all sin. It was glorious! The most real experience that I've ever had in my life, and I've never doubted it from that moment to this hour—even as I speak to you now. It was real! It was definite! I knew that I had been forgiven.

I remember how I wept. The preacher didn't know what to do with me. No altar call had been given. I doubt whether he had ever given an altar call in that little church. But I knew that something had happened to me. As I sat there weeping, Martha Jo Hansen, a little crippled lady in the church, stepped over to my side and offered me her handkerchief. And she said, "Oh, Kathryn, don't cry. You've always been such a good girl." And even as she spoke those words, we both knew she was lying. For I was the most mischievous kid in town.

Something had happened that nothing could stop. Walking home that Sunday I thought the whole world had changed. I felt that Mr. Kroeneke had gotten a new paint job on his house. It was the same house, the same paint.
The house hadn't changed. Concordia hadn't changed. Nobody had changed. I was the one who had changed.

Going home, papa was standing in the kitchen. Papa never overworked this thing of going to church—and I'm putting it very mildly. Oh sure, Christmas when I gave a recitation—on special occasions but it had to be very special. But that Sunday I walked in and I said, "Papa, something's happened to me. Jesus has come into my heart." Whether he understood or not, I'm not quite sure. I never knew. But he just looked at me and said, "I'm glad." But it was the beginning of something that changed my whole life.

All I knew was the glorious new birth experience when I went to preach in Idaho to those farmers I could tell them nothing more or less than that Jesus could forgive their sins. Oh those little country churches in Idaho! I'm still getting letters from some of those precious farmers—members of their families who've said, "We remember you well. We see you now on television. We remember you now as the young girl that came to our church. We remember you as the one who preached so simply. Ya haven't changed." You know, that's the greatest compliment people can pay me is to say, "You haven't changed." Why should I change? The Gospel is the same. The Word of God is the same. And I pray to God that I will never change.

I used to wait until those farmers were through with their milking, their plowing, their harvesting. And when it
got dark they would file in one by one. Emett, Idaho--Philer, Idaho--Payette, Idaho--if you've ever been to Idaho I've been in every one of those crossroads towns, every one. If they didn't have a preacher, I offered my services. Nobody really wanted me. I didn't blame them much. But I would say to them, "Your church is closed anyway. You haven't anything to lose. And you might gain something." That was where I really began my spiritual education.

You know, I think so very often everybody wants to start at the top rung of the ladder. Everybody wants to be a big preacher--a great preacher--a famous preacher--a wealthy man--a celebrity. I know where I began. I know from whence I have come.

Only several weeks ago, sitting in the kitchen, five o'clock one Sunday morning, I was to preach in Youngstown, Ohio, I had just gotten off the plane at midnight. And I always give my people the best I have. They're so faithful. They stand behind me through thick and thin. That week I'd been so busy. Calls had come in from everywhere--a call from Australia, three from England, a call to come over to Sweden . . . another call to Norway, would I come. Five o'clock that morning I looked up, weary in body for I'd gotten very little rest. And I found myself weeping, all alone in the house. My tears were falling on an open Bible. And I just looked up and said, audibly, just as if I could see my heavenly Father, and I said, "Oh, dear Jesus, why
didn't you let all of this happen to me when I was sixteen years of age—seventeen.

I never got tired in body. I didn't know what weariness of the body really was. I could ride those buses all night and then preach all day. All I could remember was I didn't need sleep, but oh, I was oh so hungry. And sometimes there was only the price of a bowl of soup. Rolls were five cents then. That was a long time ago. It seemed that I was hungry all the time, but never tired in body, not really. I loved every minute of it. "Why didn't you let this all happen to me when I never got weary in body?—When I never needed sleep? Why did you wait so long, wonderful Jesus?"

There wasn't an audible voice. I would tell you an untruth if I told you that I heard an audible voice or that he spoke to me audibly. But he did speak to me definitely as though I could see His person and I could hear His voice. And this is what He said: "Kathryn, had I given it to you then you would have blown the whole thing." And I knew exactly what He meant--exactly.

There was a growing process. There was a time of learning. There was a time of schooling. Oh, not in some seminary, not in some university. The greatest teacher in the whole world is the Holy Spirit. You get your theology straight when the Holy Spirit is your teacher. I studied my Bible—oh, how hungry I was for the Word of God. In those days, you know, I never stayed at a hotel. I never thought
of staying in a hotel. I don't think they had many motels. Not really. Sometimes a deacon would put me in the guest room. In winter it was so cold. They didn't have heat in their guest rooms then. Those Idaho farmers had enough to keep their kitchens warm. Oh, it seemed that in every one of those guest rooms they had these great big pictures of Grandma and Grandpa--huge frames. And why did those Grandmas and Grandpas have to look so stern. I never saw one smiling down at me. I would sleep in those cold bedrooms, sometimes almost freezing to death, almost afraid to open my eyes because somebody's Grandma would be staring down at me with their high lace collar. Almost frightening me. And those moustaches on somebody's Grandpa almost scared me to death. I almost felt like I was sleeping with them, ya know, kinda like that.

Oh, my friend, those were the days, believe me. And often to keep warm, I would lie on my stomach in the bed and pour over the Word of God, studying, reading it. I know who's been my teacher. I know why I know what I know today regarding the Word of God. Beloved, nothing ever just happens. And you never get something for nothing, even when it comes to the spiritual things. Always remember that.

I remember when I was still in my teens someone said of me, "My but she's a lucky girl!" It wasn't luck, my friend. I know the price that I paid. I know the price!

So all I could preach was salvation. But suddenly I realized that there was a Third Person of the Trinity:
the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. I had to know more regarding this Third Person of the Trinity. I had to know more about it. As I began studying the Word, I knew that divine healing was in the Word of God, and you cannot with an open heart and open mind study the Word of God without knowing, without seeing, that the healing for the physical, the healing for the whole man is in the Word of God. When He died on the cross, when He cried, "It is finished!" He not only died for our sins, but remember there was also the Body. He died for the whole man. Wounded for our transgressions, bruised for our iniquities, and by His stripes we are healed. We partake of the bread and the wine at the Communion Table. Everyone knows what the wine represents: the shed blood of Jesus Christ. At that first Passover, remember the little lamb was killed. And they sprinkled the blood on the doorposts of the house. That blood representing the One who would come in the future, the very Lamb of God. It is the Blood that maketh an atonement for the soul, His Blood, the blood of the Son of the Living God. That's for our sins.

But at that first Passover there is something more than the Blood. They were told to eat of the flesh of the lamb. What did the flesh "represent"? What does the Bread represent when you take Communion? His body, broken on the Cross. By His stripes we are healed. And there's healing through the Body of the Son of the Living God. Every time you partake of the bread and the wine, remember, the wine
for the soul, representing the blood of Jesus Christ, the blood that maketh atonement for the soul, and the bread, which has nothing to do with our forgiveness of sins, but for the healing of our bodies. There's healing for the whole man through Jesus Christ the Son of God. In every church where Communion is served and every time Communion is served and the bread is passed and you partake of that bread, there should also be the healing of the body.

Oh, it's thrilling! Oh, it's marvelous! I saw it. And only the Holy Spirit can reveal these things to your heart. "Flesh and Blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven." These things are only spiritually revealed. This is the reason why the most uneducated person can know more about the deep truths of the Word, than someone who's spent years trying to attain an education through much learning.

I saw healing, but I could not see scriptural healing, as I watched many who had long healing lines. But I knew it was in the Word. I knew that whether or not I would ever see a miracle of the healing of the physical it did not alter God's Word one iota. I knew that if I lived and died and would never see a miracle of the healing of the physical, it still would not change God's Word. God said it. He made provision for it. But if it was there, then I wanted it. It was there, and I had to experience it.

I shall not betray confidence in giving you the name of the one who was conducting a service under a great tent.
I went there to see, but I didn't find what I was seeking. I began weeping. I left weeping. And all that I could say were these words: "They've taken away my Lord and I know not where they have laid him." I wept all that night, uncontrollably. I couldn't stop weeping. "They had taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him."

I cried all the next day. I couldn't stop weeping. I hungered. I was thirsting. And the Bible says, "Blessed is he who hungers and thirsts after righteousness for he shall be filled." It is a hungry heart. Do not mock the hunger in that heart.

I never gave up seeking. I knew it was there. I was waiting, patiently waiting. And then it happened. It happened in Franklin, Pennsylvania, in the old Billy Sunday Tabernacle. Think what a place God chose—think what a place. I was standing on the same platform where Billy Sunday, years and years and years previous to that night, had stood, preaching the Gospel. I had gone to Franklin not knowing what I would find there, really by faith. In the first service there were thirty eight people there. In the next service there were nearly two hundred. After that the tabernacle never held the crowds.

It was my third service when I was preaching on the Holy Spirit, the little I knew about the Holy Spirit then, when just before I began speaking my second message, a woman stood up, and said, "Kathryn, may I say something." And I said, "Of course, you may." She said, "Last night, while
you were preaching I was healed." I was shocked. I said, "How do you know?" She said, "Because I had a tumor. It had been diagnosed by my doctor. While you were preaching, something happened to me, something happened to my physical body. I was so sure that I was healed I went to my doctor and had it verified today. There's no longer a tumor there."

That was the first miracle that took place in this ministry, without the laying on of hands, without any prayer. Just a woman sitting in the audience in Franklin, Pennsylvania, while I was preaching on the power of the Holy Spirit. I have told you the best that I know how, how the first miracle of healing took place. Since that time there have been thousands and thousands of healing. The secret—the Third Person of the Trinity.

The services continued in Franklin. And the next great miracle took place the following Sunday. And, oh, it was thrilling! I knew something was happening. I knew I had tapped some great resource. I was quite sure. I wasn't sure, but oh, the thrill, the joy, the expectancy. I knew the Holy Spirit had something to do with it. I knew it. I knew it. I knew it. But I knew so little about this wonderful Third Person of the Trinity.

I preached again on the mighty power of the Holy Spirit on Sunday. It was a Sunday afternoon service. Going home from that Sunday afternoon service, George Orr, a Methodist from Grove City, Pennsylvania, was there with his
wife. A man who had received compensation for the loss of an eye. All the papers were there to verify it. There was no mistake about it. Going home from that Sunday service, suddenly as he and his wife were going over a hill, he explains it by saying that it seemed as though the sun suddenly burst forward in all of its glory. He turned to his wife and said, "Did something just happen to the sunshine?" "No," she said. "I didn't notice anything strange." They kept on driving home. When he walked into the kitchen, the first thing that he saw was the clock and for the first time standing in the kitchen door he was seeing the time, for both eyes were perfect. He had received sight in the eye for which he was receiving total compensation for the total loss of an eye. I was not there. No one laid hands on him. No one had prayed for him. He had not even asked for himself. But something happened. Something glorious had happened.

He came back the next night and told it, his face beaming, his face shining. That was the beginning, and since that time literally thousands and thousands have been healed by the power of God. The secret? I searched for the secret. I had nowhere else to go but God's Word. Follow me very closely . . . very closely.

As I sought, I saw for the very first time that there was more than God the Father giving Jesus Christ. Sure I had learned it early in the little Methodist Sunday school. "God so loved the world, that He gave His only
begotten Son." But something else had happened before God gave His Son. And I like to think of the Three Persons of the Trinity, sitting down at a large conference table, planning Man's salvation. It would have to take sinless blood, perfect blood. Only the Son of God could measure up to it. And Jesus said, "I'll go. I'll take the form of flesh. I'll take the form of man."

Absolute Deity, absolute Divinity, the very Son of the Living God, if He were to pay the price for man's salvation, it would mean He would have to come in the form of flesh. But before God gave His Son, before Jesus consented to come, He offered Himself first, the Word of God says, through the Holy Spirit. We fail to see this sometimes. I often think of those who try to minimize the power of the Holy Spirit, who refuse to accept the person and power of the Holy Ghost. Remember, if Jesus could trust Him, if Jesus staked everything that He had on the Holy Spirit, surely you and I could afford to trust the Holy Ghost. He knew the Holy Spirit, he knew the Mighty Third Person of the Trinity to a greater degree than any human being has known. Even the Apostle Paul with all of the spiritual insight, all of the glory, all of the secrets that God trusted him with, yet the Apostle Paul, me thinks, never knew the power and person of the Holy Spirit as Jesus the Son knew Him.

He was the Resurrection Power. Jesus knew it. He was the power of the Trinity. Jesus knew it. Jesus had
faith. Jesus had confidence in Him. And so He turned first of all, me thinks, and said, "If You be with me, if You come too, I'll go. I'll go." And me thinks the Holy Spirit nodded His head and then it was that God gave His Only Begotten Son that you and I might have life eternal.

And Jesus came in the form of flesh. He came as a babe in the manger. Literally, God in the flesh, grew to manhood. Yet, me thinks, the three were not united until that hour when Jesus came up out of the waters of baptism. Oh, Glorious Moment! Oh, thrilling moment, as Jesus came up out of the waters of baptism and in that moment, something happened, a voice spoke. It was the voice of God, when He said, "This is My Beloved Son in whom I am well pleased." No man, no woman can ever stand before the great Creator, can ever stand before the Judgment Seat of God, and say, "I didn't know who Jesus was." For God Himself left no doubt in the mind of any human being as to who that babe was in the flesh, as to who that one was who came out of the waters of baptism, who that one was who was nailed to that center cross. No man can plead ignorance as to who Jesus Christ really is. For God Himself spoke, and to all generations to come, said, "This is My Beloved Son in whom I am well pleased."

And in that moment, something happened, oh glorious moment! It must have been one of the greatest thrills that Jesus received as He walked in the flesh on this earth, for the Holy Spirit came upon Him in the form of a dove.
Me thinks, He was saying, "I'm here, now! I'm here now! Things will happen. We're running on schedule. I kept my part of the agreement. You keep yours. And man will have salvation for the whole body. I'm here."

Oh, it must have been such a reassuring time for Jesus. I wish I had been there. And then it was that miracles began happening. I know I too speak of the miracles that Jesus did. I know we read the miracles and the mystery of Jesus. We always think of Jesus performing those miracles. But I want you to remember something when Jesus walked this earth He was as much man as though He were not God. Of course in the same sense, He was as much God as though He were not man. But He had to take the form of flesh. He was tempted, because He was in the form of flesh. He could have yielded to those temptations. If Jesus could not have yielded to temptations when He was on earth, if when Jesus stood face to face with Satan and was tempted by Satan, remember that was not the first time that Jesus the Son of God and Satan had met, always remember that. Satan knew Jesus very well. Jesus knew Satan before he became Satan. Jesus knew him when he was one of three of the most powerful angels that God had created. He knew him before the Fall. He knew him before he said, "I will be like unto the Most High," and began to ascend into heaven, having become jealous of God. And God in wrath, not being able to allow sin in heaven, thrust him to the earth. And he became a disembodied spirit. We know him today as Satan.
No, my friend, that was not the very first time that they had come face to face with each other. When he stood before Jesus and literally offered Him the title deed to this planet, to this earth, if He would bow down and serve him. And remember something, this very hour Satan still holds the title deed to this earth. He once ruled over this planet, over thousands and thousands, me thinks there could have been millions of angels. This was his great empire. When God created Lucifer He gave him the title deed to this earth. He still holds it. Jesus knew that he held the title deed, that he was not lying, when he offered the title deed to this earth, this planet, if Jesus would bow down and serve him. Jesus could have turned to him and said, "You're a liar!" but Jesus knew he was not a liar. He knew he held it.

One of these days, my friend, when Jesus comes back to earth as King of Kings, Lord of Lords, He is going to change the whole thing. There's coming a day, and that's why Satan is working overtime, he knows that his days are numbered. He knows his hours are numbered. His time is short as great world ruler, know that! One day he's going to have to forfeit the title deed to this earth, to this planet, for there's coming a day when the surface of this earth will be renovated by fire, and the city of the New Jerusalem, John saw it in the spirit, comes down, and this old planet becomes our eternal home for ever and for ever and for ever, and in that day Jesus will hold the title deed
to this planet, and we will be a part of that great inheritance, and shall rule and reign with Him.

Oh sure, those miracles in the life of Jesus were performed by the Holy Spirit. Jesus knew it. Jesus knew. It was the power of the Holy Ghost that performed those miracles. He was just as dependent on the Holy Spirit as you and I are dependent on the Holy Spirit today for every miracle that takes place. That's the reason, beloved, that before Jesus went back to glory again, He left to the Church the greatest gift that He could leave the Church. This glorious Body of Christ, His Bride, we belong to Him, we're the gift that God the Father gave to His Son. We, the Church, the living, vital Body of Christ, the Bride, we who are born into this wonderful body of believers. We are the gift that the Father gave to His Son. That's the reason Jesus looking up to the Father said, "These that Thou hast given to me." And love is something that you do. And just before Jesus went away He wanted to give to His own, to give to His church, a gift. And the greatest gift that He could give to His own was the One who had been so faithful and so true to Him, who had never left Him, had never disappointed Him. The last word that He said before He went away. He said as He gave the gift, "And ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you."

Oh, I wish I could stand upon the highest mountain top. I wish I could shout it until every man, every woman who stands behind the pulpit, every priest, every rabbi,
every minister, could know, could hear, could understand. Believe it. Receive Him, this wonderful gift that Jesus gave to His Church, this Body of Believers. It was a sacred gift. It was a holy gift. There was no greater gift that He could give. And He wanted to give. God the Father had just given Him the gift, the Body of believers. Jesus, in turn, wanted to give this Body of Believers the gift that had been given to Him, a gift. And let me ask you, what greater gift could He have given?

And He thought of those miracles that the Holy Spirit had performed in His ministry. He thought of the great manifestation of the power of the Third Person. He knew what a great Comforter the Holy Spirit had been to Him. And the word "comforter" means "strengthener." He knew the Holy Spirit had come and been His strengthener during those days and lonely nights, during the time when He was spat upon, during the time when He was ridiculed, during those days when the whole world did not understand Him. All men had forsaken Him. For a time it seemed that even His disciples had forsaken Him, and yet the Holy Spirit was there, strengthening Him. Do you know the glorious strengthening power of the Holy Spirit? Paul did. That's the reason Paul said, at the close of one of his letters . . . perhaps it was a moment, just like this moment as I'm talking to you, as we think about our spiritual experiences, the closeness, the deepness, the glory of those experiences, and Paul said, "The mercy of the Lord Jesus Christ." He's
sc merciful. And the love of God. And who could fathom God's love. And where would any of us be without the mercy of the Lord, without the love of God. But he didn't stop there. And Paul continues, "And the fellowship of the Holy Spirit." That fellowship, the closeness, that oneness in the midnight hour when it's so dark. Jesus had that fellowship with the Holy Spirit. Jesus never went down in the hour of temptation because of the power and the presence of the Holy Spirit. Jesus had the courage. Jesus had what it took when the hour came when He had to yield His own will to God the Father, and the two wills became as one.

You and I cannot do it except for the power of the Holy Ghost. Do you know Him in that sense? Jesus knew Him. Jesus understood. Jesus knew the secret of His earthly victory. And that the reason, and in His last bequest said, "And ye shall receive power." What power? The same power that had been manifested in His ministry, in His life, His daily life. Don't you see it? Can't you see it? Oh, if only I had the ability. The greatest day of my life. It changed not only my life, but also my ministry. This ministry is what it is today because of the power of the Holy Ghost, the power of the Holy Spirit. How better can I tell you.

Are you a minister standing behind your pulpit? You are seeing no results. You are a discouraged man, but you really won't admit it. You dread going to your pulpit, but you won't admit it. You dread facing your congregation,
Sunday after Sunday. You won't even admit it to your wife. Sometimes you wish you were out digging ditches. You wish you could be an ordinary somebody, instead of a man of the cloth. It's discouraging, not seeing results. You're not satisfied. May I just say to you, won't you just turn it all over to the Holy Spirit? Won't you turn your ministry over to the Holy Spirit? Won't you turn yourself over to the Holy Spirit? Won't you turn your will over to the Holy Spirit? You'll have a new ministry. You'll be a new man. You'll have a new congregation. There'll be a vision there. You'll get results.

"And ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you." What happened on the Day of Pentecost? He came. Jesus said He would come. And we know that Jesus made heaven safely, and so glad to know that. WE know that He did. WE know that He arrived on schedule, because the Holy Spirit arrived on schedule. Because Jesus said, "It is expedient that I go away, because I have to go back and take the position of Great High Priest at the right hand of God the Father. And after I will have arrived, I will send the Holy Spirit." And we know that Jesus made it, and in position because the Holy Spirit came. It all worked out on schedule just as He said it would.

The 120 filled with the Holy Ghost . . . we call it the Day of Pentecost. Things happened. Oh, I'll tell you they had exciting times in the early church. Things were happening. Remember something, we talk about the Day of
Pentecost. We are still living in the Day of Pentecost. Today is still the Day of Pentecost, and we have every right to have the same things happening in our churches in this hour as happened on the Day of Pentecost, because it's the power of the person of the Holy Spirit. And the Day of Pentecost will not come to an end until the Holy Spirit leaves. And when the Holy Spirit goes, He takes the Church with Him. We call it the Rapture of the Church, and then will be the end of the times of the Gentiles.

I know the secret of the power in this ministry. I know the secret in those who yield by the power of God. The secret is found in the person of the Holy Spirit. I have chosen to accept the gift that Jesus left for me.
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