SIMSON, Eve Tammisoo, 1937-
THE FAITH HEALER: A STUDY OF
DELIVERANCE EVANGELISM IN THE UNITED STATES.
The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1969
Sociology, general

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan

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1969
THE FAITH HEALER: A STUDY OF
DELIVERANCE EVANGELISM IN THE UNITED STATES

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

Eve Tammisoo Simson, B.Sc., M.A.

The Ohio State University
1969

Approved by

Sad Nagi
Adviser
Department of Sociology
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge sincere appreciation for the assistance and consideration given me by my adviser, Dr. Saad Z. Nagi. Credit should also go to Dr. Russell R. Dynes and Dr. Simon Dinitz for their suggestions and editorial comments.

I would also like to thank my husband Tom and my parents for their time and effort spent on behalf of this project, and for their patience and confidence which was a great inspiration to me.
VITA

1959    B.Sc., The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
1960    The University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota
1960-1962 Statistician, The Ohio State Health Department, Columbus, Ohio
1964    M.A., The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
1966-1969 Teaching Associate, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
1969    Ph.D., The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

Major Field of Study: Sociology
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

Although outstanding technological advancements have been made in the field of medicine and the status of the physician has continued to rise, it has been widely claimed that, nevertheless, alternatives to scientific medical practice are becoming more and more widespread.

In most urban areas a number of alternatives are readily accessible, ranging from Indian healers to chiropractors. Also, religious groups have become increasingly interested in faith healing and in many services healings are regularly attempted.

One such meeting was held on Friday night of January 20, 1967 in a small, stucco church on the outskirts of Columbus, Ohio. A group of some thirty persons mostly of working class background were clapping hands and singing to lively country music. A wave offering was asked for God. This meant that everyone was to take a scarf or some other object and wave it vigorously.

After a brief sermon people were called forth to tell what God had done for them. Several volunteered. One mother testified how the evangelist had cured her three-or-four year old son. According to her testimony, the boy had been quite ill and the doctors had given him only a few more years to live. After the evangelist had prayed for him and she had stopped giving him the medicine that doctors had prescribed,
her son had steadily improved. Happily she showed to the congregation a healthy looking, handsome, flaxen-haired child.

Besides testimonies, there were also reported cures. A woman, who seemed to be about 80 years old, was treated for a variety of ailments. She said that she could not lift her arms up high because of arthritis. After the evangelist laid hands on her and declared her cured, she could lift her arms. She was also overweight, and the evangelist promised to take off a few pounds and placed a tape-measure around her waist. After 15 to 20 minutes he announced that the waist had decreased several inches. Next he noticed that her right foot was slightly shorter than her left one, causing one shoulder to slope below the other. Praying over the foot and pulling it, the evangelist claimed that he had lengthened it to the same size as her other foot and had her stand up. From the middle of the room no change in the lady's appearance was visible, but the people in the two front rows testified that indeed her foot had been lengthened and that her right shoulder was now higher. Eventually the woman fell to the floor in a trance. And before the meeting came to a close several others also were supposedly healed of their ailments.

Faith healing rites carried out by many cults may include such practices as fasts, dancing and speaking in tongues.

The phenomena of faith healing have received little systematic attention from sociologists in spite of its significance to at least three major institutions: medicine, law and religion.
The Research Objectives

The purpose of this work is to explore the phenomenon of faith healing. The study is essentially descriptive and its objectives are: to characterize the healers and their followers, and to describe the settings and patterns of interaction involved in healing revivals. Attempts will be made to develop typologies based upon observations and analysis of the literature. The study focuses upon the type of faith healing practiced by evangelist healers who are also known as "healers of the Sawdust Trail," Full Gospel, deliverance, Holiness or Pentecostal evangelists.
CHAPTER II

FAITH HEALING AND RELATED INSTITUTIONS

Faith healing practices have been the object of concern for the medical, the religious and the legal institutions in this as well as a number of other countries.

The Position of Medicine

Faith healing has been considered as interfering with seeking proper medical care. Therefore, through the years, many faith healers have encountered opposition from physicians and health departments. John Alexander Dowie, for example, was taken to court some 100 times in one year by the Chicago Board of Health. (216)

According to one physician, one major problem is that some people who should see a physician do not or they go too late.

Originally Mary Baker Eddy, founder of Christian Science, taught a course on Metaphysical Obstetrics. A disciple, Mrs. Cornes, attended her own daughter in childbirth and denied the reality of all symptoms indicating irregular delivery. The result was that both the daughter and the infant died. This created a strong public reaction, and shortly thereafter Mrs. Eddy abandoned the field of obstetrics. (275) Since then childbirth has been recognized as "something different" on which occasion Christian Scientists no longer hesitate to see a physician.
In another case, a housewife in Columbus, Ohio was diagnosed as having a malignant growth. Instead of continuing medical treatment, she started to attend various healing meetings. However, her condition failed to improve, and she returned to her physician. By this time her chances for successful surgery had reportedly been considerably diminished.

As a result of their belief in the claims of various healing cults not only are people delayed or discouraged from seeking medical aid, but at times are given advice which is contradictory to that of the physicians.

An example of this nature was reported at one of Brother Jack Coe's revivals in Miami, Florida. There a woman with her three year old son came forward, and Coe placed a hand on the boy's head and shouted, "Jesus, heal this boy." Then he ordered the braces removed. The mother kept the braces off two days, but when his legs swelled she took him to a doctor. The doctor ordered the braces put back before more harm was done. The mother took her case to court, charging Coe with practicing medicine without a license. Coe successfully defended himself, claiming that he was only practicing his religion which includes faith healing and that it is not he but God who heals. (99)

Many similar cases can be documented. One evangelist preaching in Columbus, Ohio in the early autumn of 1966 stated to a crowd of several thousand that diabetics should stop taking their shots. "If God can't heal you, nobody can...and, if you have to take a shot all the time, you might as well be dead." The he pointed to one of his employees who had "had so much faith in God that he had stopped taking his insulin, and sure enough, he was completely cured."
Another aspect of the problem of faith healing is that people who think they have been cured are not—their symptoms might have been eliminated but not the disease. This may lead people to delay, if not completely stop, proper medical treatment as well as produce severe disillusionment or other psychological disturbances.

A man who was suffering from chronic encephalitis and went to evangelist George Jeffries in Liverpool, England gave the following testimony:

After inquiring the nature of my complaint, he laid his hands on my right temple and prayed fervently. I then felt what can be described as a current of healing power pass from him to me. As a result, I could walk a few steps without limping and the tremor ceased. He then asked was I cured, and, on receiving my reply in the affirmative, asked me to repeat "Thank you, Jesus." He then proclaimed my cure to the meeting. The effect, however, wore off. I estimate a period of about five minutes before the limp returned. The tremor, however, was absent and I remained free from it even at breakfast next morning. I was quite detached and had no emotional feelings beyond curiosity. I can not explain the temporary cure. (339, p. 197)

A minister gave the following account of a blind girl at one of Aimee McPherson's revivals in Fresno, California in 1922:

A little girl wore a pair of glasses one-half of which was entirely black. I gathered that she was totally blind in one eye and almost blind in the other. I sat upon the stage very close to the whole procedure. While prayer was being made for her, the little girl, who appeared to be about 11 years of age, wept and sobbed and writhed in her eagerness to secure the help that she had been led to expect. She left the platform and public claim was made by one of the workers that she had been healed, and the little girl verified the claim by nod of the head given in reply to the question of the workers. An hour later, when the meeting was out, I noticed a small cluster of women near the platform. I thought I saw the blind little girl in their midst, so I asked my wife to go over and investigate and talk to her if necessary. She found the erstwhile "cured" girl flat on her face on the floor, sobbing, with shattered hopes and a breaking heart. Her disappointment was complete, and so was her disillusionment. The improved sight that she
Position of Organized Religion

Today as well as in the past conflict has occurred between organized religion and certain types of healers. A. A. Allen, for example, has complained that his greatest opposition has come from preachers. (288)

The main issue here deals with the question of faith. The Earl of Sandwich, a British nobleman turned healer, confessed that he had a few failures but blamed them on the lack of faith on the part of patients. (337) Many other healers have used the same rationalization, frequently adding, like Brother Coe, that it is not they but God who heals. In regard to this practice of placing the failure to cure either on God or on the patient's lack of faith, numerous ministers have questioned what it will do to the believer's view of his religion, his self-concept and mental health in general. Individuals, like Weatherhead who are in sympathy with the practice of faith healing, nevertheless, regard the mass healing meetings as a danger to man's spiritual and emotional life likely to cause a loss of faith through the disillusionment that follows a temporary cure. (265) Rev. Dr. Paul B. McCleave, director of the Department of Medicine and Religion of the AMA, stated:

The faith healer who lays on hands and says you no longer have cancer is doing a great disservice to those of religious faith. People who go through this process and return home are still ill. . . . No doubt their cancer or their alcoholism becomes worse. But more than that, they open to question the matter of faith. They thought they had a relationship with the Creator and now they feel the Creator has dropped them off the side. The grief that must go into the hearts of these people is profound. (307, p. 7)
The Legal Position

While physicians and health departments have been concerned with the patient's physical health and ministers have emphasized his psychic and spiritual well-being, governmental agencies have been checking into deviations from legal statutes. One charge which several evangelists have faced has dealt with disturbing the peace, and other general offenses. (359a)

Of major concern, however, has been the question of fraud in healings. It has been observed that faith healing outside organized religion has been very attractive to charlatans. (350) Fraud has been perpetuated sometimes by the healers, at other times by those who claim to be healed. The problem has been that evidence that would withstand legal scrutiny has been difficult to obtain.

One of the Four-Square missionaries in the Congo revealed that Aimee McPhearson sometimes had in her healing line a woman with a slow-leaking balloon concealed under her dress. With a pin Sister Aimee would puncture the balloon, miraculously curing the 'goiter.' How often this type of activity occurs is difficult to estimate. Stegall felt that it is an unnecessary risk for healers since they can get "enough neurotics and dupes to support their publicity programs without fraud." (312)

Another problem in which legal institutions and related agencies have become involved has dealt with minors whose parents or guardians have not permitted what the medical profession feels to be proper treatment for their illnesses because of the influence of faith healers.
CHAPTER III
DATA COLLECTION

Sources of Data

Several types of data were collected from a variety of sources: participant observation at revivals, unstructured interviews, biographical data about healers, publications of the evangelists, and other library research.

Participant observation at revivals

Seventy-nine revivals held in Central Ohio and representing the missions of 31 different deliverance evangelists were attended from 1965 to 1968. (Guides for observation are included in Appendix A)

A majority of the observed revivals were held at a place referred to in this study as the "Full Gospel Tabernacle" (not its true name), which was located in a predominantly Negro neighborhood. Besides the "Full Gospel Tabernacle" and the tent revivals held at such places as the State Fair Grounds and LeRoy's Boys Ranch, six other revival centers, churches and auditoriums where evangelists appeared were attended.

Healing missions were located through advertisement and "trial and error" visits to numerous churches which believed in the practice of faith healing and to tent meetings.

In addition 15 radio programs by Oral Roberts and 2 television shows of Kathryn Kuhlman were followed.
Unstructured interviews

Unstructured interviews were conducted with 48 individuals who were at revival meetings or had attended one. Topics discussed dealt with such subjects as their experiences with the medical profession, racial attitudes, evaluation of the faith healer, and information about others who attended revivals. Also, the topic of faith healing was discussed with acquaintances, who included four ministers, five physicians and one reporter.

Biographical data about healers

One hundred sixty-four names or references to individuals who seemed to meet the requirements for inclusion in this study (see Chapter V for listing of the criteria) were obtained from advertisements in THE COLUMBUS DISPATCH and THE LOS ANGELES TIMES, from such faith healing magazines as THE VOICE OF HEALING and THE VOICE OF DELIVERANCE, from announcements of conventions of Full Gospel evangelists, from various books and articles which have dealt with faith healing, from individuals familiar with the subject, and from attendance at revival meetings.

Some kind of biographical data ranging from short articles to full-length books were obtained for 60 of them, plus a few isolated items of data were also collected for certain other evangelists. The amount and type of data obtained varied from one evangelist to another. Biographical data was available for almost all of the more successful healers and for a smaller percentage of the relatively lesser ones.
Publications of the evangelists

Besides biographical material, other publications of the evangelists, such as books, pamphlets, tracts and magazines were collected.

Requests for subscriptions to magazines and bulletins were sent to 77 evangelists. Of these 38 sent at least one issue, 15 replied that they did not publish a journal, and no answer was received from 24 evangelists of whom at least 4 did publish one.

Other library research

Other library research was conducted in reference to the topic of faith healing and faith cure and for general historical background.

Problems in Data Collection

Certain characteristics inherent in this area limited the feasibility of conventional quantitative techniques. The following are examples of these characteristics:

1. Most, if not all, of the evangelist healers not only failed to keep adequate records but tended to be hostile to anyone attempting to do research in this area. Vivian Tenny, a physician turned faith healer, stated that when one is being used by God for spiritual healing the channel must be kept clear for the healing to flow through. Recording miracles, according to her, blocks the free flow of the healing power. (295) Many of the evangelist healers have taken a similar position.
2. Since persons associated with colleges and universities were viewed with suspicion, a researcher associated with these institutions could not identify himself and his objectives to the subjects. At the same time, it would not be ethical to misrepresent himself.

3. There was a lack of statistical data. Furthermore, it was difficult to find relevant literature in local libraries even on the basis of interlibrary loans. The publishers of certain relevant magazines refused to send back issues through the mail. Records related to this topic were lacking, and social science research was very limited.

4. Many of the deliverance evangelists have stated that they do not want to be called healers--that they have no power to heal and that only God can do that. In labeling them as healers, it is not the intention of this study in any way to refute their disclaim of ability to heal. Likewise, in quoting testimonies of miraculous happenings, it is in no way implied that they actually did take place since it was beyond the scope of this study to verify these claims.

The Presentation of Data

As mentioned earlier, the material presented in this study was collected from a number of sources through the use of a variety of approaches. This was, in part, due to the limits of feasibility of collecting primary data that would be adequate for meaningful analysis. The lack of systematic work related to "faith healing" also ruled out heavier reliance upon content analysis of literature. The variability in inputs of information and the limitations characteristic of each
source pose considerable difficulty in the presentation. References will be made to sources of data whenever useful, particularly to distinguish those based upon observations from others.

The topics discussed in the following chapters deal with the historical background, the healers, their followers, the revival meetings and the alternative channels of interaction between the healers and their followers.
CHAPTER IV
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Old World Antecedents

Seldom has a religious movement emerged that has been wholly original. Usually it has grown out of some previously existing movement or movements from which it differs at significant points. (36) Historically, the evangelist healers have traced themselves back to Jesus Christ, stating that they wish to recapture the essence of primitive Christianity. The model for their activities has been Christ along with the Apostles and the Bible.

Some of their critics, however, have felt that Jesus had more in common with the modern physician than with any of the healers and prefer to trace the latter to Montanism, a movement which arose in Asia Minor in the 2nd century and rivaled Gnosticism as a source of conflict and disturbance. There, many towns were nearly completely converted, but when the early enthusiasm waned, the followers of Montanus were found primarily in the country districts where the movement continued for several centuries. (118)

The founder of this movement, Montanus, a native of Mysic, announced around the year 157 that he was a prophet and spoke in a trance-like state in what was described as a frenzied speech, which his enemies interpreted to mean devil possession but which he and his followers declared to be a revival of the gift of tongues. Also, he
deliberately tried to induce a kind of estatic emotionalism in others. Montanus himself maintained that he was only a passive instrument repeating the words which God put in his mouth. Later on, two women (Pica and Maximilla) left their husbands to become prophets in the movement and, according to Gaeblein, were to a large extent responsible for the excesses that emerged. (118)

Besides the belief that glossolalia was the inspiration of God, some of the other teachings of Montanus included: the belief that Joel's prophecy of the "outpouring of the Holy Spirit" was now in reality fulfilled in Montanism; the "Second Advent" was on hand with many of the believers moving to the spot, a plain in Phrygia, where it was supposed to take place; sexual morality was emphasized, second marriages were prohibited, and even marriage itself was discouraged; fleeing of martyrdom was forbidden; fasting was advocated; and the sick were to be healed by "laying on of hands." (118)

Gaeblein concluded that all the extravagant movements in every century throughout the history of the Christian church were anticipated in Montanism, each movement being characterized by a charismatic leader possessing prophetic gifts and personal revelations from God. They have claimed direct inspiration, an outpouring of the Holy Spirit, a restoration of Apostolic gifts, especially the gifts of tongues, vision, and healing of the sick, and women have held a prominent place. (118) Following Montanus, these movements reappeared generally during times of rapid social change, especially religious persecution, and often were marginal to some larger movement. The Protestant Reformation was accompanied by the activities of the "Cevenal Prophets."
The Lutherans had their off-shoots in the Zwickan Prophets. The French Huguenots produced the Camisards. In 1830 in England Edward Irving split from Presbyterianism and formed the Irvingite movement. And in this country, according to Stegall, about the year 1901 the modern Pentecostal movement--proginator of the present day evangelist healers--was born as an off-shoot of the Christian and Missionary Alliance of A. B. Simpson. (312)

Healing in Colonial America
and the Quaker Movement

In the early days of Colonial America diseases were interpreted in Biblical terms and associated with sin. If children were sick or died it was thought that "original sin" was to blame, if adults were involved it was believed to be punishment for "sinful living." Therefore, the clergy played a major role in the early medical practice. Men like Cotton Mather even wrote tracts on medical subjects, and the role of the minister and physician were not uncommonly combined in one person. (23)

During the time of George Washington medicine was on about the level of the ancient Greeks. (23) At the same time "charismatic healing" was not yet a common trait of the American culture, and, apart from the usual array of "providences" and "judgements," the earliest New England chronicles reported very few "miracles" of healing. John Winthrop in his JOURNAL dated September 17, 1644 described two "miraculous" healings, one of which involved
...a child of one Bumstead, a member of the church... [who] fell from a gallery in the meeting house about eighteen feet high, and broke the arm and shoulder, (and was also committed to the Lord in the prayers of the church, with earnest desires, that the place where his people assembled to his worship not be defiled with blood,) and it pleased the Lord that the child was soon perfectly recovered. (41, p. 41)

The prevailing attitude in the colonial period seemed to have been that while miracles could occur, the "miracle worker" or faith healer was regarded with suspicion as being more often the tool of Satan rather than God.

Between 1656 and 1658 Quaker missionaries, many of whom had been exposed directly to the performance of George Fox and were familiar with the work of Valentine Greatrakes, started to arrive in this country, holding meetings and making converts. THE NEW ENGLAND'S ENSIGNE as early as 1659 recorded the case of mental unrest and cure of a Quaker woman. In 1672 the Quaker founder, George Fox, visited America and, having supposedly performed cures of bodily ills, gave fresh impetus to his movement here. (41)

Following their missionaries, the Quaker settlers started to arrive from England, bringing along with them the belief that the powers of the Apostolic age were being manifested in their sect. These powers included healing, raising the dead, prophecy, working miracles, casting out devils and visions. Further, the Quakers were instrumental, to some extent at least, in promoting the acceptance of the charismatic faith healer. A little later they were to make significant contributions in the areas of prison reform, temperance movement, anti-slavery doctrine and the care of the insane.
During this period the Quakers also tended to disseminate some contempt for the medical profession. Even though the Friends did make use of physicians and a number of physicians had joined the cult, they pointed out that in case after case prayer and laying on of hands proved effective where doctors had failed, and a number of the early Quakers rebelled against any utilization of doctors. While the association of faith healing and other miracles were most conspicuous with George Fox, other Quakers were attributed to have powers in these areas also. (41)

Towards the end of the colonial period, two women, Ann Lee (1736-1784) and Jemima Wilkerson (1752-1819), founded movements which were direct off-shoots of Quakerism. Ann Lee, founder of the Shakers, along with several other members of her cult were supposedly endowed with special powers in the treatment of illnesses. Especially Mother Ann was believed by her followers to have the ability to perform miraculous cures. One of the complaints leveled against the Shakers in the New World was that their claims to revelations, miraculous healings and casting out the devil were nothing more than medieval superstitions. After Ann's death, the doctrine of faith healing was less and less strictly adhered to. (15)

A contemporary of Ann Lee, Jemima Wilkerson, who called herself Publick Universal Friend, preached to her followers that she could heal all those who had faith. According to her, if someone was not healed, it was because he did not have faith. There are no records to indicate that she continued faith healing towards the end of her
career, but she did develop a reputation for setting bones and prescribing herbs. Before her death she became ill and used medications. (349)

The Kentucky Revival and the Quest for Utopia

Before the 19th century a number of charismatic healers appeared on the American scene, the most popular ones being George Fox, Ann Lee and Jemima Wilkerson. Also the highly emotional religious practices, including such behavior as glossolalia and trance, had been introduced by the Quakers, the Shakers and other cults. However, it was not until the Kentucky revival that this type of behavior became widespread.

Revivals have occurred in this country from the 18th century up to the present time starting with what is now called the First Great Awakening initiated in 1734 with the preaching of Jonathan Edwards in Massachusetts. It lasted until 1780 going through three distinct phases--Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist--with the connecting link between all these phases being George Whitefield who made seven evangelistic tours to America between 1738 and 1770. (3)

After 1780 there came a period of religious indifference to be followed by the Second Awakening (1797-1805). (3) This Second Awakening may be viewed as having two phases. Its eastern phase arose in colleges along the Atlantic seaboard. It was a Calvinistic revivalism carried on under an educated leadership offering salvation to a select few who were well versed in the correct doctrines of Christianity. The frontier phase was to bring Christianity to the great
masses of religiously illiterates offering salvation to all, with its appeal resting on an emotional basis. Since there were no buildings large enough to accommodate the great numbers of interested people, the Presbyterians established the pattern for these outdoor gatherings when they began to hold sacramental meetings under the trees—a practice which many decades earlier had become highly controversial in England. Some of the meetings were prolonged for several days, and since many came from distances too great to return the same day, the camp meeting came into being. It was at these meetings that extremes in emotionalism spread throughout the country and even diffused back to England due to the efforts of such American revivalists as Lorenzo Dow. (318)

The Kentucky revival was characterized by such behavior patterns as "visions, hysteria, singing, falling exercises, rolling and jerks"—all defined as the work of God.

In analysing revivalism in this country, Sweet concluded that a society in motion is always individualistic. A religion, if it is to be successful in this type of environment, must make its chief concern the problems and needs of the common man and emphasize that salvation is dependent upon individual decision. The revivalism that flourished in this country could be characterized as an Americanization of Christianity for in it Christianity was shaped to meet America's needs. (319)

The Kentucky revival was also part of the widespread quest for utopia stimulated in the United States by a quest for perfection as numerous Americans labored on plans for the social regeneration of
mankind. According to Riegel, these plans spawned Fourierism, Brook Farm, Feminism, Spiritualism, Faith Cure, Vegetarianism, Second Adventism, Food Reform, Temperance, Mysticism, Quack Medicine, Animal Magnetism, phrenology, hydropathy and many others. (278)

Two men who were part of this search for utopia were Robert Matthews (1788-1837) and Joseph Smith (1805-1844), both of whom included faith healing in their doctrine—a feature not characteristic of the revivals at that time.

Robert Matthews, alias Father Matthias, claimed at the age of eight that he had supernatural powers. Having had his first exposure to religion at a Finney revival, he worked for a while as an intinerate evangelist. (233) He taught that disease was the work of the devil and should be exorcised not cured. He and his followers acknowledged neither sickness nor death, and the death of one disciple was interpreted as lack of faith in Father Matthias. (302) Many similarities exist between Matthias's doctrine and that of Father Divine. Also a few have claimed that Matthias was highly influential in the development of Joseph Smith's theology.

Joseph Smith, founder of the Mormons, and his early followers believed in "speaking in tongues," prophesy and healing the sick by "laying on of hands." In childhood Smith had been exposed to faith healing by his maternal uncle, Jason Mack, who had treated illnesses by prayer. Eventually numerous cures were attributed to Smith and his followers. Elder Richards, for example, advertised in England "Bones set through Faith in Christ." (71)
The Holiness Movement*

Besides the dissemination of utopian ideals and the emergence of emotional revivals, certain other social changes occurred which were to have an impact on the American religious institutions. The breakdown of governmentally enforced orthodoxy which began in the late 18th century allowed people more freedom to choose the religious systems which satisfied them, and, thus, many members of the major Protestant denominations began to propose religious ideas which were in keeping with the rising rationalism and materialism of that time. There were others, however, who looked critically at this trend, feeling that the major churches were abandoning the "true faith" in accepting these ideas. Since they were also free to form their own sects, the Holiness movement, appearing right after the civil war, emerged as the reaction to the growing Protestant liberalism. The Holiness movement denied three essential elements of the major denominations by its insistence on the literal inspiration of the Bible, its emphasis on the belief that man needed a personal and individual experience of salvation and its rejection of the social gospel, promoting instead transformation from within. (200)

American religious life was affected also by changes in the economic conditions. The improved economy tended to make the existing churches increasingly more concerned with the middle and upper classes. The attractive physical facilities of worship and the visible status

*The term "holiness" is used in a very broad sense as defined in the references cited. It does not refer to any special religious body which may ro may not claim an exclusive right to this term.
differentiation between the lower and upper strata made those in the lower ones feel increasingly uncomfortable in the established churches. People from lower socioeconomic backgrounds turned towards various alternatives, a major one being the emerging Holiness movement. (201)

While many similarities between today's evangelist healers and such individuals as Ann Lee, Jemima Wilkerson, Father Matthias, Joseph Smith and William Money can be delineated in their claims for supernatural revelations, criticisms of organized religion and attempts at "charismatic healings," it was the early Holiness evangelists who set up the model for the contemporary healers. The descriptions of meetings of many of these 19th century revivalists are remarkably similar to those held now.

Two men associated with this Holiness movement were G. O. Barnes and A. B. Simpson. Having received in 1876 the call to preach the gospel to all men, Barnes in the beginning of his evangelistic work "saved souls" only. Later he added the "treatment of the ill." He always entered into a notebook the number "saved" and the number "anointed for healing" at each revival. Regarding the origin of his "healing ministry," he wrote in his diary:

Visited Mr. and Mrs. Cotton. Both lying in the same bed suffering from neuralgia. I was so moved by the sight of these dear young people thus about to be cut off in the midst of their days that I determined henceforth in the name of the Lord to 'obey the Gospel!' and fully carry out my commission, not only to preach the gospel but 'heal the sick,' as the Lord gave power, and occasion. The dear Master has been turning my heart in this direction for some time, and in simple reliance on Him alone I will do 'what in me lies' to rescue the victims of Satan from his awful clutches. (272, p. 285)
After starting to anoint people for healing— at least several thousand during his career—he did not attempt followups but assumed that they were cured. Testimonies to miraculous cures were frequent, involving the usual array of cancers, nervous conditions, rheumatism and other disease. Apparently also reports of failures came to his attention for he wrote:

I learned last night the secret of apparent failures in bodily healing. It is just as in the soul— some are just saved from hell, some go on to one degree of advancement, and some to another. In the body some may be saved from death, who yet are not relieved from pain and suffering and therefore they have received nothing, as the man saved from hell, yet not from temper or drunkenness, seems to have gotten nothing. . . . I cannot tell how this clear teaching gave comfort, in view of so many apparent failures in those who trust the best they can. The degrees are as manifold as in the souls saving. I believe now the weakest faith saves from death, as the weakest of faith saves the soul from perishing. (272, pp. 332-333)

Besides anointing at revivals, Barnes answered requests for prayer through the mail and visited those who were too sick to come to the revivals but refused to go to see others insisting that they should acknowledge Christ as the Healer in public. (272)

As he became known, he extended his revivals from rural Kentucky to cities where he visited faith cure homes and worked with sympathetic ministers. In 1882 Barnes met with A. B. Simpson and assisted him in one of his consecration and healing meetings and soon thereafter took his ministry to England. (272)

A. B. Simpson, founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, suffered from an assortment of illnesses in his youth. At one point a physician told him that he had only a few months to live. After receiving this diagnosis, Simpson was called to pray for a man who
was said to be suffering from "paralysis and softening of the brain."

Soon afterwards Simpson tried faith healing on himself, but relinquished the idea upon the advice of a physician. He later assumed self-faith healing and reported a return to full health. (340) By 1890 the Christian and Missionary Alliance which Simpson represented was one of the largest and most influential Holiness sects. (200)

His directions for faith healing consisted of the following seven steps: "be fully persuaded in the Word of God, . . .be fully assured of the Will of God to heal you. . .be careful that you are right with God. . .having become fully persuaded of these things now commit your body to Him and claim His promise of healing in the Name of Jesus by simple faith, . . .act your faith even if symptoms persist . . .be prepared for trials of faith, . . .and use your health and strength for God." (340)

Before the turn of the century one of the most successful healers, John Alexander Dowie, founder of the Christian Catholic Church of Zion, established himself in this country. In 1888, he migrated from Australia to San Francisco and in 1893 moved to Chicago. By 1894 such large numbers of sick people were seeking his help that he turned three hotels into faith cure homes. He promoted the discarding of all medical treatment even for contagious cases and broken bones. A number of deaths occurred in these hotels, and the city authorities in 1895 charged him among other things with manslaughter, neglect and practicing medicine without license. It was ruled, however, that the city ordinances which Dowie violated as unconstitutional. (219)
The size of Dowie's following, which extended to various parts of the country and overseas, was estimated by Harlan to have been less than 50,000 at its peak. While there were some college educated disciples, most were uneducated persons. (162) Many came from the Holiness movement. Seldes stated that Dowie . . . was in no sense a product of the American revival system nor was he directly affected by the breakdown of religious authority which followed these revivals. His disciples, however, were. They flocked to him from all the collapsing cults. (302, p. 390)

Dowie was opposed to druggists, medicines, and physicians, seeing them all as the direct "inspiration of the devil." (219) Regarding failures of faith healing, Dowie stated:

No one can be cured without faith. . . . The fact that you are still ill shows you do not have enough faith. . . . You must learn to believe. (233, p. 113)

A number of individuals from Zion City, the community established by Dowie, became later involved in Full Gospel revivalism. Some of the more prominent evangelists to emerge include Gordon Lindsay, who in the fifties organized deliverance evangelists, F. F. and B. B. Bosworth, John G. Lake, Dr. Phineas Youkum and Raymond T. Richey.

The Pentecostal Movement

The term Pentecostalism is a very comprehensive one applied to a large number of revivalistic sects or cults which are primarily concerned with perfection, holiness, the literal acceptance of the Bible and renewal of the Pentecostal experience. (73) According to Nichol, Pentecostals do not feel that they have created a new doctrine but, rather, that they are re-emphasizing old ones like the premillennial return of Christ which John Nelson Darby and the Plymouth Brethren had
preached in the 19th century, stress on divine healing which had resulted from the teachings of A. J. Gordon, A. B. Simpson and J. A. Dowie, and belief that the Holy Spirit enables a believer to practice the supernatural had been disseminated by the Holiness groups. (247) They believe that the nine spiritual "gifts," especially the "gift of tongues" which is considered as the sign of baptism by the Holy Ghost, should be found in the churches. This emphasis on "speaking in tongues" is the main factor that differentiates the Pentecostal from the Holiness movement.

Many have viewed Pentecostalism as an extension of the 19th century Holiness movement, others have traced it to Charles F. Parham and the events of 1901, still others maintain that it originated with William J. Seymour and the Azusa Street revivals.

Charles F. Parham (1873-1929) was the chief leader during the 1901-1906 period, and the first Pentecostal witnesses who went out preaching were his pupils.

Having been at the age of 15 a lay preacher in the Congregational church, later Parham associated with the Methodists from whose ranks he withdrew to join the rapidly expanding Holiness movement. (247) While he was 16 he considered the ministry critically, seeming to have lost all interest in the church. While in this state Parham contracted rheumatic fever and his health condition deteriorated. He believed that his physical condition was caused by his rebellion against God. Consequently he reconsecrated his life to God and decided to enter the ministry if he recovered. Later, he testified that with this rededication "every joint in his body loosened and every organ was
healed." To this incident he later attributed his becoming a proponent of faith healing. (201)

Inspired by Dowie, in 1898 Parham opened the Bethel Healing Home in Topeka, Kansas. This type of home, which seemed to have been rather popular at that time, sought to provide appropriate surroundings for infirm persons who wanted to retreat to where they could be prepared through instruction for faith healing. They were called "faith homes" not only because of the healing aspect but also in many cases it was reported that no charges were made for services on the assumption that God would provide all material requirements through gifts of interested Christians. (201)

In August 1903 Parham was preaching and teaching divine healing in Eldorado Springs, Missouri, where two persons claimed to have received healing. When he went on to Galena, increasingly larger crowds sought his revivals. THE CINCINNATI INQUIRER of January 27, 1904 stated that:

Almost three months have elapsed since this man came to Galena, and during that time he has healed over a thousand people and converted more than 800. . . . Here people who have not walked for years without the aid of crutches have risen from the altar with their limbs so strengthened that they were enabled to lay aside their crutches. . . . These cures. . . . are effected solely through prayer and faith. Nothing else is done, though Mr. Parham often lays his hands on the afflicted one. . . . (247, p. 31)

One of the many students of Parham was William J. Seymour, a Negro Holiness preacher who was described as blind in one eye, uneducated, and careless about his appearance. (200) It was he who developed into the major Pentecostal leader in California and one of the
most important pioneers of the movement with many considering him as the founder of this group.

On April 9, 1906 Seymour's followers--mostly whites--having been in prayer for several days, began to break into ecstasies utterances which were interpreted as the "Apostolic tongues." Healings also were claimed to have occurred. Some of these meetings continued almost without stopping for over three months. The criticisms of the press are believed to have promoted its growth. From Los Angeles this movement expanded across the United States, and by 1908 it had diffused to other countries notably Canada, India, Norway and Sweden. During the twenties denominational and doctrinal outlines were taking place, with campaigns under the leadership of individuals claiming to have special healing powers being a regular pattern. (312)

Deliverance Evangelism in the 20th Century

The evangelist healing, a product of the American society, came on its own with the 19th century Holiness revivals. The patterns represent the conversion of earlier antecedents described in this Chapter, with many of the characteristics of these movements appearing in various combinations in contemporary faith healing practices. The work received new impetus from the emergent Pentecostal movement after the turn of the century and diffused from this country to many other parts of the world.

With the depression the large healing campaigns became a rarity largely because they were difficult to finance. Healing evangelism was kept alive mainly by dedicated ministers who went from church to church
preaching the gospel and accepting such opportunities as opened to
them, often receiving no financial remuneration.

It was not until the forties—a period which witnessed the
deaths of such important figures in faith healing as Aimee McPhearson,
Smith Wigglesworth and Charles S. Price—and primarily after WW II,
that the salvation-healing campaigns came once more into prominence.
For example, a number of healing magazines started during the first
twenty years of this century, the best known being Aimee's BRIDAL CALL.
Since the twenties no new healing magazine appeared until Jack Coe's
INTERNATIONAL HEALING MAGAZINE which appeared in 1946, and shortly
thereafter THE VOICE OF HEALING was founded.

At this time campaigns were being held by such evangelists as
Little David, Jack Coe and Thomas Wyatt. Possibly the main credit for
the renewal of widespread interest in healing might be given to William
Branham, who greatly popularized the movement and directly influenced
the careers of such evangelists as O. L. Jaggers, T. L. Osborn, Gayle
Jackson and Gordon Lindsay.

It was during this period that the healing ministry of Oral
Roberts (1918- ), the most successful of present evangelist healers,
started.

Roberts was a frail child. In his teens he contracted TB and
was not expected to live. He was taken to evangelist George Moncey's
tent meeting who "ordered the disease to come out of his lungs." Oral
testified that he was instantly cured, and a few months later, at the
age of 18, he started his own ministry. In 1946 it was reported that
he performed his first miraculous cure and in 1947 he began his healing
ministry. (188)
Roberts has been accorded greater acceptance and respect than to any other evangelist healer, and in a number of traits he deviates from the typical healer.

The general characteristics of the present day evangelist healers are discussed in the next chapter.
CHAPTER V

THE HEALERS

The general characteristics given in this study, unless otherwise specified, refer to the deliverance evangelists (for convenience also called simply evangelists or healers) who met the following three criteria:

1. Their work was more or less contemporary. Since the number about whom data could be collected was relatively small, the cutting point was set at 1954—that is, one or more of their deliverance revivals in this country were held in 1954 or later.

2. Their base of operations was located in the United States, and they had held one or more of their healing campaigns in this country.

3. Their behavior patterns were those of relatively conventional types of evangelist healers. Although they might have met all the other criteria, nevertheless, individuals whose ministry involved certain practices such as handling snakes and the like were excluded from general description.

They tend to be further characterized by the following:

1. They preach what they refer to as the "old time religion," insisting on the literal acceptance of the Bible.

2. They are geographically mobile, holding revivals at different locations.
3. They prefer to hold their campaigns or crusades in tents. At times auditoriums, store fronts, former movie houses, churches or special revival centers may be used. Frequently they are sponsored by certain local churches.

4. They claim that their main purpose is to bring all people to Christ and often criticize the existence of denominational divisions.

5. They perform "charismatic healings" regularly. Besides claims to the gift of healing, to varying degree they claim some of the other "gifts of the Spirit"--those of knowledge, wisdom, discerning spirits, speaking in tongues, prophesy, faith and working of miracles--supposedly can also manifest themselves in their ministry.

6. They usually encourage various types of emotional states such as trance and glossolalia.

7. Commonly operating apart from any established denominations, most of them have incorporated as non-profit religious organizations.

Their characteristics are derived primarily from analysis of biographical material, some of which represent autobiographies while others are accounts written about the healers.

Becoming an Evangelist

Various major socializing agencies, such as the family, the peer group and the schools, can be highly significant to an individual in providing information on occupational roles and preparing and motivating him to assume them. From the biographies of deliverance
evangelists it may be inferred that neither the peer groups nor schools seemed to have been significant factors in their career choice. Of much greater influence seemed to have been the community, which often presented the opportunity for observing this type of ministry, and the family, which frequently provided a direct role model or a religious outlook compatible with this occupation. Certain personal experiences, such as "having visions" or "hearing voices," may also have been contributing factors.

At least 52% of the deliverance evangelists included in this analysis had previously been ministers or preachers. (See Table I) Kobler observed that the great seedbed of this type of evangelism is the Pentecostal Assemblies. The common pattern is for certain Pentecostal preachers, as exemplified by Orval Jaggers and A. A. Allen, to be cut off or to withdraw from the parent body as soon as they have acquired a large enough following and then be on their own on the "sawdust trail." (203)

A prerequisite for entry into deliverance evangelism is to be "called by God." By having supposedly received this divine call--and not by any special training, which evangelists consider unimportant if not harmful--they try to legitimize their role. Some rejected such a call at first, others prayed for it, but they all claimed to have received it.

Asked how he knew that he was called to preach, W. V. Grant replied:

If I do not know I am called to preach then I don't know I am saved, I don't know I have the Holy Ghost. It is just as real. (131, p. 61)
Some claimed to have received specific instructions from God. Allen said he recorded the following message from God:

"...Ye shall not only heal the sick, but in my name shall ye cast out devils. Ye shall see mighty miracles as in my name ye preach the word, for behold, I give you power over all the power of the enemy." (12, p. 50)

Having adopted the role of the deliverance evangelist, the individual finds himself ranked in comparison to his colleagues by the people he hopes to reach. Success in this field, according to several of the evangelists, depends on the size of the audience attracted. The frantic efforts for a respectable following have led some evangelists to use what might be considered by others as questionable means to attract crowds and misrepresent the size of their audience. (215)

As they become more securely established, they turn their activities from simply trying to survive in this highly competitive field to expanding the variety of their undertakings and sources of income. These include such things as selling items like Bibles, records, books, and pamphlets; operating orphanages, nursing homes and schools; sponsoring native churches and person to person aid programs overseas; having their own radio and television programs; publishing periodicals, their life stories and other material; and involvement in business ventures such as hotels and guided tours to the Holy Land.

A few make great fortunes in this field, sometimes after years of extreme hardships. The majority, however, remain struggling and relatively unknown.

Of eight deliverance evangelists who failed to succeed, two became missionaries, two became assistants to other evangelists, one became a gospel singer, one became a manager for a children's home and
one became a minister.

Even if they are relatively successful, they may not stay in the field. Lindsay observed that only those who have an exceptionally strong physique are able to continue in this demanding ministry while many others become pastors. (215)

Demographic and Background Characteristics

Time and place of birth

The modal category regarding date of birth for deliverance evangelists included in this analysis, was 1920-1929 with 37% of them born during this period, 30% before and 33% after. (See Table II) Thus the modal age was in the late thirties and early forties.

Sixty-five per cent of them were born in the South with West South Central states producing 41%. (See Table III) Oklahoma and Texas were the home states of 33% with 8 and 9 evangelists respectively. On the other hand, none were found who were born in the New England states.

Fifty-three per cent were born in rural areas, 34% in villages or small towns and only 13% in medium or large size cities. (See Table IV)

Sex and race

Eighty-eight per cent of the deliverance evangelists were males and 93% were white. (See Table V) An evangelist who had a fraction of non-white ancestry, like Oral Roberts who is part Cherokee and Choctaw Indian, was classified as white.
Socio-economic class

In 71% of the cases included in this study the deliverance evangelists came from lower class and in 29% from middle class homes. None were of upper middle or upper class origin. (See Table VI)

In 44% of the cases the father was a farmer, in 35% an evangelist, preacher or missionary, including a combination of farmer-preacher, in 15% an unskilled or semi-skilled laborer and in 6% a small businessman. (See Table VII)

Parents’ ethnic and religious affiliation

The parents of at least three deliverance evangelists were foreign born. In one case they had come from Italy; in the other two cases they were Slavic and Jewish, the country of origin not specified. The majority, however, seemed to be at least third generation Americans primarily of English descent.

Of those who reported parents’ religion, 83% came from Protestant homes which included the historic churches, Pentecostal and Holiness sects, Jehovah's Witness and Mennonites, 77% came from Roman Catholic homes, 6% from Jewish homes and in 4% of the cases the parents had no religious identification. (See Table VIII)

At least 20% reported that their parents had changed religious affiliation.

Family stability

About one third of the deliverance evangelists reported that they grew up in homes broken by death, divorce, dissertation or separation of their parents. (See Table IX) At least two of them spent a
part of their childhood in orphanages.

Prior occupations

At least 52% of the deliverance evangelists themselves had previously been ministers or preachers. At least 30% had worked as salesmen or tried to establish their own businesses, 27% had been factory workers, 13% had been in show business as jazz musicians, singers or actors, and 12% had held white collar or clerical positions. At least 15% had held a great variety of unskilled jobs, and for another 15% deliverance evangelism was their first occupation. (See Table I) At least three had previously committed criminal offenses, three others had for a period lived as hoboes, and at least two had been frequently in "trouble" with the police.

Conspicuously absent were professional people. One did claim to be a physician, however, his familiarity with medicine was questioned. At one point he gave the following description of an operation he supposedly had performed:

...while working in surgery, we had the top of a man's head off, probing into his brain with electrodes. We had been on this job most of the day. I was worn out; the nurse fed me over my shoulder. We would tell jokes and listen to the ball game over the radio. (144, p. 10)

Orientations and Behavior Patterns

Family life

Of the 60 evangelists for whom at least some biographical data was available, 55 were reported married and indications are that 45 had one or more children.
In their writings and sermons the evangelists supported "normal" family life and denounced "immoral" behavior such as pre-marital and extra-marital sex and homosexuality—all of which they felt would weaken the family institution. They also strongly criticized divorce and felt that divorced persons should not re-marry. Nevertheless, at least two evangelists stated that their work came before family loyalty.

Religion

The major area of "communality" between the evangelist healers is the Holiness religion. They preach a belief in faith healing and "the possible manifestation of other gifts of the Holy Ghost."

Consistently they have criticized other Protestant churches, charging them with indifference, lifelessness, over-organization, worldliness, and paying salaries to ministers. Wyatt complained that the major denominations in this country spend billions of dollars for church buildings but that negligible efforts are made to restore contact with the masses. (236) According to James Dunn:

The Churches today are dead. They feel they have to do it in an orthodox manner, that they have to have so many songs, that they have to have so many specials, that the preacher has to preach or not, and then by that time the Holy Ghost doesn't have a chance, so he goes ahead and leaves. (91, p. 31)

Though Oral Roberts has joined the Methodist church, most of the deliverance evangelists have tended to react with condescension if not contempt towards the historic churches. Not only have these religious institutions been viewed as ineffectual by healing evangelists, but some have maintained that they might be actually harmful.
Allen, for example, reprinted in his magazine articles which have described people as wildly dancing in the aisles of a church, a bar being set up in a church basement, a dancer occupying the pulpit and other similar stories. (384f,g) The most outspoken criticisms have been directed against the Roman Catholic Church.

The evangelist healers, however, did not exhibit antagonism against all established religious groups whose beliefs and practices differed from their own. One such exception were the Jews for whom they have empathy, and have frequently pointed out the discriminatory practices against them.

**Position on race relations**

Historically, faith healing cults in general and deliverance evangelists in particular have been promoting equality of people of all races. Elinson observed that the evangelists' literal interpretation of the Bible and emphasis on spiritual criteria of personal worth has resulted in strong opposition on religious grounds to racial segregation. (94) One evangelist, St. Paul Shaver, stated:

> . . . a man tried to get me to join the Ku Klux Klan. I said, not me, mister. He asked why not, and I said they are of the devil, and they have to cover up their faces because they are afraid and ashamed. So I told him to shut up. After that he never asked me again and I still say they are of the devil, same as the black shirts, Commies, Nazis, Moslems and all sinful people. . . . (377, p. 1)

Wyatt was vocal in preaching against racial discrimination, colonialism and the practice of using natives as servants of whites. (236) Roberts stated that two peoples--the Jews and the Negroes--have been the victims of more mistreatment and racial bias than any
other in modern history. He pointed out that there are other ways of killing people than with guns--it can be done with "prejudice, hate, name calling or avoidance." He warned the whites not to erect a wall against Negroes and thus kill their spirit, emphasizing that an important factor in reducing racial tension is for people "to get to know each other and to do things together." (362c)

Wallace, a Negro evangelist, felt that the real solution to the racial problem is for people to turn to Christ:

Since men have tried 'civil legislation, civil disobedience, sit-ins, boycotts, walk-outs, protest marches, riots, revolutions, racism, law and order instead of law and justice, defacto segregation, and nationalistic separation,' why not try and accept the only real hope we have left, Jesus Christ? (371b, p. 5)

Claiming that laws, bayonets and other coercive methods are ineffective in changing the attitudes of whites toward Negroes, Grant felt that with patience and effort race relations can be improved much more effectively through education which emphasizes that all mankind is created equal in the sight of God. (398b)

Internationalism, nationalism and political involvement

A large number of deliverance evangelists have held revivals in foreign countries other than Canada. They have preached in Sweden, Finland, Israel, Union of South Africa and many other nations. Roberts said that God has commanded him to go to all the nations of the world. (362d)

Several evangelists have been active in promoting extensive economic aid programs to the so-called emerging nations. Many of these evangelists have published numerous photos of thousands of
natives trying to touch them or listen to their sermons, as well as pictures of themselves surrounded by great masses of subjects.

Most of the evangelists, including those most active in overseas work, have extensively criticized this country. They have complained of atheism, religious indifference, racial conflicts, riots, student demonstrations, "soft-brained, fumbling, socialistic" (sic) college professors, communists and free lovers. At the same time they exhibit patriotic tendencies, and identify with this society.

On political controversies in this country, they more or less avoided taking sides, with the major exception being the Supreme Court decisions which they interpret as outlawing prayer in schools and legalizing pornography. Of the evangelists included in this analysis, two ran unsuccessfully for political office as Democrats, and two others expressed interest in entering politics--but this occurred before they became deliverance evangelists.

Communism and related movements

The deliverance evangelists clearly oppose "communism." Several of them claimed being the targets of hostilities of communists. Nevertheless, some have argued that these feelings are not without foundations. Pentecostalism, which began to expand in Russia after the revolution of 1917 has been viewed by the Communist Party as a "dangerously fanatical movement," and the believers have been accused of being traitors. During Khrushchev's regime many Pentecostals were sentenced to prison terms. The Russian press has continued to brand them as "criminals and hooligans who indulge in
debauchery. ...who alienate the youth from Soviet life, and who are hostile to the State, army, Party, trade unions and the educational system." In spite of this, reports indicate that Pentecostalism has continued to grow there rather rapidly. (247) Oral Roberts tried to extend his ministry behind the Iron Curtain and took his team to Estonia where he reported meeting numerous repressions. (362d)

Besides present day communism, the deliverance evangelists have also attacked various movements of the past such as the Spanish Inquisition and Nazism. The latter especially has been strongly denounced:

The memory of Hitler is too fresh in our minds to need more than brief comment. This inhuman monster who wantonly murdered millions of German citizens because they were Jewish received his reward in the end. Yet while in power, his career could be said to have moved more nearly parallel to that of the antichrist than anyone in history. Other men no doubt have been as evil but none have had the capacity or tools to carry out their evil designs as Hitler had. . . .[S]uch malevolence and incarnate wickedness could scarce have been exceeded by any antichrist past or future...Mussolini and Hitler were political antichrists. (404a, p. 13)

Fasting

One behavior pattern that the evangelists frequently claim to engage in is fasting. According to Kopp, justification for fasting comes from the Bible. (204) Numerous individuals claim to have fasted forty or more days and as a result received answers to prayers and "ministries of deliverance" and "soul winning."

Dunn gave the following explanation of the functions of fasting:
Fasting keeps the spirit strong and tends to keep the spirit and give it control over the body. That is what is wrong with so many people today, their bodies drag their spirit around so much and they can't get it into the church. When a person fasts and brings their body into travail before God, their spirit becomes stronger and in harmony with God. They can easily enter into the spirit of God and enter into a spirit of worship. So I find that in fasting, it gives me greater power with God to preach the word and the revivals are a greater success. I feel that if a man should ever quit fasting, he is losing out in his ministry and in his life for God. (91, p. 27)

"Worldliness"

While the evangelists have shown no inclination to withdraw from the greater society, they, nevertheless, complained strongly about "worldliness," and especially about such behavior as drinking, smoking, dancing and immorality, stating:

When we consider that jungle beat music, and the Satanic twist is getting into our schools and colleges, we are made to believe in "devilution" rather than evolution. (115, p. 8)

We have pure food laws. Why can't we have pure air laws? Why are we forced to breathe cancerous smoke after it has been sucked down into diseased lungs and blown into our face. (398, p. 7)

Deadly alcohol, pronographic literature, nude magazines, nudists camps, adultery, topless waitresses, and topless bathing suits are legal in many places. It is legal to teach that God is dead, but illegal to pray or read the Bible to our children in the schools (398d, p. 15)

If a groceryman sells poison food that kills your children, he will go to prison. Yet in front of his store he sells poison literature, which poisons the soul, mind and spirit of your boys and girls. . . . Eighty-five percent of what we learn comes by reading. Yet in the same day the Supreme Court took prayer and Bibles out of schools, they made obscene literature legal. (398c, p. 4)

Some evangelists have also emphasized the avoidance of "worldliness" in appearance. For example, the requirements for women applying for Allen's Miracle Valley Bible College included: Their hair
had to be arranged in a simple style, kept of natural color and worn long—short hair was seen as a sign of immodest and unspiritual women. Applicants for that College were not to wear jewelery, sheer clothing, sleeveless dresses, formfitting garments, or apply cosmetics. (45)

Yet the appearances of many evangelists, their families and followers could be described as "worldly." One "wordly" value they seem to have accepted is materialism, however they insisted that it is no disgrace to be poor.

Rarely have those who have received an unusual calling from God been reared in homes of the rich, or have come from aristocratic families. The Savior Himself was cradled in a manger. . . . Humility and sturdiness of character are developed best amid the rugged life that comes from hardships and sometimes suffering and poverty. (217, pp. 32-33)

While a background of poverty may be seen as an asset for some, other evangelists defended the quest for wealth:

Some time ago God spoke to my heart about prosperity for his people. One of the great hinderances to faith for finances is the doctrine of poverty. . . . This poverty doctrine has enslaved God's dear children with the idea that it is blessed to be poor. The scriptures declare that "Blessed are the poor in spirit." This has nothing to do with finances, for to be poor in your pocket book is neither blessed nor convenient. (380b, p. 6)

Several evangelists maintained that it is God's will for good men to be wealthy and that this was frequently a consequence of "being saved." Pointing out that wealth does not come by merely wishing for it, some of the evangelists have written articles and books on how to prosper.
View of man

The evangelists seemed to have viewed man as basically "good" but corruptible by "devils" and other "evil forces" loose in the world. But even if he is corrupted, he can still be "saved" and "led to Christ." Lindsay stated that "the world over he has found people to be primarily kind." (215)

This perspective led them to promote certain types of welfare activities, prison reforms and anti-capital punishment legislation. Some have actively sought leniency for individuals condemned to die. Several stated that people who recognize their mistakes and truly repent should be forgiven and discharged from prisons. Furthermore, a number of the evangelists blamed the social conditions for criminal behavior. (365a)

The Healers and the Medical Profession

Presently, deliverance evangelists are attracting crowds ranging from a dozen to thousands of people. The most spectacular aspect of their revivals are attempts to undertake miraculous cures of a great variety of illnesses and disabilities from exorcism to instant filling of teeth as well as the raising of the dead. Thus, like the shamans of primitive societies, these individuals have also combined the roles of the healer with that of the priest in their ministry as they promise to bring health, wealth, happiness and salvation to all those who are willing to accept "Jesus as their Savior."

While the professed general objectives of their system of healing are similar to those of scientific medicine in that both deal
with the prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of health problems, dramatic differences exist in such elements as the setting of interaction, nature of the relationship, source of authority and acceptance by the greater society.

The setting of the treatment—the revival meeting—is informal, emotional and public rather than bureaucratic, rational and private as in the case of medical treatment.

In contrast to the particularistic relationship a physician has with his patient, the evangelist deals with all aspects of the life of his followers and maintains that his primary function is "saving souls" with healing being only secondary.

The evangelist's authority is charismatic. They are all supposedly called by God into the healing ministry. In discussing the healing process, the evangelists are quick to point out that they have no curative power, and that God is simply using them to release His healing forces. Thomas Wyatt maintained that any true believer has the power to heal the sick as a representative of Jesus (236), while Dorothea Davis stated:

Any evangelist, pastor or anyone else who lays their hands on the sick and healing comes forth, I guarantee you, they have paid the price. God didn't give it to them because they were unworthy. God only gives His power when we measure up to His standards and when we are worthy. When our vessel of clay is sanctified and the oil of the spirit is flowing through us, then we will see the manifestations of the spiritual gifts of God. (74, p. 4)

Although the healers disclaim personal power to healing, they do permit lavish praises and testimonies by devoted followers.

Unlike scientific medicine, the healing system of the deliverance evangelists is a marginal practice, largely viewed as harmful
to the sick. Receiving no institutionalized recognition or support for their work, these evangelists find themselves in competition with both scientific medicine and organized religion.

Traditionally, scientific medicine has been rejected by most of the evangelist healers. Mary B. Woodworth-Etter, for example, wrote:

The greater portion of the physicians of the land are ungodly people, many of them professed infidels and never were designed of God to administer drugs and poisons to any one; much less the people of God whose bodies are the sacred temples of the Holy Spirit. (247, p. 92)

Since her time, overt antagonism toward medical science seemed to have generally decreased. No longer do most evangelists denounce medicine as the work of the devil. The physicians' diagnosis and prognosis seem to have become well accepted by some evangelists. Some see scientific medicine as helpful but only up to a point and view it as being at most second best, others imply at times a complete rejection of it.
CHAPTER VI
THE FOLLOWERS

Existing literature indicates that sex, regionality, and socio-economic levels have been found to be associated with membership in cults. Indications from observations as well as from literature are that followers of faith healing practices and revivals are predominantly females. This might be partially explained by differential expectations which allow women more freedom to indulge in emotional forms of behavior.

Contemporary faith healing revivals seem to occur in the various geographic regions of the country. However, California and particularly Los Angeles seems to have attracted many cults including those engaged in faith healing. This may be partially due to the influx of migrants in that area and especially to the relatively high prevalence of rootlessness and other forms of deviance and mal-adjustment which result from difficulties in coping with the new environment. In response to the question "Why California?", Parker gave the following answer:

...Los Angeles has attracted, in the years of her phenomenal expansion, a special type of citizenry which the years of depression had rapidly stratified into thick layers of futile, humble, yet anxiously expectant respectability. ... They were 'naturals' for the innumerable cults and sects which narcotized the pangs of their thwarted hopes.

In Los Angeles, too, it was hard to forget the ignominy of failure because one's eyes were so constantly assailed by the arrogant pageantry of success. You dwelt, as it were, on the
lowest slopes of the Olympus of Hollywood; and the Gods and Godesses of that two-dimensional paradise sometimes descended among mortals in their chariots of gold, displaying, competitively and conspicuously, the prizes of their popularity. Prosperity, like everything else, was conceived in terms of pictures; it must be visualized--projected before the eyes of the populace.

Nowhere was the sense of humiliation, of one's utter irrelevancy and superfluity in the grandicse scheme of things, rendered more acute than when the crowds gathered to catch a glimpse of the gods and goddesses descending from their cars to attend a 'premiere' at some...temple. ... After such fleeting glimpses it was easy, almost necessary, to return to the anesthetics of...[the cults] to deaden the sting of one's own defeat.

This standing army of 'extras' in life drifted in the direction of any symbol which promised eternal salvation and security... (259, pp. 136-138)

Seldes claimed that almost all the health quackeries and fads were first accepted by people of superior wealth and education, and later diffused to the masses. The religious faith healing cults seem to have followed the reverse pattern by having spread first among the lower classes. (302)

While possibly the majority of the religious healing movements have originated among the lower classes, nevertheless, some of them attracted middle and upper class followers. On occasion members of Royal families and wealthy socialites have sought faith healers. Harris encountered a number of middle and upper class persons among Father Divine's followers. She reported that many of the white disciples were professional people above average in educational background, some even having been college professors. (163) Christian Science is another example of a health related movement which has attracted primarily middle and upper class members. Its members seem to have general distrust of physicians and have come from standard Protestant churches in which they had lost interest. (355)
In contrast to Christian Science are the so-called Holiness and Pentecostal groups which tend to minister to people in the lower strata. According to Bloch-Hoell, the Pentecostal movement recruited its members from among the least educated and attracted a relatively high percentage of housewives, domestic workers, laborers and craftsmen. The desire of these people for an emotional religion was explained as being due to their social background as well as a reaction against the increased formality of the churches. (28) Booth pointed out that people from lower classes tend to become more dependent upon healers who work among them. (88)

Wood's study of a Southern community revealed that the Pentecostals had a Bible centered, rural, Protestant background. They came frequently from deprived or disorganized home conditions. Their families were large, and the men mostly part time small farmers who had worked also in industries, and probably had frequent job changes. (351)

Boisen proposed that existence of a relationship between economic distress and religious expression. He maintained that the following of the Holiness groups represents spontaneous attempts of the common people to deal with the stresses and trials which they encounter. Hold added that such religious experience would tend to develop also under the conditions of personal isolation and insecurity incidental to migration and social discrimination. (178)

Only a few studies have dealt primarily with the followers of the deliverance evangelists.

Pitts mentioned that Oral Roberts' followers represent a cross
section of American society. (265) From his observations at the revival meetings of A. A. Allen, Elinson wrote that many of his followers are migrants from the South, with a rural or small town background. The groups most peripheral to social and economic success were well represented: "women, the poorly educated, Negroes, white trash (sic), and Puerto Ricans." (95)

Stegall, having attended healing campaigns for several years in the early 1950s, described the people he found there as being primarily "old, frustrated, neurotic and shallow." He further described them:

Like children, they believed in a sort of Santa Claus. There is always enough truth and fact about them to make it possible for them to convince themselves again, if they experience doubts. The shallowness of their religion does not occur to them. They believe that they are possessors of real, glorious, tangible connections with God which other faiths do not have. They are, in fact, a sort of 20th Century gnostic cult. (312, p. 25)

On the basis of participant observations conducted by this writer and an analysis of the literature which presents accounts of faith healing revivals, several types of followers were delineated: the believers, the extremists, the seekers, the observers, and the antagonists. These types of followers are described in the rest of this Chapter.
The Believers

The majority of the persons at the healing revivals can be described as ordinary believers. They try more or less to follow the teachings of the evangelist. They are the ones upon whom the evangelist depends for his livelihood, continuation of his work, and support for his belief system.

The following information about the ordinary believers was collected primarily at the "Full Gospel Tabernacle." Thus the observations regarding the characteristics of the believers are limited largely to those who attended there.

General characteristics

The percentage of women attending ranged generally from 60 to 75%. The ratio of men to women was lower for Negroes than for whites. For Negroes the percentage of women tended to range from 70 to 85%. The percentage of Negroes present was about 30% on the average, and ranged from 15% to 70%.

In contrast to reports which emphasized the high rate of elderly present, at "Full Gospel Tabernacle" the believers were primarily young adults and middle aged persons. Especially common were married women with young children. The elderly made up less than 10%.

It has been mentioned in the literature that cults appeal especially to immigrants. But at the "Full Gospel Tabernacle" all persons encountered were native born. Most were either of African or, judging by their names, of Anglo-Saxon descent. The situation might be different, however, in cities where there is a larger foreign born population.
The modal category consisted of persons who had at least one parent affiliated with the Quaker religion. Many of the believers were not members of any denomination, and several of them mentioned that they had "drifted away" from regular church attendance.

Several studies have emphasized the preponderance of persons from Southern states and/or rural backgrounds. At the "Full Gospel Tabernacle" only three persons were found who were either from Southern states and/or rural background. Others, including those of Quaker descent, had been raised in urban centers. They also seemed to have been geographically mobile.

The believers characteristically came from the lower status occupations such as unskilled and semi-skilled workers, domestics, waitresses, and janitors; and many were non-working housewives.

**Orientations to scientific medicine**

Cobb's study concluded that whether a patient goes to a "quack" in search of a miracle, or because he does not know the difference between the "medical authority" and the "quacks" the loyalty to the latter was astonishing, even when failure is encountered. In contrast the patients often showed displeasure with physicians. (53) A parallel situation existed among the believers. These people showed a highly positive attitude toward the evangelists while being critical of the medical profession. Many of the believers visited physicians, and upon closer inquiry no bad experiences with the medical profession could be detected. The problem was not one of complete rejection of medicine but rather a lack of confidence. The negative attitudes seem to result in part from the following:
1. They have been repeatedly exposed to criticisms and complaints about the medical institutions. Reports of failures by physicians and successes by healers were brought frequently to their attention.

2. Several of the believers or members of their families have suffered from illnesses which were difficult to diagnose or treat.

3. Several of the believers seemed to exhibit hypochondriacal tendencies. It was not uncommon to hear talk about the illnesses suffered. Some of them had visited several physicians in regard to their illnesses. In other words, they seemed to be people who have "shopped around for medical care!"

4. Some of the believers did not understand the complex mass society in which they live. At times they did not know how or where to find the proper medical help. Examples of this type can be seen in a woman who stated that when she was ill she did not know which doctor to call and decided that none of them would want to see her anyway. She went to a revival meeting instead and in a few days was much better. Another woman, new to Columbus, reported that she got lost and never did find the office of the doctor with whom she had an appointment.

5. When they located the proper medical facilities the "believers" were sometimes alienated by the bureaucratic formality and impersonality that they encountered. They reported that they were looked down upon, and that they felt uneasy in the cold surroundings. Occasionally they were kept waiting for an excessively
long time, and when they were "rushed through" the examination, they felt that no one really cared about nor understood their problems. In addition to the negative feelings and experiences "the believers" reported about medical care, a number of other factors seem to have attracted them to faith healing:

1. Quotations from the Bible dealing with faith healing and writings about this topic in the evangelists' books.

2. Testimonies of healings found in the publications of the healers and presented at the revival meetings.

3. The desire to believe and a strong need for assurance and the elimination of uncertainty.

Other orientations

In addition to acceptance of the Holiness religion with its Puritanical moral code and practice of faith healing, the believers strongly emphasize the worth of individuals, including those of other races. Most of the healing cults have opposed racial discrimination and this seems to be true also for the Holiness and Pentecostal groups. Nichol stated that there has been no noticeable racial discrimination in the Pentecostal movement from its beginnings, including the South. (247)

It was not uncommon to see racially mixed groups of women come to the "Full Gospel Tabernacle." White persons whose opinion was asked about the racial situation all expressed concern and opposed segregation and discrimination. One man admitted that he had once disliked Negroes but since he was "saved" he had realized the error of his former ways.
At the same time these people were not active in civil rights associations, and several of them were highly critical of such organizations. The prevailing opinion was that only by promoting the acceptance of Jesus can racial hatreds be eliminated.

Believers generally donated money to the evangelists' work, to the needy and to other charities. The believers tended to be similar to the evangelists in opposing capital punishment. Many favored more welfare for the disadvantaged, and felt that wealth should be redistributed.

Earlier studies have showed that the higher the socio-economic level, the higher the percentage of persons active in voluntary associations. Wood found in a study of a Southern community that Pentecostal groups actually discouraged their members from joining voluntary associations with the exception of labor unions. (351) As might be expected, the only associations to which the believers at "Full Gospel Tabernacle" belonged were labor unions. While not active in political groups, they tended to support the Democratic party.

The Extremists

The "extremists" may be seen as consisting of the "over conformists" who attempt to follow the religious doctrine very closely, and the "fanatics" whose interpretation of the Biblical statements and other religious teachings are of such an extreme nature that they encounter the criticism, and at times the rejection, of ordinary "believers." Examples of extremists are found in people whose lives revolve completely around religion, those who commit acts of violence
in revivals against others whom they feel have failed to conform (312), and members of extreme cults such as the snake handlers. Extremists among the followers are frequently associated with extremists among the evangelists such as Gordon Miller (223) and "Sweet Daddy" Grace (152).

The Seekers

A third category of people who make their appearance at the revival meetings are those who are not convinced, yet hope to find some relief from a problem. Although the needs of the seekers range from social to psychological to organic, healing is the greatest attraction to them. They represent many types:

1. The hopeful or "straw graspers": While medical science has made great advancements, many limitations still exist. When medicine fails, the individual can resign himself to the situation with stoic calmness, or continue to hope that someday a miracle will happen and they will be well again. An example of this is a young man from a wealthy New York family, who, with his mother, attended the revivals of a noted evangelist. His main interest had been painting, but he had become blind. The cause was not known, but his mother believed that he would not be blind if he had lived a moral life. After having attended several crusades the young man was still blind. The mother admitted that she had not expected a cure, but that they might try Lourdes next.

2. The sick: Not all the seekers suffer from terminal illnesses or extreme disabilities. Some suffer from sicknesses which are not hopeless, yet the institutionalized methods have failed to
cure them. One retired high school principal had on his feet painful sores that had not responded to treatments for over two years. On the recommendation of some acquaintances he agreed to go to one of Brother W. V. Grant's healing campaigns. He went with the attitude that would not be harmful, at the same time, not having faith that he would be helped.

3. The tormented: Other seekers suffer from various psychological stresses. An Ohio State University student stated that at times he felt that he "could not take life any longer," that he was so lonely and unhappy that he "wanted to run with his head against the wall." After years of visiting psychiatrists and taking drugs prescribed to him he started going to Kathryn Kuhlman's meetings and there he found "something that made life a little more bearable" for him.

4. The addicted: In view of the popularity of such books as THE CROSS AND THE SWITCHBLADE and the ineffectiveness of expensive rehabilitation centers for alcoholism and narcotics addiction, it is not surprising that persons suffering from a habit have sought out the deliverance evangelists. Testimonies abound of people who through the urging of some relative came to revival meetings and were freed of such habits as gambling, drinking, smoking, or use of drugs. Some observers have maintained that it is in this area that the healers can make their most significant contribution.

5. The alienated: It has been pointed out that the major denominations are not meeting the needs of certain types of personalities. Furthermore, for many, especially the more disadvantaged
groups, there is a lack of understandable explanations about the functioning of the social system of which they are a part. A young woman who had visited several churches and cults prior to trying the revival meetings pointed out that the reason for attending these meetings was that she did not know how to go about meeting people, her job and all her other activities seemed trivial and pointless, her husband had divorced her and she could not understand the reasons, and, in general, much of life did not make sense to her. Along with others who feel similarly about life, they are attracted to revival meetings because of the functions the evangelists and the meetings perform for them. The following description by a follower of Evelyn Wyatt and her preaching conveys these functions:

There is something very sincere and uplifting about Sister Wyatt. She is different, not like the others. Somehow life seems more cheerful after listening to her.

The Observers

The observers are neither overtly hostile nor do they accept the entire belief system espoused at these meetings. Rather, they may be attending (1) for professional reasons such as a neutral reporter covering a story for his paper or a student working on a project for his class; (2) as a response to the wishes of an acquaintance, friend or relative; or (3) to obtain personal gratifications such as entertainment or satisfying one's curiosity.

The presence of the observers is generally functional for the healer since they increase the crowd's size, at times contribute money, and some of them may become converted. For example, a girl
testified at one of LeRoy Jenkins' revivals that when she first came to his meeting she was not at all "religious" but was subsequently converted. A young Jewish couple reported that they came out of curiosity to a C. B. Ellis revival and that afterwards they had a "psychological experience" which they defined as conversion. A Quaker woman accompanied an acquaintance to a revival and reported that she herself was "saved."

The Antagonists

The antagonists are persons who try to suppress the services or undermine the position of the healer. In reference to the degree of disruption caused, the following types have appeared at the revival meetings:

1. On the one extreme are those who resort to physical violence, attempt to lead mob action, or even discharge firearms. An attempt was made to assassinate Oral Roberts. (285) Another example of violence involved Willis Brown who gave the following account of it:

They shouted the first night I preached, but the third and fourth nights they did not shout nor amen. God sent the truth so it uncovered sin and good many concluded God had not sent me. The professors began to persecute. They got the world stirred against me and the devil howled, but this made no change in the preaching. So the last night of the meeting, just as we presented the altar, the pistols began to ring to pour in at the windows. The people began to fall on the floor, some knocked with stones, and some dropped down to keep from getting knocked down. . . . I could not see any one that was on their feet. . . .one sister who. . . .had often said she could not pray aloud. . . now prayed louder than any one else. Some of the sinners ran out and began to shout at the gang, and they ran off. We prayed for the brother that was hurt worst, God healed him, and gave victory. Praise God! (37, p. 166)
In a recent incident the KKK disrupted LeRoy Jenkins' campaign in Atlanta, threatening his life and destroying his tent with acid, because of the evangelist's stand on racial integration. (195)

2. Some antagonists, stopping short of committing bodily harm, direct their main efforts toward preventing freedom of speech for the healer. John Alexander Dowie told of a reception given him by students in Chicago when he attempted to present his sermon entitled "Doctors, Drugs and Devils" in which he equated the three:

We left our carriage amid a storm of yells and curses and the throwing of bottles containing filthy smelling liquids . . .we entered the tabernacle amid the derisive cheers of the congregation of students whose pockets were filled with noxious chemicals, and whose hearts were filled with fierce and murderous passions. . .the riot in the street reached fever heat, and the shouts and the shrieks and the cries of the students, punctured by the crashing of stones through the numerous windows of the tabernacle, made the Holy War seem a great reality. Never in all our years of ministry have we felt so supremely joyful and happy. . .because we felt. . .the lecture had been magnificently illustrated by the facts which all could see, hear and smell. (216, p. 163)

3. Others have tried to point out to the congregation the errors or inconsistencies in the healer's work or tried to challenge him to perform a specific act to prove his power. Lindsay reported the following disruption of a deliverance revival:

About midway in the Houston campaign. . .a certain hostile clergyman who opposed Divine healing, denounced the remarks of Rev. F. F. Bosworth. . .and issued a public challenge through the newspapers, to debate with Rev. Bosworth on the subject of "Divine Healing Through the Anointment." Rev. Bosworth felt led to accept the challenge. . .as the meeting got under way, it was quite apparent that the sympathy of the vast audience was almost entirely on the side of the. . .evangelist. (217, p. 149)

Some of the milder antagonists may attempt to work within the structure of the revival meeting to ridicule or expose the healer.
4. Finally, some antagonists represent quiet observers at the revivals. Their interest is in the collection of material they can utilize in adverse publicity, expose, or in speeches and sermons about the problems of faith healing.

It is important to mention that it is not possible for this writer to assess the reliability of reports cited about antagonism in accounts written by the evangelists themselves. It was possible to check out only five accounts.

Antagonism may create problems for the healers especially when it disrupts the sermon or when bodily harm is incurred. However, irrational antagonism at times becomes functional for the healers. It seems that systems of belief grow in strength when attacked. Antagonism also led to greater publicity which may help draw attention to the healers and their work to potential followers. Some of the heckling adds a sense of excitement to the meetings and gives the healer a chance to identify with the believers against those who he interprets as representing the devil's attempts to interfere with his mission. In some respects, antagonism creates a situation in which the healer assumes the martyr's role.
CHAPTER VII

THE REVIVAL MEETING

The revivals—also known as healing or deliverance meetings, missions, campaigns or crusades—can be encountered in many cities and towns. While often held in auditoriums, former theatres, storefronts or "bush arbors," the preferred place is in a tent with at least 50 of today's evangelists having at one time or another owned or rented one.

Some evangelists hold revivals for about one or two weeks, before moving to another place, others only for a weekend. While several hold two or even three meetings a day, it is usually during the evening session that most activities related to "miraculous healings" and trances have taken place.

Certain differences are observable from one revival meeting to another. Some healers attempt to provide variation. According to Brother Dunn:

...a lot of times in my meetings I have specialized different nights, such as Holy Ghost rally night, double portion night and other nights that God leads me to have specials. That is why it is always a different service and the people seem to enjoy it more and they feel like coming more when there is a difference in the service. When it is the same thing night after night, people don't get the blessing they do when it is different. When you let the Holy Ghost guide it and direct it, it will be different each night. (91, p. 32)

Differences also exist between the meetings of the various evangelists. For example, one has prayers for the sick only on Fridays.
Others occasionally show movies in place of a sermon, still others handle serpents. Some rudiments of specialization exist in a few cases. One healer announced that he had received a special teeth filling ministry from God. Another set aside healing services just for children. A third claimed he could diagnose any disease and break people of any habit.

Of the revivals held in Central Ohio the most significant difference seemed to have been primarily a function of the size of the audience. The following associations were observed:

1. The larger the audience, the higher their socio-economic status and the more "worldly" their appearance.

2. The larger the audience, the higher the percentage of elderly and severely disabled persons.

3. The larger the audience, the higher the percentage of observers and seekers.

4. Emotionality and trance were most frequent in medium sized meetings, especially if the room was relatively small.

5. Collecting money was most emphasized in medium sized meetings, and least emphasized at the very large ones.

More striking than the differences were the similarities among campaigns. The major traits common to these meetings included raising of hands, music and singing, testimonies, of "instant" and other kinds of healings, collecting money, preaching, prophesizing and fortunetelling, exorcism, trance, glossolalia, thaumaturgy and being "saved."
Raising of Hands

One of the first traits noticeable at these revival meetings which is ordinarily lacking from the historical churches and synagogues is the raising of hands—a gesture made with the hands raised up to or over the head and quivered or waved to the left and right at the wrist. A critic called it the Pentecostal salute, stating:

This has a superstitious effect on the mind of the people, who seem to think that they are presenting God a conducting rod, so to speak. All over America this gesture is standard in Holiness meetings. The supporting ministers on the platform hold up their hands when praying, the people in the congregation wave a forest of hands, and when a well-experienced Pentecostal comes through a healing line they will stand "at the ready" with this gesture, or do it while going away from the healer. (312, p. 5)

In contrast, the believers pointed out the scriptural basis of this practice. Smith Wigglesworth stated that lifting up of hands was done by—Abraham, Moses, Aaron, David, Jeremiah and Ezekiel. He quoted Hebrews: "Lift up the hands which hang down." and Psalm 134: "Lift up your hands in the sanctuary, and bless the Lord." (116)

Another evangelist declared:

The upraised hand is the universal sign of surrender! Pride is what makes us ashamed to do so! When we lay aside our pride and surrender to God, we will do as Paul commanded, "I will therefore that men pray everywhere, lifting up holy hands, without wrath and doubting," I Timothy 2:8. If your hands are washed in the blood of Jesus; if you have no wrath, unforgiveness, no bitterness of spirit; if you are not filled with doubt; then you will want to lift your hands to God and worship Him! (255, p. 73)
Music and Singing

Since the days of D. L. Moody an important part of the revival meeting has been the music, with most of the evangelists, in addition to singing themselves, having a gospel singer or song leader accompany their revivals. The music may be of the "country variety" or "jazz." Some have only an organist and play "relatively sedate" music. The songs have included such old favorites as "Down the Sawdust Trail" and new tunes like "How about Jesus? He's all right!!"

According to Brother Jerry Bernard:

The reason that we have joy, music and singing, and glory in our worship services, is because this is what God said to have. I know that some men don't like it, and it's against the traditions of the elders. It's in complete discord with most denominations and organizations. It's completely outdated by the standards of most people. But, who are we going to listen to...? Are we still leaders enough that if God speaks to us to have Holy Ghost music, music with joy, music with excitement, music with dancing in the Spirit, we'll have it?... People are hungry for the joy of the Lord. Young people are filling dives and dens across America looking for 'soul music.' Young people are filling places where they can get music that will make their bodies move. Why? They haven't found anything in religion. They haven't found anything in the church. They haven't found anything in the average choir. I thank God that...there are hundreds of teenagers and young people who know the thrill of...the joyful sound of revival music. The music that God enjoys is the music that is full of joy. You'll not find one place in your Bible where God spoke of mournful music...of said music. Everytime you read the Bible, it says, "Sing a glad song unto the Lord!" "Make a joyful noise unto the Lord"... "Clap your hands all ye people and shout with a loud voice"... "Praise him on the organs"... "Praise him on the string instruments"... "Praise him on the cymbals"... This is the joyful sound of Holy Ghost music that is ordained of God for this revival that God is sending around the world. (384a, p. 14)
Testimonies

While it might be relatively difficult to get the healer to deal with one's ailment, it is much easier to participate and receive attention by giving one's testimony. Frequently the evangelist called up to the front or walked over to volunteers who wished to tell what "God had done for them." And some of these which appealed to the healer might even be written up in his publications. These testimonies range over a great variety of topics, many dealing with how they were healed at some previous revival of the presiding evangelist.

The Healings

A number of evangelists as well as their critics have maintained that the great masses of people are attracted to the revival meetings primarily because of the reported miraculous cures accomplished. Evangelists Charles F. Parham, Aimee McPhearson, and F. F. Bosworth among others remarked that attendance at their revivals increased significantly after cures were attributed to their ministry. It is the performance of these healings that has also been the most controversial trait of the deliverance campaigns and the primary cause of conflict between the evangelists and the greater society.

Organization

Several formats are utilized to channel the interaction between the evangelists and the afflicted in an orderly manner. One method is to have a healing line in which every person is required to have a special card obtainable from a morning or afternoon service.
This technique serves several functions. First, evangelists have found it more efficient if their crowds were large. Jack Coe used to criticize this approach asking his audiences "if Jesus ever had printed prayer cards." Yet when his own following increased he found it necessary to use this method. (215) Secondly, the faith of the patients can be intensified by having them attend the earlier meetings where they can witness testimonies of cures taking place, and of miracles being performed, in general be in an environment that is conducive to the emergence of a frame of mind susceptible to this type of healing. At least two evangelists who use the healing line regularly provide a section for the critically ill who are unable to acquire a card.

Another format is to call certain categories forth. The modal group consists of the deaf. Persons suffering from cancer, nervous conditions and "devil possession" are also invited to the front.

The modal format at the revivals observed in Columbus was a public treatment of a subject selected from the audience. Brother Dunn, for example, stated that he consistently chooses people from the audience "because God did not want him to have a healing line." (91)

Diagnosis

While some healers have made no particular claim to have diagnostic ability, many others have claimed such "ability."

The evangelist healers have generally emphasized that God does not send diseases. Rather, they are caused by "evil spirits." Jaggers, for example, claimed that he knows by name each "demon" inhabiting the sick person. (312) The healers have explained their claimed "ability" for diagnosis as being a gift of knowledge and of discerning spirits
and some have claimed to have received information directly from God. William Branham, who alleged he had the power to detect the types of ailments stated:

When they put their hand in my left hand, I receive vibrations caused by the germs in the person. I can usually tell what the disease is. When the disease leaves the person the vibrations stop. (217, p. 166)

Types of health problems

A great variety of health complaints were dealt with at the deliverance revivals. Also, healers report engaging in preventive work.

LeRoy Jenkins' magazine REVIVAL OF AMERICA described how in his campaigns "short legs literally jump as they are lengthened by as much as six inches, tumors fall off, cancers are spit up, the blind see and totally disabled persons become able bodied again." (392)

Another evangelist reported that cures for the following health problems have taken place in his ministry:

Eardrums, one after another were created; legs were lengthened one after another. Backbones, nerves and spinal parts were created. Hip sockets have been created, even when there was no ball. My own brother was born without a knuckle in one hand. I prayed and almost a complete knuckle popped up. (115, pp. 17-18)

Willard Fuller in his tract "Can God Fill Teeth?" published the following testimony:

Evangelist Fuller conducted a campaign in the church of which I am a pastor. . . . He prays for people and God fills their teeth. I have actually seen fillings appear in teeth that had cavities; some gold, some silver, some white enamel-like substance, and some are completely restored to their original condition.

Many other ailments have been reported in accounts about faith healing including vision problems, arthritis, broken bones, TB and other disease.
In addition to bodily healings, the other problems that have been dealt with have included problems like smoking and drinking, psychological distress, poverty and strained interpersonal relationships.

It seems that faith healers do not confine themselves to dealing with terminal illness or to others of degenerative nature which are difficult to deal with from the scientific point of view. In other words, they are not limiting their attention to ailments that are difficult to diagnose nor to those whose course of pathology is difficult to arrest or reverse.

Techniques

At the revivals attended in Central Ohio, prayers, especially those "commanding God to perform a miracle," usually accompanied by the "laying on of hands," was the major technique used to bring about "cures." Several evangelists stated that they can feel the power of God in their arm when they "lay on hands," and have compared it to electricity. Occasionally, people were testified to being "healed" on their way to the prayer line or even while quietly sitting in their seats. Toward the end of his career when he had very large crowds, Smith Wigglesworth practiced what he called "wholesale healing" by telling people to lay their own hands on the afflicted part while he prayed for them. (116)

Evangelist William Freeman had two favorite groups, the blind and the deaf. Stegall gave the following description of the techniques Freeman used at one of his revivals after he asked all those who were blind to stand up right where they were seated:
"I can heal you right where you stand. You don't need to come forward." . . . Freeman led the congregation in a prolonged period of loud petition, and then from the platform repeated his healing formula. . . . Speaking with great rapidity and intensity. . . . Freeman exclaimed "I curse this disease! I command it to come out! In the name of Jesus Christ-Son-of-the-living-God-Go, and never come back--the body and soul to remain pure." Then Freeman said matter-of-factly, "Receive your sight. Open your eyes and see!" One would expect a great cry of joy and discovery to follow if the blind people were suddenly endowed with vision in one climatic moment. Such an outcry never occurs! An intense silence prevails while the scattering of blind people remain standing tense with emotion. This silence Freeman breaks at once by selecting some subject at random. . . On [this] night. . . Freeman pointed his finger at a woman and challenged her in a voice that took on a new note of dominance: "Do you see? You see, don't you!" After a moment she replied in a frightened, faint voice, after her friends had nudged her and she realized it was she being addressed: "Well, I see a little light--I think--but--." Her voice was lost immediately in the boom of the microphone as Freeman exclaimed, "There! She sees! Everybody praise God!" A great wave of exultation and awe went up from the satisfied crowd, mingling with the crashing chords of the electric organ playing, "There's Power in the Blood," I saw the woman sit down in her chair, her face blank and confused. . . . (213, pp. 8-9)

Failures

Although there are many testimonies about cures, there is also acknowledgment of failures. Oral Roberts stated that "if he could bring healing to 25% of those who ask for it, he would be the happiest man in the world." (85)

When they admit failure, the healers attribute it to lack of faith on the part of the patient. Jack Coe, for example, admitted that many he prayed for were not healed, adding:

I began asking God to show me why they were not healed. I had prayed with as much faith for them, as for those who were healed! God revealed to me that many did not understand how to receive healing. They needed instruction in his word concerning His will and power. I firmly believe that more people would be healed if they only knew how to accept and keep it! (56, p. 111)
Critics have accused the healers of choosing the subjects for the healing line, of planting people into the audience, of concentrating upon illnesses which can best be psychologically manipulated, and that there have been far too many failures for this system of healing to be seriously considered.

The British Medical Association found that most of the supposed cures of organic disease (but not those of psychogenic origin) through faith healing could be explained by "mistaken diagnosis, errors in prognosis, alleviation, remission, the effect of combined treatment or spontaneous cure." (172)

In a study by a group of physicians, professors, lawyers and ministers who followed up the healing mission of Charles S. Price in Vancouver, British Columbia, it was found that "of 350 persons professed to have been healed, there was no physical change in the symptoms or condition of 301 cases, 39 died within six months following the healing mission, 5 became insane, and 5 others, suffering from various nervous diseases, apparently had been cured." (350)

Finances

Several of the evangelist healers have strongly opposed regular salaries. Brother Dunn stated:

...I never charged a person in my life anything to go to any certain place or to pray for anyone. In other words, when I go to a church for a revival (usually my meetings are in auditoriums and theatres, buildings, etc.), but when I go to a church I will not go to a man that promises me a certain salary. I will not consider it under any consideration because I believe in going by faith and that God will meet my every need. I don't charge anyone. I don't set a price on my ministry, and if anybody brings money to me in a
healing line, I will refuse their money and also send them back to their seat. I will not under any circumstance charge anyone or take money from anyone I pray for because I believe that God would take my ministry away from me. (91, p. 30)

Since many of the evangelist healers oppose salaries, other means of obtaining finances were devised. At some of the revivals it was observed that only an offering bucket was passed quietly around and no mention was made about money. However, this was exceptional and more often the evangelists resorted to high pressure methods which corresponded to the emotional tone of the whole service.

An implication of the majority of evangelist healers is that the more one gives the more likely one will receive health, happiness and especially wealth. "You can't outgive God," is a frequent expression heard at the revivals. Some have criticized this claim, including Brother Lindsay:

Perhaps the most serious scheme to raise money is one promoted by a certain religious adventurer who promises the people that God has given him the gift to make them wealthy, if only they will give him a good offering. Such assertions approach to the crime of blasphemy. (215, p. 276)

Sermons

One Pentecostal historian maintained that a reason why itinerant evangelism is popular is that the evangelists have a limited number of sermons. (246) A review of biographical material on healers revealed that sermons constituted a problem for at least 5 of them during the early part of their career.

A popular sermon at the revivals attended in Columbus was on persecution. While they did not espouse the Bible to any great extent, God, Jesus and the Holy Ghost were frequently mentioned and
their presence was reportedly felt by the believers.

Some evangelists show movies instead of giving sermons while others just omit the sermons. Brother Dunn gave the following reason for not preaching:

In some services the Holy Ghost wants to take complete charge of the meeting. In other words, the mighty power of God will move on me and direct me to pray for the sick before the preaching service, and many times from that it goes right into a great outpouring of the spirit and the Holy Ghost begins to deal with the hearts of the unsaved and in many instances they come forward without even an altar call and fall on their knees and ask God to save their souls. . . . I would be very foolish to try to tell the Holy Ghost how to conduct the service; therefore, I let the Holy Ghost have his way and it always turns out in a mighty, wonderful Holy Ghost filled meeting. (91, p. 31)

Aimee McPhearson gave illustrated sermons sometimes dressed in a football uniform carrying the ball of the Four Square Gospel for a "touchdown"; or dressed as a policeman, speeding down the ramp on a motorcycle, raising her hand to stop the audience from "speeding to hell!" (287)

Jaggers and his wife Velma have become noted for their illustrated sermons in Los Angeles. NEWSWEEK gave the following description of some of their presentations:

At a special evening service Velma took Halloween as her theme and bestirred 500 church members as, crackling joyfully, she swung over them on a broom, clad in witch's mask, black cloak and crone's hat. After five minutes of swaying on the end of a cable manipulated offstage by a sexton, Sister Velam alighted, her blond upswept hair redecorated with two orange plumes. To illustrated previous sermons, Velma has descended at various times in a golden cage, a spaceship and a red-and-white chariot drawn by two carrousel steeds. (320, p. 42)
Prophecy and Fortune Telling

Sometimes prophecies were made during the sermons. Those made at the revivals observed in Central Ohio were of a highly general nature: "there will be more riots, things will go bad for America, Jesus will come soon, the mighty will fall and this generation will experience the end of the world."

Most of the healers who were observed practiced fortunetelling. Moving up and down the aisles, the evangelist would choose a person and tells him about his past, present and future. Several evangelists have maintained that "making the secrets of people's hearts manifest leads them to get saved, builds up their faith and causes them to draw closer to God."

Exorcism

The existence of devils

Views on demonology formed an integral part of deliverance evangelism and is given major emphasis in the writings of at least two healers. The "devil" was real to the believers. Adolf Hitler was used as an example that Satan has appeared in human form.

We have devil worshipers today who meet in dark rooms, worship the devil and spit in the face of Jesus, which they have drawn on the floor. They stomp and kick Him. This is in America! If there is no devil, what do they worship? If there are no devils, then why are there thousands of people who are holding out their hands and crying for deliverance? Why is our mail loaded down with letters packed full of the pitiful cries for deliverance from the awful forces which are "acting up" in them? Why are there multitudes of people crying just now to be set free and delivered from prison? (138, pp. 6-7)
Also it has been claimed that there is specialization in "the kingdom of Satan." First there are demon princes whose responsibility is to direct influence on heads of state. They try to determine policies of all governments.

...every form of government, from the White House down through our local police authorities, is affected to a degree by the suggestion of some of these demon spirits. ...That is the reason God admonishes us to pray for our rulers and for those who have authority over us. Our President needs our prayers today...that we may live in peace and follow God after the dictates of our conscience. (249, pp. 8-9)

Crime, hate, jealousy are seen as caused by specialized "demons" who attempt to lead people away from Christ. (249) For illnesses, many evangelists have stated that there are "demons" like "the deaf spirit, TB spirit, leukemia spirit," and others. These demons cause men to become whatever they themselves happen to be. For example, if a demon is an epileptic he transfers his violent convulsive behavior to the person. (188)

**Possession by devils**

In the case of illnesses, Evangelist W. V. Grant explained devil possession as:

Possession is to own and control. Demon possession is from the inside, a power which dwells there after one is depressed, and refuses to yield to the Lord, and surrenders to Satan his soul and all, he begins to do things he can't keep from doing. The devil moves from within him at will to accomplish his purpose, for he is his property, or possession. (141, p. 1)

From time to time Jaggers warned people attending his revival meetings not to have doubts "lest the demons cast out on the platform move into one of them." (311) Furthermore, the belief is that once a person is freed from the "devils" there is no guarantee that he will not be repossessed again. A. A. Allen stated that demons continually
seek to inhabit humans and will not leave willingly. According to evangelist David Nunn:

When you are saved the unclean spirit goes out of you, but he goes into spiritually dry places seeking a place of habitation and doesn't find any. Then he comes back and finds his former abode swept and garnished, cleansed by the Blood, but it is empty. When he finds the house empty, he gets seven devils worse than himself and enters into that house. All of the rest of them come in with him, and the last state of that person is worse than the first! (249, p. 14)

The process of casting out devils

The belief is that while evil spirits can take "possession" of a person, they can also be "driven out." The first step in the latter process is to recognize "devil possession," and most evangelists claim to have this ability.

Sanford stated that after the recognition of "devil possession," the "evil spirit" is commanded to leave, and usual pattern of exorcism consists of the following steps:

1. Prayers, mostly in silence, for the evangelist and the possessed person.

2. With or without the laying on of hands, the invading spirit is commanded in the name of Jesus to leave this person.

3. Thanks are given that the evil spirit has departed.

4. Prayers are given that the love of Christ will come quickly and fill up the empty places.

5. Prayers are given that the victim may be surrounded from that time on by heavenly protection. (296)

In his tract "Demon Possession Today" A. A. Allen gave his account of a case of exorcism:
On the West Coast some time ago, after I had preached a message on deliverance, a lady came in the altar call. As I looked into that woman's eyes, it seemed that I actually looked into the eyes of the devil, she was so possessed by evil powers and demon spirits. . . . As I laid hands upon the woman, black, beady snake-like eyes looked into mine, as she repeated. "I'm not coming out!" Looking steadily back into her eyes, I said, "Satan, you are a liar! You ARE coming out!" immediately, I felt the demon leave. Yet I knew there were other demons present, for in my spirit I was not free. I could feel the presence of other demons within this woman. Again I prayed, commanding the evil spirits to come out. One at a time, they began to come out of the woman, naming themselves as they came, until nine in all had gone from her. Then the woman began to talk again. . . . "There are not any more. . . . they are all gone." But in my spirit, I knew they were not all gone. Once again, we commanded the demons to come out. Immediately, another demon came out and named himself, "I am a lying demon. I am the one who said 'There are no more, they are all gone!'" Then the last one came out, naming himself as a demon of lust!

The usual pattern of exorcism witnessed at the revivals in Columbus consisted of the evangelist diagnosing "devil possession" and then laying his hand on the victim's forehead and praying, after which he declared that now the possessed one was free. One time when possession had supposedly taken place by a stubborn spirit, several persons held on to the victim, a heavy woman in her forties, while the evangelist prayed and commanded the spirit to depart. Then the evangelist announced that the spirit had departed, and the audience "praised God."

Trance

Dissociation states, prevalent among the early Quakers and Shakers, were widely denounced by the middle of the eighteenth century as "...errors in doctrine and disorders in practice." (301, p. 25)

Later, during the Kentucky revival, extremes in trance appeared among a wider category of Americans.
Bourguignon, in a crosscultural study in trance behavior, pointed out that it is a psychological or psycho-physiological state which is as yet very poorly understood. Some of the major hypothesis advanced include hypnosis, non-pathological dissociation, socio-cultural learning, histrionics and epilepsy. (35) Psychoanalysts and psychologists have emphasized either hysteria or schizophrenia in the etiology of trance. Alland defined trance within the context of religious ceremony as

... a cultural response to a series of internal and external cues which operate in a particular kind of motivational state ... (9, p. 213)

According to him, this type of trance is most likely a form of hypnosis which later becomes auto-hypnosis through a continuation of the learning process. (9) Brother Dunn gave the following explanation of trance:

... in my meetings we always have once a week what is known as Holy Ghost rally night. On this particular night I stress the Holy Ghost. I have a Holy Ghost message that I preach. I explain to the people how simple it is to receive the Holy Ghost and tell them why wait for something that is already here. Why do they have to beg for something that is given freely? It is a gift, so in these Holy Ghost rally nights, hundreds of people get in the Holy Ghost rally lines and I lay my hands upon them as they come by as the apostles did in the early church. As I lay my hands upon them, I pray that they will receive the Holy Ghost and I would say that hundreds and hundreds receive it each Holy Ghost rally night, of course, depending how many are in the line. I would say that about two-thirds of each line receive the baptism of the Holy Ghost as we lay hands upon them and tell them to receive the Holy Ghost in the name of Jesus. (91, pp. 34-35)

Participants at the revivals observed in Columbus who were interviewed explained trance as "possession by the Holy Ghost." A few simply referred to it as "dancing for the Lord or being slain by God."
Trance occurred sporadically throughout the meetings observed and was considered proper at any given time there. The overt patterns included: (1) the jerks: ranging from mild trembling of upraised hands to violent convulsions involving such behavior as the snapping of the neck and whip-like movements of the spine, (2) dancing: sometimes called "dancing for the Lord," (3) falling to the floor: either with jerks or remaining still as in a faint, sometimes referred to as being "slain by the Lord," (4) running in a straight line, a rare behavior, (5) speaking in tongues.

Factors suspected or promoting trance were suggested by Alland, and include physical ones like heat and high percentage of carbon dioxide, physiological-psychological ones like loud, rhythmic music with a simple beat, fasting and motivation, and socio-cultural ones like isolation, lack of information and presence of strong models for trance in significant others who set the patterns of behavior in the church. (9)

The following observations were made at the Columbus revivals:

1. The amount and degree of dissociation varied from one revival to another even though many of the same individuals were present. Alland had found that frequency, duration and number of trances at "Sweet Daddy" Grace's church were higher when the place was crowded and attended by special personalities. (9) This also seemed to hold true for the meetings at the "Full Gospel Tabernacle." Music also seemed to be important. Yet at the one meeting where trance was very prevalent, no music was present.
2. The majority of the people did not go into a trance. Only at two meetings—both Holy Ghost specials—did over 70% fall into trance. At all other times it was below 25%, and at many meetings only a small number or none at all went into a dissociation state.

3. Trance started most frequently with upraised arms.

4. Negroes were more likely to go into trance than whites.

5. In agreement with Stegall's (312) and Alland's (9) studies, women were more likely to go into trance than men. However, the dissociation states of men seemed to be more violent than that of women.

6. Though trance occurred for all ages, the elderly and the children and teenagers were not as likely to go into a dissociation state as the young adults and middle aged persons. The latter also seemed to go into deeper and more agitated states.

7. Dancing trance seemed to have occurred at high rates among overweight women, while thin persons tended to tremble.

8. The evangelists promoted this type of emotionalism. For some reason the noise level and the degree of dissociation were associated with religious fervor. Yet on no occasion did the evangelists themselves go into trance.

9. The expressions on the faces of those in trance were ones of pain and similar feeling states. Some muttered, "Save me, Jesus," "Jesus, Jesus, Jesus," "Oh, God." Incoherent mutterings and loud outcries also occurred.

10. Three persons stated in an interview after being in trance that they had a wonderful experience. In his study of the Free Pentecostal Holiness Church members, Schwarz found that the
fancies of those in deep dissociation states were very similar to those seen with reactions induced by mescaline and LSD. Further, there was nothing unusual or abnormal in their behavior outside of the revival setting. (301)

Glossolalia

One type of dissociation state is known as glossolalia or "tongue speaking."

The speech itself rises in an effortless flow of usually complex structure, with the repetition and inflection characteristic of language. It is neither controlled nor directly understood by the speaker but takes possession of his speech. (200, p. 1)

Though having Biblical origins, after the death of the Apostles glossolalia came to be looked upon with suspicion and later was claimed by the Church to be a sign of "devil possession." Nevertheless, it did occur sporadically among a number of groups like the Montanist, Cammisards, Quakers, Shakers, Mormons and others and has accompanied American revivalism from the beginning of the Great Awakening. (200, 28)

Neither glossolalia nor trance in general is limited to Christianity.

According to Kelsey, it was in the 20th century United States, however, that "tongue speaking" came into its own and developed into a significant movement that diffused to other parts of the world. In America, glossolalia is presently found primarily among three distinct groups: in the Pentecostal movement, in certain fundamental churches and, since 1958, among some of the clergy and lay people of the larger and well known denominations, including the Episcopalian and the Roman Catholic where it has caused considerable controversy. (200)
Tongue speaking has been associated with schizophrenia, hysteria, catalepsy and suggestion. Some have associated it with sleep and dreams. Kelsey compared it with having visions. Dr. L. M. Van Estveldt Vivier (a psychiatrist) indicated that "tongue speakers" have a normal personality and that some factors other than pathological ones must be found to explain the dissociation which occurs in this phenomena. (200)

Sadler stated:

...although there are certain striking parallels between the behavior of the ecstasists and behavior patterns associated with hysteria and other mental disorders, the attempt to explain the one in terms of the other in simple reductionist fashion is not justifiable. The matter is much more complex than this, and the psychiatrist commenting on the behavior of the persons practicing glossolalia cannot safely assume that because the persons who seem to have yielded totally to possession behave in what appears to be hysterical fashion, are not otherwise in perfectly good health emotionally. (294, p. 87)

According to Kelsey, a number of persons have told of being healed, both of physical illness and psychological difficulties during experience of glossolalia. A sense of joy and a deep religious emotion also seem to have accompanied a number of cases of "tongue speaking." (200)

Usually "speaking in tongues" has been explained by the evangelists and their followers as receiving the "Holy Ghost" who speaks through the person, and that is necessary for another individual to translate the message.

The following observations were made at the Columbus revivals:

1. Though not discussed in great depth, glossolalia was frequently mentioned, but not emphasized to the extent it has been in various Pentecostal churches. Several evangelist healers rejected it as the only sign of "Spirit baptism."

2. It was claimed by one evangelist that "all persons who have had a great ministry in miracles, signs, wonders or healings have spoken in other tongues." (153) Most of the evangelists held similar views. Yet at none of the revivals attended did any of them "speak in tongues" other than an occasional imitation of glossolalia.

3. Compared to other forms of trance, "speaking in tongues" was relatively rare. Stegall found that 85% of the tongue speakers were women. (312) However, at the revivals held in Columbus, it was evenly divided between men and women, but the numbers were too small to indicate a significant pattern.

4. With one exception, those who "spoke in tongues" did not engage in the physical movements associated with other forms of trance such as snapping of the spine or running up and down the aisles.

5. While the trance state might last from a few minutes to half hour, and occasionally as much as several hours, glossolalia at the meetings observed continued for no more than one minute.
CHAPTER VIII

ALTERNATIVE CHANNELS

For many, especially during an emergency, going to a revival meeting might not be possible, or the evangelist may not choose a given person for "healing." There are, however, several alternative channels available for an evangelist to reach a follower. These may include publications, correspondence, anointed objects, radio and TV, telephone, faith cure homes and personal visitation.

Written Communication:
Publications and Correspondence

Magazines and bulletins

Of the group included in this study, at least 42 evangelists mailed a monthly magazine or some other type of a periodic publication. These publications range from crudely printed leaflets to glossy journals with colored photos and are distributed either free of charge or at a low cost. The typical content includes reports about revivals and cases of faith healing. Especially publicized are their overseas work and projects such as operating an orphanage or building a church. Other regular features include letters of testimony; stories about saved souls; sermons; prophecies and Bible quotes; a variety of pleas for contributions and for names of friends who might be included on the mailing list—not uncommonly offering various
items such as key chains, ballpoint pens or books for those who send certain amounts of money or names; selling various items such as records, Bibles and other religious books; and announcements of coming revivals and conventions.

From the testimonies published in the magazines, read over the radio, or given at the revival meetings it may be inferred that for a number of readers these publications are inspirational.

**Books and pamphlets**

Of the evangelists included in this study 62 are known to have published one or more books or pamphlets. Besides such topics as faith, salvation, divine healing and life stories, the evangelists wrote about a great variety of other subjects including such titles as: HOW TO KEEP YOUR HUSBAND, MEN FROM MOON IN AMERICA, WHAT REALLY TAKES PLACE IN THE SECRET CLOSET, POSITIVE PROOF OF THE LIFE BEYOND and BITTEN BY DEVILS.

Testimonies can be found also as to the impact of these publications. The following are excerpts from a letter reportedly sent to an evangelist from a follower in England:

I had a mental breakdown. I suffered very much and began to hear voices. I felt so frightened and overwhelmed. Then I began to have hallucinations. I felt as if I were dissolving away. After reading your book, "The Battle in the Heavenlies," I had faith to believe God for my deliverance, which I received. Thank you for writing your experiences so that others may be helped. (380a, p. 9)

Evangelist M. M. Baker wrote:

After praying and fasting one day a book was given to me. The message in it changed my whole life and ministry. That was the book written by Evangelist W. V. Grant, THE ANOINTING OF POWER. I prayed and fasted, with that book and the Bible
before me. That book guided me to many Scriptures, just as if Brother Grant were there instructing me, telling me what he had learned in twenty years of his ministry. (21, p. 32)

Mail order lessons

Another way of receiving indirect treatment is through correspondence courses. A testimonial to the success of this method was given by a man who rose from a poor clerk to become a wealthy philanthropist through "Psychiana," a mail order course which guaranteed to help "find the power of God or your money back." Started in 1928 in Moscow, Idaho, it was believed by many that through this course, disease could be cured, and numerous testimonies were received from customers regarding healings, financial success and a new outlook on life. (18) Four evangelist healers are known to have set up mail order courses.

Prayer requests

A more common approach is to ask people to send in prayer requests. Several of the Full Gospel evangelists sent out special forms to people on their mailing lists. The forms represent check lists of items for which prayer is needed. Many of the healing magazines contained statements encouraging readers to send in prayer requests usually combined with solicitations for contributions. The following statements are typical of these announcements:

We are at your service to take your problem to the Lord in prayer for you until you receive an answer from Heaven! Your mail is read privately and each request taken personally to God in prayer. (393a, p. 2)

Each Prayer Request is forwarded to Brother Parks by Air Mail no matter where in the world he is. Your Request will reach him at once. (369a, p. 4)
According to FAITH DIGEST:

Most people have never thought of this, but perhaps the Apostle Paul's greatest ministry was the letters which he wrote. Rev. Osborn feels that each letter is a vital part of his soulwinning ministry. We live in a troubled and sin-sick world, a generation of needy people. Each month many letters are received asking for help and guidance. Every letter is carefully considered and individually answered. Many who otherwise might not have been helped are reached in this personal way. Rev. Osborn would welcome your letter, write him this week. (373a, pp. 30-31)

Praying over letters can also take place during a revival as was the case at one of Allen's meetings after a visiting evangelist told how God had provided him with some revival equipment:

Evangelist T. 'ayne Parks. . "decreed" with the Lord for revival equipment. Crowds in Columbus thrilled to his amazing testimony. . . .Inspired to pray right then over special "decreed" letters from friends around the world who need something from God, Brother Allen and ministers on platform laid hands on letters as thousands stood and prayed in Congregation, for an abundant answer from God for every "decreed!" (383d, p. 3)

Some of the more successful evangelists have set up special prayer groups to pray over the requests.

Anointed Objects

While some claims have been made as to the helpfulness of magazines and books, a more common practice in seeking absent treatment is to turn to certain anointed objects—a practice reminiscent of the use of relics since the days of early Christianity.

At least 16 of the evangelists in this study have distributed anointed objects which usually are some kind of "blessed cloth."

Referring to these anointed handkerchiefs, evangelist Velmer Gardner stated:
If you are unable to get to service, or know of a friend at a distance who needs healing; this is a very successful way to receive healing. . . . Place this cloth that has been prayed over, on the afflicted part of your body, read Acts 19:11-12. Then read and believe Heb. 13:8. "Jesus Christ is the same, yesterday, and today, and forever. . . ." And believe God in spite of symptoms and fear and you will be healed. (119, p. 12)

Evangelist A. A. Allen has the following to say about anointed cloths:

If you cannot attend one of our great campaigns, where people by faith are instantly healed, write to us for a bit of cloth over which we will pray, and we will send it to you through the mail. If you will receive this cloth and place it upon your body in the same faith and in the same power of the Spirit in which I sent it, God will deliver you. . . . Countless thousands are being healed today by the ministry of blessed cloths. (11, pp. 47-48)

While some charge or ask donations for their prayer cloths, others send them free of charge. There are many testimonies as to the effectiveness of this practice. One man described a "miraculous" escape from a serious car accident, crediting his good fortune to having evangelist W. C. Hardy's "healing cloth" and "prosperity cloth" in his pocket. (374a)

Evangelists seem to want to define acceptable limits to claims regarding this practice. The following statements of an evangelist show that certain claims by some evangelists are not acceptable to others:

The use of prayer cloth is indeed a scriptural one. . . . How many people have applied them to their bodies and have received a blessing and wonderful deliverance. Yet when a man says that the prayer cloth turned red supernaturally (as one minister claimed) and thereby had much greater virtue, he is doing two things. First he is telling an untruth, and second, he is playing on the superstitions of his followers. (215, p. 276)
Radio, Television and Telephone

The evangelist healers have rapidly taken advantage of developments in mass communication such as radio and television, with 29 evangelists among those included in the study having their own radio programs and several others having TV programs.

Radio

The radio ministry was present in the twenties with Aimee McPhearson having founded the third radio station in Los Angeles in 1924. (229) Another pioneer in radio healing ministries, Thomas Wyatt, started his program in 1942. (323)

According to Evelyn Wyatt, the widow of Thomas Wyatt, who has successfully carried on the extensive ministry of her late husband:

Millions listen to radio who have never gone to church—these millions constitute America's untouched mission field. Countless others have attended church, but the church has failed to win them to Christ, for one reason or another. Among these two classes of people, many have a hunger which leads them to listen to religious broadcasts. Through Gospel radio numerous drifting ones have been reclaimed for Christ and restored to Bible-based living becoming effective Christian witnesses in their communities. Others have turned to the Lord in a time of great physical crisis, when they heard a radio message which gave them hope through the Healing Christ. (382b, p. 5)

Television

Several of the evangelists, notably Oral Roberts and A. A. Allen, have tried to utilize television. According to Roberts, television as well as radio are the greatest inventions—ever given by God to preach the Gospel to the masses, claiming that more people have been won to Christ through these media than any other phases of his ministry.
Many letters of testimony are claimed to have reached him telling of lives changed as his programs are heard and viewed. These changes ranged from conversions to healings reported as occurring most generally as patients laid their hands on the radio or TV sets. (274)

Roberts stated:

Wherever I go I meet people who tell me they have accepted Christ while watching the program. Others relate how they were healed. Ministers have shared how seeing an actual healing caused them to re-study Jesus to reexamining their own ministry. Only eternity will reveal the total results of our television ministry. (286, p. 25)

Oral Roberts stated that he faced a new wave of opposition when he began appearing on television. Organized religious groups asked the local television stations to put him off the air, succeeding several times. (284)

Telephone service

Isolation and the lack of "meaningful" relationships, especially for the elderly, are considered by many to be serious problems in today's mass societies. A number of "phone in" suicide prevention centers staffed by volunteer workers have been established based on the underlying assumption that being able to talk to a person who seems "to care" can often change the minds of many who are tempted to take their own lives. Faith healing systems have also used this means of communication. The Unity School is especially known for this "service." It has a staff of workers in Kansas City available for consultation, on a twenty-four hour basis, answering not only letters and telegrams but also an average of 10,000 calls a week. Each call is assigned to one member of the staff who suggests the "proper counsel,"
affirmations and prayer for every type of problem. The callers are told to repeat, over and over, certain affirmations which supposedly "develop the all-powerful mind and bring them from the Divine Mind whatever he needs." (229)

This need to talk with some compassionate person seems to be acknowledged by many of the evangelist healers. Some give a telephone number in their magazines, and others mention at revivals that they can be reached over the phone in time of need.

A. A. Allen advertised a phone number stating "You Can Dial a Miracle Day or Night." (384d, p. 9) Oral Roberts' Abundant Life Prayer Group, which came into existence in 1958, has been on duty 24 hours a day handling telephone calls, with an estimated average of 400 calls a day. (362a)

Faith Cure Homes

In the United States a number of faith cure homes have been established, some by evangelist healers. While no longer as popular as around the turn of the century and earlier, evidence indicates that at least one of the evangelists included in this study is operating a faith cure home which he advertised as

...a place to receive deliverance from sickness, disease, infirmity!!! A place to receive instruction and powerful, scriptural faith teaching and receiving and keeping your healing and deliverance! Come now while waters are troubled! Meals served at cost! Rooms on Free Will Offering Basis. (384e, p. 9)
Personal Visitations

One evangelist, F. F. Bosworth, formed a group of people to visit the sick. Numerous other healers have given examples of how they visited someone either by chance or on "orders from God" and have had "success in healing," however, this is not a common practice. For example, evangelist G. O. Barnes stated:

... I steadily refuse all cases of private anointing unless the patient is too sick to come to church. (272, p. 340)

Some healers seem to believe that a true Christian would want to receive his healing in public since this would "glorify God." Several others stated that they do not have the time to treat everyone individually. They encourage not only public healings but attendance by the patient at several revivals beforehand to increase his faith for the healing. In the cases of the severe illnesses ambulances are sometimes used to bring followers to the meetings.
CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY

The popularity of deliverance evangelism has fluctuated periodically since its emergence in the 19th century. One of the low points occurred during the 1930s and was followed by extensive revitalization in the late 1940s, during which period numerous present day evangelists established their ministries.

The modal type of modern deliverance evangelist grew up in a financially poor family in a rural area of a Southern state, and in his childhood experienced disorganization in his primary relationships either because of a break up of the family of orientation or an extensive amount of geographical mobility. In his youth he was restless, supposedly subject to having visions, suffered from his share of illnesses and failed to develop interest in academic endeavors. Whether he defined his father as an "alcoholic" and a "backslider" or as a "righteous man of God," he appeared to have been closer to his mother who was praised by him as a religious and hardworking person.

An evangelist healer is likely to have tried out a series of jobs or attempted to hold a pastorate in a small church until he has decided to "answer God's call" to become a deliverance evangelist.

Supposedly saved from a previously sinful life, the typical evangelist began his travels with a small tent or sought engagements in store front churches, preaching the "Full Gospel" including "divine
healing." But the competition for "souls" is great, and he finds himself using unconventional methods and sensational publicity, at least occasionally, in his struggle for survival. Not infrequently he might for security accept the pastorate of a small church and continue to perform both the role of a minister and of an evangelist. At the first signs that his following is growing, he might start to publish a bulletin or some pamphlets. He might even undertake some other ventures such as overseas missions.

Different types of people appear at revivals: a few antagonists, some observers and seekers and occasionally even fanatics. But mostly there are the ordinary believers--the majority being lower and working class women--whose loyalty the evangelist has to win and preserve to be able to continue in his ministry.

The personality of these believers seemed to differ in a complimentary manner from that of the evangelist. Whereas the latter tended to be aggressive, self-confident, authoritarian, extroverted, and all-knowing, many of the people appeared to be meek, non-aggressive, guilt-ridden, shy, introverted, uncertain and to a degree masochistic.

The more successful the evangelist becomes, the less likely his followers will be able to get personal attention from him. However, there is also a greater variety of formalized channels, such as books, magazines, prayer cloths, TV and radio programs, and telephone service to a prayer group, through which "aid" may be obtained. Nevertheless, the most important setting of interaction remains the revival meeting.

At the revival meetings a number of needs of the believers--whether of social, psychological or biological nature--may be met.
Unable to afford a press agent, some of them still can receive recognition and publicity through their testimonies. The believers can relieve their guilt feelings through public confessions and "getting saved." Their anxieties and insecurities might be soothed by "meaningful" explanations of the complex world around them and the presentation of God as a loving, fatherly figure "to Whom all His children are important." The indulgence in trance and glosso-lalia might release bent-up emotions and provide sacred, mystical experiences. Excitement is provided by such events as the performance of "miracles." The music, stories and other presentations provide entertainment which some have claimed to be superior in quality to much that is available from the entertainment industry. Then there are the promises for health, wealth and happiness. Many would agree that probably numerous psychosomatic cases are helped at the revivals.

For the other categories of people the healers might also perform various functions such as provide hope for the seekers, diversion for the observers, and a sense of mission for the antagonists.

A great deal of research remains yet to be done in the area of deliverance evangelism. For example, since indications are that faith healing practices as an alternative to scientific medicine continue to attract large numbers of people, it would be important to study more definitively the type of disorders that are represented in the followers of healing evangelists, and the changes, if any, that take place as a result of participating in these practices. A significant
area of research, for which, however, data would be difficult to obtain, is that of the decision making processes that result in the acceptance and participation of followers in faith healing activities.
APPENDIX A
GUIDES FOR OBSERVATIONS

Observations conducted were primarily oriented to the collection of information about the following phenomena:

1. The characteristics and activities of the healers, including such items as their expressed beliefs and attitudes in regard to illnesses, the medical profession, and their audience; "treatment" of the sick; general appearance; demographic characteristics; and other selected items.

2. The characteristics and activities of the audience, including such items as their reactions to the evangelist; approximations as to sex, race and age distributions and variations in these distributions by size of the audience; testimonies, especially in regard to health; and engagement in trance and glossolalia.

3. Characteristics of the revival meetings especially in regard to the healings—how people obtain access to the "treatment" of their "ailments," types of "ailments" treated, and types of evidence presented to sustain belief in "miraculous" healings.

The interest in this dissertation was in the healing aspect and, hence, the emphasis upon this phenomena. No attempt was made to become involved in the theological aspects of the "healing crusades."
### APPENDIX B

**TABLES**

**TABLE I**

**SOME OF THE OCCUPATIONS HELD BY THE DELIVERANCE EVANGELISTS PRIOR TO ENTERING EVANGELISM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pastor or preacher</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salesman or small business</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory worker</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A series of unskilled odd jobs</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No previous occupation</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jazz musician, singer or actor</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White collar and clerical</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>60</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE II

DATE OF BIRTH OF THE
DELIVERANCE EVANGELISTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before 1910</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-1919</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-1929</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-1939</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940 and after</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE III

REGION AND DIVISION OF BIRTH OF THE
DELIVERANCE EVANGELISTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North East</td>
<td>New England</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Middle Atlantic</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Central</td>
<td>East North Central</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>West North Central</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South*</td>
<td>South Atlantic</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>East South Central</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>West South Central</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>Mountain</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pacific</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total born in the United States</td>
<td>51*</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*For one evangelist only region was reported.
### TABLE IV

**TYPE OF AREA OF BIRTH OF THE DELIVERANCE EVANGELISTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Area</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farm</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village or small town</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium or large city</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>38</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE V

**SEX AND RACE OF THE DELIVERANCE EVANGELISTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Race*</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>American Indian</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>130</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Persons of mixed race but primarily white were included with the whites.
### TABLE VI

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS OF THE DELIVERANCE EVANGELISTS’ FAMILY OF ORIENTATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-Economic Class</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower middle and middle middle</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper middle and upper</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE VII

**THE OCCUPATION OF THE FATHER OF THE DELIVERANCE EVANGELISTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelist, preacher or missionary</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(including farmer-preacher)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled and semi-skilled laborer</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small businessman</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE VIII

**RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF THE PARENTS OF THE DELIVERANCE EVANGELISTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Affiliation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No religion</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>54</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE IX

**STABILITY OF THE FAMILY OF ORIENTATION OF THE DELIVERANCE EVANGELISTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stability of Parents' Marriage</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Broken</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unbroken</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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