ECCLESIAL AND WORLD VIEW CHARACTERISTICS OF CATHOLIC CHARISMATIC RENEWAL GROUPS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Keith Robert Chappell

Blackfriars Hall, Oxford

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Abstract

The Catholic Charismatic Renewal is one of the largest movements within the global Catholic Church and has been a significant part of Catholicism in the United Kingdom for nearly fifty years. In terms of theology, ethos and social structure it is poorly understood with little academic or critical analysis of the movement. This study seeks to address this through ethnographic research and theological analysis of the beliefs, behaviour and worldview of several expressions of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal in Britain and Northern Ireland. In doing so there is also an aim to evaluate the efficacy and value of three analytical approaches used by previous studies of religious groups and to consider their applicability in a broader context.

The research reveals a diverse movement that is expressed through a broad range of groups and devotions, from covenant communities to small parish groups. Some key themes in ethos and theology were evident in all expressions of the movement, most important amongst these being eschatology. The role of cognitive dissonance in the development of this eschatology is considered as is the integration of the Charismatic movement into the host Catholic Church. A central role for Marian devotion in this process of catholicisation is identified and associated with the diversity of current expressions which represent differing stages in this process.

The methodological approaches used are critically evaluated and, whilst value is identified in each one, the greatest potential for deep understanding and broader comparative studies is seen in the narrative approach put forward by James Hopewell. This approach is seen as allowing depth of understanding and a more nuanced consideration of apparently opposing beliefs or phenomena. Additionally, such a narrative approach is seen as having applicability beyond limited social and theological contexts.

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Chapter 1. Introduction.

Global Pentecostalism has become something of a religious and social phenomenon in recent decades, gaining enormous ground around the world, including in areas previously dominated by more established religions.[1] Estimates of the extent of Pentecostalism in its broadest sense vary widely but some place the figure in the region of six hundred million.[2] As David Martin observes, part of the difficulty in determining membership of Pentecostalism, and its social impact and relevance, is the problem of deciding which groups to include.[3] Pentecostalism is a diverse phenomenon and includes both those members of Pentecostal churches and members of charismatic movements within established denominations including Catholic, Anglican and Protestant traditions; each with some theological and praxis aspects in common, which will be considered further later. If, however, a figure in the region of six hundred million is accepted then this suggests that something in the order of one quarter of the world's Christians have some form of Pentecostal or Charismatic affiliation and making

[1] For example, see Hefner, R.W. (Ed) *Global Pentecostalism in the 21st Century* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2013) and Lindhardt, M. (Ed) *New Ways of Being Pentecostal in Latin America* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2016).

[2] In 2011 the Pew Research Center estimated total global Pentecostal and Charismatic membership at 584,080,000. This was broken down into 279,080,000 Pentecostal and 304,990,000 Charismatics (defined as belonging to non-Pentecostal denominations yet engaging in 'spiritual practices associated with Pentecostalism'. *Global Christianity – A Report on the Size and Distribution of the World's Christian Population*. Pew Research Center Forum on Religion and Public Life, December 19th 2011. http://www.pewforum.org/2011/12/19/global-christianity-exec/ . Anderson puts the total figure of Pentecostals in the region of half a billion, see: Anderson, A.H. *To The Ends of the Earth: Pentecostalism and the Transformation of World Christianity*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p.1.

[3] Martin, D. 'Pentecostalism: An Alternative Form of Modernity and Modernization?'. In: Hefner, R.W. (Ed) *Global Pentecostalism in the 21st Century* (2013), pp.37-60.

it second only to Roman Catholicism in size.[4] Of the estimated three hundred million or so members classified as 'charismatics' the largest group within this form of Pentecostalism are Catholic Charismatics, with some estimates exceeding 120 million members.[5]

As a result of its size and rapid development, Pentecostalism has received considerable academic attention from theologians, historians, psychologists, sociologists and anthropologists.[6] Yet, to the best of my knowledge the study described here is one of very few critical studies of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal (CCR) in the United Kingdom to be carried out over a history of the movement that is now almost fifty years long.[7] This is not to say that the group has been entirely ignored but, as is discussed later in more depth, most of the attention has come from within the movement itself with figures such as Peter Hocken, Ian Petit, Charles Whitehead, Tony Hanna and Thomas Flynn providing valuable insights into the nature of the CCR in the UK and the closely related movement in Ireland.[8] Each of these authors, however, has a

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[4] The global Christian population is estimated to be in the region of two billion. *Global Christianity – A Report on the Size and Distribution of the World's Christian Population*. Pew Research Center Forum on Religion and Public Life, December 19th 2011.

[5] Hefner, R.W. 'The Unexpected Modern – Gender, Piety, and Politics in the Global Pentecostal Surge'. In: Hefner, R.W. (Ed) *Global Pentecostalism in the 21st Century*, (2013), p.28 (note 2). See also: Whitehead, C. "Catholic Charismatic Movement" In: Burgess, S. (Ed). *Encyclopedia of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity*. (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp.80-84.

[6] For an introduction to studies of Pentecostalism see: Cox, H. *Fire From Heaven* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 1995); Anderson, A. *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) and Burgess, S. (Ed) *Encyclopedia of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

[7] See also Mather, A.R. *The Theology of the Charismatic Movement in Britain from 1964 to the Present Day*. (Ph.D Thesis: University of Wales, 1983); and Owen, P.C. *A Study of the Ecumenical Nature of Charismatic Renewal: with particular reference to Roman Catholic and Anglican Charismatic Renewal in England* (PhD Thesis: University of Birmingham, 2007).

[8] See: Hocken, P. *Streams of Renewal*. (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1997); Hocken, P. *Blazing the Trail*. (Stoke-on-Trent: Bible Alive, 2001); Hocken, P. *Church Forward*. (Stoke-on-Trent: Alive Publishing, 2007); Petit, I & Forrest, T. *What is the Catholic Charismatic Renewal?* (London: National Service Committee for CCR, 1980); Petit, I. *The God Who Speaks*. (Luton: New Life Publishing, 1989); Petit, I. *You Will Receive Power*. (Luton: New Life Publishing, 1994); Whitehead, C. *The Nature of the Catholic*

confessional link to the movement and is clear that their analysis and presentation of the CCR is to be understood in an apologetic context. One possible exception is Desmond Ryan who devoted part of his study of Catholic Parish life in Birmingham during the 1990s to the CCR.[9] This is by no means an in-depth study of the movement and is restricted somewhat by Ryan's reliance on interview data from clergy rather than the broader lay membership of the Church. Nonetheless, it does suggest an important role for the CCR at a parish level.

This present study concentrates specifically on the CCR, both at the parish level and in national expressions, and seeks to understand the movement at all levels that are encountered in the UK, and to some degree in Ireland. There is no apologetic motive to this study as I have never been a member of the CCR, but neither is there any desire to somehow undermine or reduce the movement to a set of anthropological elements. There is a desire to gain knowledge of the self-understanding of the movement and where it fits within the broader context of British Catholicism in the early 21st Century. In the broader study of Catholicism in the UK the CCR has featured very little in considerations of its sociological nature, with authors such as Hornsby-Smith giving only brief mention of Charismatic Prayer groups in their analysis of twentieth century Catholic life.[10] This does not make the movement unique as most studies of

Charismatic Renewal. (Luton: Goodnews Books, 2003); Hanna, T. *New Ecclesial Movements*. (New York: Alba House, 2006); Flynn, T. *The Charismatic Renewal and the Irish Experience* (London: Hodder and Stoughton; 1974). See pages 14 ff. here for further consideration of studies of the CCR in the UK.

[9] Ryan, D. *The Catholic Parish* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1996).

[10] Hornsby-Smith acknowledges a role for the CCR in English Catholicism but sees the movement as significant only in producing a number of prominent members of the 'lay elite'. This is surprising as his study focusses on the period 1973-1983 during which the CCR were a high-profile phenomenon. Hornsby-Smith, M. *Roman Catholics in England: Studies in Social Structure Since the Second World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p.142.

Catholicism in the UK have been focussed on hierarchical developments, the nature of parish life more generally and family life in particular.[11] Whilst parish and family life are touched upon in this consideration of the CCR they are not taken as a particular focus as the aim is to understand the broader theological and social narratives that bind together quite different expressions of the CCR, rather than to analyse the parish and domestic structures of the Catholic Church in the British Isles. This does not mean that the nature and history of the CCR in the UK should be understood independently of these matters. On the contrary, the development of the movement since its origins in the late 1960s can only be fully understood in the context of the ecclesial and social developments during this period and these elements form a backdrop to the more specific forms of analysis used in this study. Ecclesiologically, the development of the CCR is largely a post-Vatican II phenomenon and so must be understood as part of the Church adapting to the implications of the Council. There have also been substantial demographic and social changes in the Church and more broadly in the UK, these are considered in detail in the analysis of the data presented in this study and are crucial in understanding the phenomena observed in all groups encountered here.

This study, then, is novel in the context of the UK CCR but it also stands within a tradition of theological, sociological and anthropological studies of the CCR internationally. These studies have primarily been of the CCR in the United States through the work of scholars such as Meredith McGuire, Mary-Jo Neitz and Thomas

[11] Harris, A. *Faith in the Family*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Hornsby-Smith, M. *Roman Catholics in England: Studies in Social Structure Since the Second World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987; Hornsby-Smith, M. *Roman Catholic Beliefs in England: Customary Catholicism and Transformations of Religious Authority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Csordas.[12] Diverse in their aims and methods, these studies have revealed the CCR to be a distinctive group within mainstream Catholicism, exhibiting important similarities and differences when compared to other Pentecostal and charismatic groups. As little work has been carried out beyond the North American context this study contributes not only to the understanding of British Catholicism but also to the broader understanding of the Catholic Charismatic movement.

A third area of novelty in this study is in its methodological approach, particularly in the application of James Hopewell's narrative analysis in which the anthropological form of study epitomised by Clifford Geertz is brought together with the literary analysis of Northrop Frye.[13] Hopewell's approach has been applied in the context of congregational studies and in the anthropological study of particular Protestant and Pentecostal groups but there appear to be no other applications to Catholic studies nor in seeking to identify unifying themes in diverse groups.[14] Here the literary genres of Frye are used to expand on existing attempts to classify charismatic groups and in doing so they have provided some meaningful anthropological insight into the nature and self-understanding of the individual groups and the bonds that connect them. In this way the movement has been considered almost as a tribe, placing the approach alongside

[12] McGuire, M.B. *Pentecostal Catholics: Power, Charisma, and Order in a Religious Movement.* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982); McGuire, M.B. *Ritual Healing in Suburban America.* (New Brunswick & London: Rutgers University Press, 1988); Neitz, M.J. *Charisma and Community*. (Oxford: Transaction Books, 1987); Csordas, T.J. *The Sacred Self: A Cultural Phenomenology of Charismatic Healing*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1994); Csordas, T.J. *Language, Charisma, & Creativity*. (New York: Palgrave, 1997).

[13] Hopewell, J.F. *Congregation: Stories and Structures*. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987).

[14] Percy, M. "Adventure and Atrophy in a Charismatic Movement: Returning to the 'Toronto Blessing'" *Journal of Contemporary Religion.* 20, (1) (2005): 71-90.

scholars such as Simon Coleman or Matthew Guest.[15] Perhaps more tellingly, the CCR presents as a tribe in diaspora; in a strange land both in terms of the Catholic Church and wider culture. It is in the narratives unpacked through Hopewell's approach that this becomes most apparent.

1.1 A Troublesome Problem

To be 'Catholic' and 'Pentecostal' is undoubtedly an oxymoron. It certainly seems so to many people of Catholic, and non-Catholic, backgrounds encountered during the course of this study and in casual conversation regarding the Catholic Charismatic Renewal. For many Catholics the response to the notion of 'Catholic Pentecostalism' is one of genuine surprise and elicits comments along the lines of one young woman in Birmingham who stated: "*I didn't know we had that sort of thing in the Catholic Church*". For others, the comments reflect those of one Baptist parishioner who commented "*I can't imagine the bishops and the pope like that too much*". And yet, the Catholic Charismatic Renewal is one of the largest, perhaps the largest, of the new movements in the Catholic Church.[16] Despite some initial suspicion from the Church hierarchy the CCR has received open support from all popes since its emergence in the late 1960s and can be found globally; including as a well-established part of the Catholic Church in the United Kingdom.[17] Perhaps one of the most challenging

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[15] Coleman, S. *The Globalisation of Charismatic Christianity: Spreading the Gospel of Prosperity*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Guest, M. *Evangelical Identity and Contemporary Culture: A Congregational Study in Innovation.* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2007).

[16] Here, and throughout, the terms Catholic Pentecostalism and Catholic Charismatic Renewal will function as largely interchangeable except in the context of some of the early debates within the movement about self-identity.

[17] Support has openly been given in talks and in writing by Paul VI, John Paul II, Benedict XVI and Francis. For summaries of the relationship between the CCR and the Catholic hierarchy see: Hocken, P. *Church Forward*. (Stoke-on-Trent: Alive Publishing, 2007) *passim*; Maurer, S.A. *The Spirit of Enthusiasm*. (Lanham: University Press of America, 2010), pp.36-47; O'Connor, E.D. *Pope Paul and*

aspects of the movement that restricts both public and academic understanding is its dispersed and diverse nature, with many manifestations that may be more or less obvious as being Pentecostal, or charismatic, in origin or, less frequently, not obviously Roman Catholic in nature.

An initial survey of literature about the Catholic Charismatic Renewal (CCR) indicates an early flurry of publications from Catholic scholars soon after the beginnings of the movement in the late 1960s and through to the end of the 1970s. There is some independent academic interest but the majority of writing about the movement is from those who are either members of the movement, such as O'Connor and Ford, sympathetic Catholics such as Fichter or members of the Church hierarchy who presented sympathetic and unsympathetic views but largely based on ecclesiological and pastoral grounds rather than any systematic study.[18]

The more academic studies, by sociologists and anthropologists such as McGuire, Neitz and Csordas have presented some extremely useful insights and methodological approaches for the study of Catholic charismatics. However, they do so essentially from outside the movement and the host Church. Thus, whilst they bring some degree of objectivity they lack some insight into the nuance and intimate detail brought by the less objective studies mentioned above. This study seeks to draw on some of the strengths of both groups of studies of the CCR in order to provide an intimate insight

the Spirit. (Notre Dame: Ave Maria Press, 1978). Also: Address of Pope Francis to participants in the 37th National Convocation of the Renewal in the Holy Spirit. Sunday, 1 June 2014. There is no evidence of formal support from John Paul I but as his papacy lasted only 33 days it seems appropriate to discount such absence as significant.

[18]Fichter, J.H. *The Catholic Cult of the Paraclete*. (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1975); Ford, J.M. *Which Way for Catholic Pentecostals?* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976); O'Connor, E.D. *The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church*. (Notre Dame: Ave Maria Press, 1971); Suenens, L.J. *A New Pentecost?* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1975).

into the CCR in the UK, what Clifford Geertz terms a 'thick description'; whilst aiming to maintain a degree of objectivity found in serious academic study.[19] What follows in the rest of this chapter is a presentation of the origins and history of the CCR, including an introduction to the importance of understanding the diverse narratives and mythological structures that can be presented when considering history. There will also be some initial consideration of the history of the CCR in the UK within the context of the development of New Movements in the Catholic Church and of Pentecostalism more generally. There will then be a survey of existing studies of the CCR from both internal and external sources with a view to finding complementarity in the approaches and to assess the potential to draw them together for a fuller picture of this important and intriguing movement within the Catholic Church.

1.2 Introduction to the Catholic Charismatic Renewal in the UK

The Catholic Charismatic Renewal (CCR) is one of the new, largely lay, movements in the Catholic Church with activity recorded in 235 countries and, if the estimates mentioned above of global membership exceeding 100 million are correct, then it can comfortably claim to be the largest of all new movements in the Church by at least an order of magnitude.[20] In the UK the movement has been active since the

[19] Geertz, C. *The Interpretation of Cultures.* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

[20] Whitehead, C. "Catholic Charismatic Movement" In: Burgess, S. (Ed). *Encyclopedia of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity.* (New York: Routledge, 2006) p.81. Estimates of membership are highly uncertain and range up to 250 million, but even conservative estimates appear to suggest membership at approximately 100 million, slightly under 10% of all Catholics. What is unclear in these estimates is whether they assume active participation in groups or simply a spirituality and practice informed by past

late 1960s and reports several hundred active prayer groups in parishes throughout the country with regular membership estimated in the tens of thousands. Additionally, some twenty or so residential and non-residential communities throughout the UK are also affiliated with the movement and several educational and evangelizing organisations.[21] The influence of Catholic Charismatics also extends beyond the discernible boundaries of the movement with several significant organisations within the UK Catholic Church having a high proportion of Charismatics in senior positions and some degree of heritage from the movement.[22] This last point is not insignificant as it represents a deliberate policy of the movement since 1994 to function as a dispersed entity and to operate in all areas of Church life.[23] Perhaps the most high-profile manifestation of the CCR in the UK is through large gatherings and

involvement in the CCR. The international body for the CCR, ICCRS, claims on its website that the CCR "has touched the lives of over 120,000,000 Catholics", with the majority of members (73 million) in Latin America and approximately 11 million in Europe. (http://www.iccrs.org/en/the-ccr/, last accessed 10/12/15). In comparison, *Opus Dei* claims a membership in the region of about 85,000 in 66 countries (www.opusdei.org; www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/christianity/subdivisions/opusdei.shtml); The Neocatechumenal Way, 1 million (www.neocatechemunal.blogspot.co.uk); Focolare, 2 million (www.foclare.org); the Cursillo movement is difficult to quantify in terms of membership as most of its activities centre around three day retreats rather than ongoing group membership, although this does exist; Community and Liberation claims to be active in 90 countries, with the largest number of adherents being in Italy with approximately 100,000 members (http://uk.clonline.org/).

[21] The absence of a single organisation with oversight and the fluid nature of membership makes the capture of precise statistics regarding the size of the movement in the UK difficult. For example, during this study it was found that several participants were members of more than one prayer group. The data presented here were gathered from an interview with the editor of Good News magazine, Kristina Cooper (see section 3.2.4).

[22] For example, the Maryvale Institute which is one of the largest providers of Catholic adult education in the UK has had Charismatics in the roles of Director, senior tutor, and several course directors. Similarly, the Catholic Bible School is run by Charismatics, and many of the staff of the Bishops' Conference agency for evangelisation staff are from a Charismatic background (Interview with Kristina Cooper, Editor of Good News Magazine). The largest provider of Catholic resources for parish evangelisation, Catholic Faith Exploration (CaFE), is founded and staffed by charismatics and is part of the CREW Trust (Charismatic Renewal in England and Wales). See www.faithcafe.org.

[23] In 1994 a meeting of the national steering committee of the CCR in England and Wales decided to move away from what was seen as a tendency for Charismatics to operate outside the parish structures in forming their own groups, communities and having national meetings. The national organisation was radically reduced, and a decision made to encourage members to integrate into parishes through local meetings and involvement in parish activities. A particular priority was seen to be evangelisation and catechesis. (Interview with Kristina Cooper, Editor of Good News magazine).

conferences such as ‘New Dawn’ and ‘Celebrate’ which have been operating in various forms since the 1970s and even today attract thousands of participants.[24] These seem to provide important moments for the national integrity of the movement which appears to have little national structure other than the regular publication of ‘Good News’ magazine, with a circulation of three thousand copies, and the existence of the CREW Trust, a charitable body with some degree of strategic overview of the CCR in the UK.[25]

In many ways the UK CCR is ill-defined as an organization with no clear structure or leadership and little by way of formal criteria for membership. Yet, many of the trappings of a formal movement exist with these journals, conferences and gatherings, a publishing house (New Life Publishing[26]) and a name that most Catholics encountered in this study recognized, even if they were unable to define quite what the movement was. What is also interesting is that many members of Charismatic prayer groups and those attending conferences organized by Charismatic groups do not immediately identify themselves and members of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal but, rather, simply as members of their prayer group or as participants in an event. Others, however, appear to define the main practice of their faith as being Charismatic and give a large proportion of their time and energy to the development and sustaining of this identity. This study seeks to examine the broad movement that comes under the

[24] The main Celebrate family conference in Ilfracombe has a typical attendance of 1500 and operates most years. Additionally, there are ten regional Celebrate conferences attracting between 300 and 500 participants. See ‘Celebrate’ magazine (undated) and http://www.celebrateconference.org/. ‘New Dawn’ in Walsingham also runs most years and attracts upwards of 400 people (Prince of Peace Community: http://www.newdawn.org.uk/history-of-new-dawn.html).

[25] www.ccr.org.uk/about-ccr/the-nsc/

[26] See: www.goodnewsbooks.net

seemingly vague definition of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal in the UK and considers the points of unity and divergence across the many manifestations and asks to what extent the CCR can be considered as a movement in theological terms or whether it is simply a loose conglomeration of organisations united by outward phenomena and a shared history. Also, the critical question of where these groups and the broader movement see themselves in the wider trajectory of their history; do they see themselves as just beginning, as established or, perhaps, towards the end of their time as a distinct force in the life of the Church? Clearly, an important part of understanding this is gaining a picture of the origins of the movement.

1.3 Origins

> "Duquesne University in Pittsburgh was the source of the first group of Catholic Pentecostals. In mid-February 1967 a group made up mostly of students who had been meeting for some time previously to study scripture and pray decided to make a weekend retreat. The orientation of the retreat was to be the Holy Spirit, and in preparation they had each read *The Cross and the Switchblade* and the first four chapters of the Acts of the Apostles. During the retreat they discussed what it meant to receive the Holy Spirit and how they might make a fuller commitment to Jesus so that He would really reign as Lord of their lives. They prayed together, and some laid hands on one another and they were baptised in the Spirit. Shortly afterwards they started a prayer meeting and it did not take long for the movement to spread to Notre Dame, and to many other places throughout the United States." (from Flynn: *The Charismatic Renewal and the Irish Experience*, p.21)

This account of the origins of Catholic Pentecostalism from Thomas Flynn's 1974 book on the Irish experience of the CCR is fairly typical of the vast majority of literature relating to the history of the movement, from both internal and external

sources.[27] At first glance these origins seem to be remarkably clear cut with a defined time and place in February 1967 with a group from Duquesne University at a centre near Pittsburgh in the USA. Few religious movements can identify so clearly a point in time or geographical location for their beginnings. Another distinctive feature of the movement is that is does not find its origins rooted in a single charismatic leader or founder, the CCR today traces its origins to this group of students and academic staff from Duquesne University who experienced 'Baptism in the Spirit' during the retreat. Most accounts of the beginnings of the CCR agree on this point.[28] Whilst all members of the group were Catholics some of the staff on the retreat had been involved with Protestant Pentecostal prayer groups in the months prior to the retreat and had experienced the phenomenon of Baptism in the Spirit before the February 1967 weekend. Also of significance in the run up to the 'Duquesne weekend' was the involvement of staff with the Cursillo movement and a meeting with two key figures in the later development of the CCR, Steve Clark and Ralph Martin, in August of 1966.[29]

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[27] For example, see: Cooper, K. *Introduction to the Charismatic Renewal* (CTS); *40 Years: Catholic Charismatic Renewal* (Good News Special Edition, 2007); Fichter, J.H. *The Catholic Cult of the Paraclete*. (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1975), p.25; Gallagher-Mansfield, P. *As By a New Pentecost*. (Steubenville, Ohio: Franciscan University Press, 1992), pp.3-28; Gelpi, D.L. Pentecostalism: A Theological Viewpoint. (New York: Paulist Press, 1971), pp.4-5 (NB. Gelpi erroneously gives the year of the Duquesne weekend as 1966); Hanna, T. *New Ecclesial Movements*. (New York: Alba House, 2006) pp.77-78; Mather, A.R. *The Theology of the Charismatic Movement in Britain from 1964 to the Present Day.* (Ph.D Thesis: University of Wales, 1983, p.19; Maurer, S.A. *The Spirit of Enthusiasm: A History of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal, 1967 -2000*. (Lanham: University Press of America, 2010), pp.27-33; O'Connor, E.D. *The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church*. (Notre Dame: Ave Maria Press, 1971); Poloma, M. *The Charismatic Movement: Is There a New Pentecost?* (Boston: Twayne, 1982), p.15; Ranaghan, K and Ranaghan, D. *Catholic Pentecostals*. (New York: Paulist Press, 1969); Suenens, L.J. *A New Pentecost?* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1975), pp.72-76; Sullivan, F.A. *Charisms and Charismatic Renewal: A Biblical and Theological Study*. (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1982), p.14.

[28] For the most detailed accounts of this origin story see: Gallagher-Mansfield, P. *As By a New Pentecost*. (Steubenville, Ohio: Franciscan University Press, 1992); Maurer, S.A. *The Spirit of Enthusiasm: A History of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal, 1967 -2000*. (Lanham: University Press of America, 2010) and Ranaghan, K and Ranaghan, D. *Catholic Pentecostals*. (New York: Paulist Press, 1969).

[29] Laurentin, R. *Catholic Pentecostalism* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1977) p.11.; Maurer, S.A. *The Spirit of Enthusiasm: A History of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal, 1967 -2000*. (Lanham:

Both Clark and Martin had become interested in Pentecostal spirituality and experienced Baptism in the Spirit prior to the events at the Duquesne retreat. At the retreat, participants experienced a range of phenomena typical of those reported by those experiencing Baptism in the Spirit in the CCR today, and common in broader Pentecostal experience. Perhaps the most comprehensive account of what happened that weekend, and immediately after, is provided by Patti Gallagher-Mansfield (then Gallagher) in her memoir *As By A New Pentecost.*[30] A sense of the presence of the Holy Spirit, reports of heat and burning in limbs, a sensation of soaking, and the rapid appearance of gifts such as speaking in tongues (glossolalia), prophecy, casting out evil spirits and healing are all reported in this first appearance of Catholic Pentecostalism. A period of rapid expansion and evangelisation is also reported and by the end of the 1960s the CCR was an international organisation with a headquarters in the USA but some degree of presence in most western countries, including the United Kingdom.

Whilst this is the typical account of the origins of the CCR and is certainly the most likely to be recounted in conversation with a member of the UK CCR, or to be given in a talk at a conference or during Life in the Spirit seminars it is not, however, the only account that appears to circulate within the UK CCR regarding the origins of the movement.[31] Conversations with several members of the UK CCR revealed an

University Press of America, 2010). pp. 23-27. The relationship between the CCR and other Catholic movements will be considered in more depth later.

[30] Gallagher-Mansfield, P. *As By a New Pentecost*. (Steubenville, Ohio: Franciscan University Press, 1992).

[31] Life in the Spirit Seminars are the typical catechetical preparation for recruitment to the movement and contain within them a session including Baptism in the Spirit. Typically, one of the talks during the seminar series will involve some account of the origins of the movement. In the three seminar series attended for this study the account of the Duquesne weekend was included in either the first talk or the session on Baptism in the Spirit (usually session 5). See Boucher, T. *The New Life in the Spirit Seminars*

alternative account that suggested a development independent of the events near Pittsburgh in February 1967. These accounts traced the origins of the CCR to the start of the Pentecostal movement at the very beginning of the twentieth century.

In this alternative account of the beginnings of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal the starting point is some seventy years earlier in 1897 with the issuing of the encyclical letter *Divinum illud* by Pope Leo XIII.[32] In this encyclical Leo XIII calls for a renewal in the understanding of the role of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the life of grace; a significant step away from the emphasis on 'actual grace' following the Council of Trent.[33] The story typically continues with the influence of Blessed Elena Guerra, foundress of the Oblate Sisters of the Holy Spirit, who petitioned Leo XIII over eight years to call for greater devotion to the Holy Spirit in the Church. Leo XIII called for a novena at the beginning of the new century to pray for a new Pentecost. On January 1st 1901 Leo XIII is reported to have prayed for a renewed coming of the Holy Spirit in the Church as the new century began. It is claimed that he spent time in private prayer and sang the *Veni Creator Spiritus* at the Holy Spirit window in St Peter's Basilica. His answer came immediately with the occurrence that same day of a coming of the Holy Spirit in a similar way to that described in chapter 2 of the Acts of the Apostles. The chosen group was not Catholic but a group of Protestants in Kansas at Bethel College and Bible School in Topeka. A range of gifts were experienced by members and one woman, Agnes Ozman, prayed in tongues, a gift which was rapidly

Team Manual (Catholic Edition) (Locust Grove, VA: National Service Committee, 2000) for an overview of the Life in Spirit Seminars.

[32] Leo XIII. *Divinum illud* full text available at: www.vatican.va/holy_father/leo_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_09051897_divinum-illud-munus_en.html.

[33] The Catholic Church defines 'actual grace' as "God's interventions, whether at the beginning of conversion or in the course of the work of sanctification" (*Catechism of the Catholic Church*, §2000).

to become one of the defining features of Pentecostalism and the Charismatic Renewal. One published account of the origins of the CCR which describes events in this way can be found in *The Spirit and the Bride say, "Come!"* by Farell and Kosicki, both Catholic priests. In an interesting, and by no means atypical, interpretation of this fulfilment of the Pope's prayers through Protestants they observe:

> *"*The request and prayer of Pope Leo XIII received only a half-hearted response by the shepherds of the Catholic Church, and so the Lord once again turned to the "little ones" and poured out his Spirit. The students at the Bible School in Topeka, Kansas, were ready; they were a humble, praying people, earnestly seeking the Holy Spirit and for a sign of his presence*"*.[34]

In this interpretation we find a clear manifestation of several key themes of the CCR. First amongst these is the role of lay initiative and leadership, often despite resistance at the level of local bishops and clergy. There is, however, a repeated theme in the CCR of papal approval and direct links from lay leaders to several popes and Petrine endorsement of the movement.[35] Embedded within the role of the laity is the link with the 'little ones' which is a direct allusion in Catholic theology to the Virgin Mary (the *anawim* (little one/poor) of God) and to the role of women in particular. Marian themes are again a frequently recurring feature of the CCR which will be explored later. Also of note in this presentation of the origins are the themes of humility and prayer. Notions of humility, obedience and abandonment occur regularly in studies of the CCR, and also occur here in this study.[36] Clearly, this presents a

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[34] Farrell, G.J. & Kosicki, G.W. *The Spirit and the Bride Say, "Come!": Mary's Role in the New Pentecost*. (Asbury, N.J.: AMI Press, 1981), p.4.

[35] See: O'Connor, E.D. *Pope Paul and the Spirit*. (Notre Dame: Ave Maria Press, 1978); Maurer, S.A. *The Spirit of Enthusiasm*. (Lanham: University Press of America, 2010), pp. 41-45.

[36] Neitz, M.J. *Charisma and Community*. (Oxford: Transaction Books, 1987), pp.167-168; McGuire, M.B. *Pentecostal Catholics: Power, Charisma, and Order in a Religious Movement.* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), p.184 ff.

potential tension with the assertion of lay leadership but presents a vital insight into the ability of the CCR to function within the Catholic Church without schism. Prayer is also an important defining characteristic of the CCR, both in term of spirituality and organisationally. Prayer, particularly *glossolalia*, is central to CCR identity and the main expression of the CCR, both in the UK and more broadly, is in the form of prayer groups based in parishes and similar communities, such as chaplaincies and religious congregations. So, within this brief comment on the origins at Topeka we find important themes for the CCR layered on the brief narrative.

Accounts which take 1897 as a starting point then tend to trace a link from the events of 1901 to the Azusa Street revival in Los Angeles in 1906, or in the British context to the beginnings of the Welsh Revival in 1904.[37] The development of Pentecostalism throughout the Twentieth Century is seen as the direct product of the actions and prayers of the Pope, demonstrating his ecumenical and universal authority. The universal call to holiness by Pope John XXIII at the beginning of the Second Vatican Council is presented as a second spur to the development of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal, in particular his prayer for a 'new Pentecost'.[38] In this second account of the origins of the CCR the Duquesne weekend is given a brief mention as a manifestation of the growth of renewal but is not portrayed as the beginnings of the movement. After this point the accounts of the rapid growth of the movement tend to be similar but with different figures seen as central. For example, characters such as

[37] See Whitehead, C. What is the Catholic Charismatic Renewal? In: *Celebrate* (Celebrate Conference, 2010), pp.26-27.

[38] See John XXIII prayer for the success of the Council in Abbott, W. *Documents of Vatican II* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1966), p.793.

Clark and Martin, mentioned above, have little role in the second form of the history whereas Cardinal Joseph Suenens is credited with being a key figure.[39]

These differing accounts of the origins of the CCR are not simply interesting quirks borne out of different understandings of history. They point to some key aspects of the Charismatic Renewal that have formed the development of this study and that have helped form the CCR through the struggle of two opposing and sometimes conflicting views of the CCR itself, of the Church, and of the world.

Origin or creation myths are seminal aspects of the self-understanding of all cultures and societies, and no less so for groups such as the Catholic Charismatic Renewal. Through both written and oral accounts, I have encountered two quite different origin myths for the CCR. The first account given here, based on origins at the Duquesne Weekend in 1967, is by far the most common and is the account put forward by most publications of the movement and is the account typically used by those who study the movement.[40] As Csordas notes, this account has become something of a 'just-so story' recounted by social science authors and is the accepted narrative amongst most mainstream members of the CCR.[41] The second form is not

[39] Cardinal Joseph Suenens, Archbishop of Malines and Brussels was a key supporter of the nascent CCR amongst the hierarchy during the late 1960s and 1970s.

[40]Good News Special Edition: 40 Years of the CCR (2007); Maurer, S.A. *The Spirit of Enthusiasm*. (Lanham: University Press of America, 2010); Laurentin, R. *Catholic Pentecostalism*. (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1977); Fichter, J.H. *The Catholic Cult of the Paraclete*. (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1975); McGuire, M.B. *Pentecostal Catholics: Power, Charisma, and Order in a Religious Movement.* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982); Neitz, M.J. *Charisma and Community*. (Oxford: Transaction Books, 1987); Bord, R.J. and Faulkner, J.E. *The Catholic Charismatics: The Anatomy of a Modern Religious Movement*. (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1983); Poloma, M. *The Charismatic Movement: Is There a New Pentecost?* (Boston: Twayne, 1982); O'Connor, E.D. *The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church*. (Notre Dame: Ave Maria Press, 1971); Cooper, K. *The Catholic Charismatic Renewal*. (London: Catholic Truth Society, 2001).

[41] Csordas, T.J. *Language, Charisma, & Creativity*. (New York: Palgrave, 1997), p.4.

without significance however. It is to be found as the narrative of origin amongst a number of small groups and covenant communities in several places in the UK as well as internationally. In this study, for example, it was the origin story presented by members of the *Cor et Lumen Christi* community and several members of parish prayer groups. In a UK context perhaps the most significant historian within the movement is Peter Hocken who does not place the UK CCR in direct continuity with the Duquesne Group but prefers to present its origins as a development from Classical Pentecostalism in the UK.[42] Whilst Hocken does not trace the origins back to 1897 he does make direct links back to the Welsh Revival of 1904-5 and Azusa Street revival of 1906 and picks up the development of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal from that point, in the process by-passing the standard origin myth and presenting something much more akin to the second form of the origin myth.

In terms of the shape of the origin narratives presented it is interesting that the two types encountered in relation to the CCR fit quite neatly into the two basic forms of creation myth presented by religions. The first form of the narrative which sees the beginning of the Catholic Charismatic Movement occurring in a single event at the Duquesne weekend follows closely the form of creation typified by the Judaeo-Christian tradition and set out in Genesis. As Booker outlines, this form of the myth is unusual and is marked by an account of an active conscious force bringing about creation *ex nihilo.*[43] In this first form of the origin narrative for the CCR the story presents the movement as coming about by a single act of the Holy Spirit on a group of Catholics to bring about a Catholic movement, and more broadly a renewal in the

[42] Hocken, P. *Streams of Renewal*. (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1997).

[43] Booker, C. *The Seven Basic Plots.* (London: Continuum, 2004).

Church, which has no direct lineage with Protestant Pentecostalism. Thus, we are presented with an unquestionably Catholic movement which, whilst exhibiting many features in common with Pentecostalism and open to dialogue, owes nothing to Protestantism and has its authority structure entirely within the Catholic Church.

The second form of creation myth often described involves the seeding of the world by some force or deity, often involving the depositing of an egg. This egg hatches and a primal force or being comes forth. All else in creation is developed or evolves from this primal element. The account of the origins of the CCR which look back to Leo XIII closely follow the pattern of this second form of the myth. Leo XIII's actions and prayers, and the events of January 1st 1901 are seen as 'sowing the seed' of Pentecostalism from which evolved neo-Pentecostalism and the Charismatic movement through a process of developments and changes.[44] In this form of the origin narrative the CCR is an evolved form of Protestant Pentecostalism and owes a direct debt to key figures who were instrumental in its development during the 20th Century.[45] The Catholic credentials of the movement are gained through the presentation of the birth and development of Pentecostalism in its Protestant form as being the direct product of the actions of the Pope and a sign of his authority over all Christians. This is carried forward by the emphasis placed on John XXIII at Vatican II, and the role of Cardinal Joseph Suenens in the growth and development of the CCR during the late 1960s and 1970s. This account not only allows, but necessitates, an ecumenical dimension to the CCR that is not as apparent in the more self-contained

[44] For a clear example of a community's account which uses exactly these terms see www.arlingtonrenewal.org/history

[45] Hocken's account provides a clear sense of this continuity and debt to classical Pentecostalism. Hocken, P. *Streams of Renewal*. (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1997).

nature of the first form of the narrative. It does, however, present a much greater clerical emphasis as it seeks to establish Catholic authority through senior hierarchical figures such as Leo XIII, John XXIII and Cardinal Suenens. The first form of the narrative contains no clerical figures and is focussed solely on a group of lay men and women, taking its Catholic authority from being a movement brought about entirely within the Catholic Church and so not needing clerical origins. It is not unusual, however, for groups presenting either form of the origin narrative to emphasise hierarchical, and especially papal, approval of the movement in the years following its rapid growth.[46]

1.4 A Single Movement?

These differing origin myths immediately suggest some degree of heterogeneity within the CCR, at least on the level of self-identity and heritage. This is perhaps unsurprising as complete homogeneity within any substantial group is unlikely but to have such differing accounts of origins raises questions regarding the theological and ecclesiological self-understanding of the movement both today and during the period following 1967 when the movement became a discernible force within the Catholic Church. It suggests that at least two threads run through the movement and that they may have done so since 1967. It is not clear whether they have happily coexisted over this period or if there has been some form of struggle for dominance between them.

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[46] *Then Peter Stood Up… (Rome: International Catholic Charismatic Renewal Services, 2000),* a collection of Papal statements relating to the Renewal. For a history of the relationship of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal with the Church hierarchy from the perspective of the UK movement see Whitehead, C. *The Nature of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal.* (Luton: Goodnews Books, 2003); Hocken, P. *Blazing the Trail*. (Stoke-on-Trent: Bible Alive, 2001).

Finally, whilst the nature of the origin myths is clear it is not apparent how these differences have shown themselves, if at all, in the structural and theological nature of the movement in its many manifestations. These points guide this study and the interpretation of the phenomena and beliefs observed and professed by members of the movement.

1.5 History of the CCR in the UK and Ireland

Archive material from Good News magazine indicates the presence of ecumenical charismatic prayer groups involving Catholics from as early as June 1969 and correspondence from clergy, religious and laity on the matter. The earliest record is a handwritten letter to a 'Sr Bridgette' on 29th June 1969 telling her that a prayer meeting had been held in the sender's house the previous evening and that "*the Spirit had moved among us*".[47] Similarly, Peter Stanford reports in his biography of Bronwen Astor, who became a significant figure in the CCR in Britain, that she was already engaged in dialogue with charismatic figures by July 1969.[48] The first edition of *Good News* magazine in December 1975, however, reports the beginnings of the movement in England as early 1970.[49] The reference is to the first prayer group so perhaps represents the fruit of these early conversations in mid-1969.

[47] The signature is hard to decipher but appears to be from 'Audrey'. There is no address on the note.

[48] Stanford, P. *Bronwen Astor: Her Life and Times*. (London: Harper Collins, 2000), p.299.

[49] *Good News* magazine, December 1975, p.3.

This early expression of the CCR in Britain appears to be uncoordinated but beginning to develop some sort of identity as a common movement. In May 1973 the first newsletter of the Charismatic Renewal in England and Wales was produced. Initially the newsletter was a simple matter of text produced on a mimeograph machine but in December 1975 this transformed into a more professional production and its name was changed to *Good News*. Importantly, shortly after the publication of the first newsletter in 1973 the National Service for the Catholic Charismatic Renewal in England and Wales (NSC) was formed. From this point on it can be asserted that the CCR has some sense of identity as a movement in the UK. Also in 1973 was the first national conference of the CCR which Mather reports aimed at 'maintaining correct teaching'.[50] If this is correct then this suggests a conscious effort, even at this early stage, to maintain a clear and distinct identity and teaching.

By the time of the first edition of *Good News* in December 1975 the CCR had grown rapidly. In the lead article for the first edition Ian Petit, a Benedictine monk and high-profile speaker in the Renewal, refers to the rapid growth of the movement and the inability of the national conference to meet the needs of the movement following "Hopwood '75".[51] Hopwood Hall was a Catholic teacher training college near Manchester which provided the venue for the first few national conferences but by 1975 had become overwhelmed by numbers. Petit goes on:

> "it seems to me that the time has come for the 'charismatic stems' to set, and this renewal to begin to enter into the very structures and channels of the Church.

[50] Mather, A.R. *The Theology of the Charismatic Movement in Britain from 1964 to the Present Day.* (Ph.D Thesis: University of Wales, 1983).

[51] *Good News* magazine, 1. December 1975, p.1.

Renewal is not for a few, it is for the Church, and we need to pray and discern God's will"[52]. He argues that the Renewal is "not prayer meetings" and that:

"conferences, prayer meetings, days of renewal can also become new ghettos and just run parallel to the Church…the time has come for the thrust to be made towards the renewal of the parish and not just part of it".[53]

It would seem, then, that even at an early stage the leadership of the CCR were concerned about the relationship with the wider Church and keen to avoid being seen as a sect forming within the Catholic Church. Petit's warning may also have been the product of encounters with the Church hierarchy. Mather reports that in a talk in July 1976, "Birth and growth of the National Service Committee to date", Petit indicates that the lay leadership of the movement had struggled with the Church hierarchy in England and Wales who were suspicious of the movement and the lay role within it.[54] It would seem likely that the strategy of devolving out to parishes could have reflected a degree of political pragmatism as well as missionary vision. The appointment of Bishop Langton Fox as the first "Ecclesiastical Assistant to the Catholic Charismatic Renewal" in June 1976 was seen as a landmark moment for the movement and a sign of acceptance by the hierarchy.[55]

Whatever the reasons for the decision to decentralise, it is apparent that by 1977 there was a diocesan structure to the CCR with each diocese having a CCR "Diocesan Service Committee" whose role it was to liaise with local bishops and clergy and to work with them in promoting the Renewal. This seems to have had varying levels of

[52] Ibid. pp.1-2.

[53] Ibid.p3.

[54] Mather, A.R. *The Theology of the Charismatic Movement in Britain from 1964 to the Present Day*, p.22.

[55] *Good News* magazine, 4. June 1976, p.2.

success depending on the relationships developed at local levels. In April 1977 Petit again asserted, as much for the reassurance of the hierarchy as for the membership:

> "Our object is not to spread prayer meetings as such…nor, indeed, to found a movement…our object is to add nothing new to the Church of Jesus Christ, but to bring that Church to the fullness of its inheritance."[56]

By this time, Paul VI had openly shown approval of the CCR internationally and it would seem that in England and Wales the movement had entered into a settled accommodation with the Church.[57] Inspection of Good News magazine indicates that during the rest of the 1970s there was a substantial increase in CCR activity in England and Wales. In 1977 the average number of advertised prayer groups was 249, spread around the country. By 1978 this had risen to 440 groups, although the average reported attendance had dropped from 20 to 16-17; although the largest group size reported had risen from 150 to 200. In 1981 the average group size remained stable, but the number of reported groups rose to 522 (493 in England and 29 in Wales). Another notable shift is that in 1977 most of the listed contacts for groups are priests or members of religious orders, by 1981 the contacts are equally split between laity and priests/religious. This may simply be a sign of the availability of clergy to act as contacts for the growing movement but may equally be a sign that a level of trust on the part of clergy has developed and/or a degree of confidence is becoming manifest amongst the laity. As more than one group in a parish was extremely rare the lack of clergy availability appears less likely.

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[56] Good News magazine, April/May 1977, pp.2-3.

[57] Address to the International Conference on the Charismatic Renewal in the Catholic Church, May 19th 1975. Full text available in O'Connor, E.D. *Pope Paul and the Spirit*. (Notre Dame: Ave Maria Press, 1978), pp.227-235.

In the summer of 1979 the NSC formed the CREW Trust which is a registered charity supporting the activities of the CCR in England and Wales and is still in place today. Kristina Cooper reports that about this time Charles Whitehead became increasingly important in the development and shape of the CCR:

> "the NSC had diverse theological opinions and were pulling in different directions. They were held together by Charles Whitehead and his abilities to encourage individuals to use their own gifts".[58]

It is also notable that at this time there appear to be no CCR covenant communities active in Britain. Mather reports in relation to the need to establish the CREW trust:

> "It was noted that in some countries the work of the Renewal was supported by communities, but that at present such communities did not exist in Britain."[59]

This is a clear allusion to the significant role of communities such as the Word of God Community, Ann Arbor and the People of Prayer Community, South Bend who were important in the growth and development of the CCR in the USA and internationally.[60] Thus, by the end of the 1970s the CCR in Britain had established strong relations with the host Church and developed its own important support structures and administration. By this point it can be considered a movement with a self-identity and some degree of acceptance of its role, which was seen as focussed on

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[58] Interview 09/06/10 at Good News offices (Allen Hall, London).

[59] Mather, A.R. *The Theology of the Charismatic Movement in Britain from 1964 to the Present Day*, p.25.

[60] Ranaghan, D. & Ranaghan, K. *Catholic Pentecostal Today*. (South Bend, IN: Charismatic Renewal Services, 1971); Maurer, S.A. *The Spirit of Enthusiasm*. (Lanham: University Press of America, 2010).

renewal of the existing Church rather than any separate sect or denomination formation.

In Ireland, the early development of the CCR was a little later but appears to have been just a rapid. Flynn reports that the first stirrings of the CCR in Dublin were in the summer of 1971 and associated with correspondence and experiences of some religious sisters from the Medical Missionaries of Mary with connections to the United States and Taiwan.[61] The first prayer meeting was attended by twelve people and took place at Kimmage Manor in Dublin on 14th January 1972.[62] By the time Flynn is writing his book in late 1973 he is able to report numerous prayer groups and conferences taking place in Ireland, with Northern Ireland appearing to be a major driver in the development of the CCR in Ireland.[63] Also by the end of 1973, a small bulletin, later to become the New Creation magazine, was begun and provided articles and news about the CCR in Ireland; providing the beginnings of a national identity to the movement.[64]

Central to the growth and rapid activity, as reported by Kelly and affirmed by Flynn, is the ecumenical dimension of the CCR in Northern Ireland and its perceived role in bringing about cross-community peace.[65] By the end of the 1970s the CCR was strongly established in Ireland, and especially Northern Ireland, with groups across the country, regular conferences and, unlike England and Wales, the beginnings of

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[61] Flynn, T. *The Charismatic Renewal and the Irish Experience*, p.33-40.

[62] Ibid. p.40.

[63] Ibid. pp.46-60.

[64] *Good News*, 67, January 1987, p.21.

[65] Flynn, T. *The Charismatic Renewal and the Irish Experience*, pp.52-58.

Charismatic communities with the Lamb of God community setting up its first house in 1979.[66]

The history of the movement in Scotland is less well documented but Mather reports that the first day of renewal in Scotland took place in Perth on June 1st 1974.[67] By April 1977, *Good News* was able to report the existence of 25 prayer groups in Scotland.[68]

The 1980s saw continued expansion for the CCR throughout Britain and Ireland. The most notable developments during this period were the growth of 'family conferences' and the establishment of numerous covenant communities.[69] Several of these have come and gone, at times with some controversy, but in 2007 *Good News* was able to report nineteen existing communities and regular conferences running under the titles of Celebrate, New Dawn and also Youth 2000; in addition to numerous other activities concerned with formation and evangelisation.[70] Most of the communities listed report their origins during the 80s or early 90s, with a few tracing their heritage to decisions of families to live in commune in the late 1970s. The number of prayer groups appears to show something of a decline by the end of the 1980s with the May 1989 edition listing only 167 groups; notably, however, there are a

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[66] Murphy, L.D. *Believing in Belfast: Charismatic Christianity After the Troubles*. (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2010). See also: Kelly, L. "A New Pentecost in Ireland", In: *Adventures in Reconciliation: Twenty Nine Catholic Testimonies*. Monaghan, P & Boyle, E. (Eds), pp.198-204. (Guildford: Eagle Publishing, 1998).

[67] Mather, A.R. *The Theology of the Charismatic Movement in Britain from 1964 to the Present Day*, p.26.

[68] *Good News*, 9. April 1977, p.14.

[69] Cooper, K. "The Contribution of the Charismatic Renewal to the Catholic Church 40 Years On". In: *Good News, Special Edition "40 Years",* 2007, pp.6-9.

[70] *Good News, Special Edition "40 Years",* 2007, pp.45-59.

considerable number of events and weekends targeted at youth, marriage, families and evangelisation.[71]

The 1990s saw some important shifts of emphasis for the CCR with some degree of re-evaluation of the role of the movement within the Church in Britain. An NSC meeting in 1994 concluded that a concerted effort to reduce the size of the organisation *per se* should be achieved and that the focus should be on parish activities and evangelisation, in line with the calls from Ian Petit some twenty year before. Charles Whitehead decided to expand the already successful Celebrate conferences to form a national event. The first of these took place in Ifracombe during Easter of 1994 with 900 attendees.[72] In 1996 David Payne, then a member of the NSC, was asked to lead the formation of the Catholic Evangelisation Services outreach project of the CCR.[73] This was to go on to become one of the most significant and visible parts of the CCR in the UK, producing numerous resources for evangelisation and parish catechesis; perhaps most notably the Catholic Faith Exploration (CaFE) programme which was marketed as a form of Catholic Alpha programme. As a result of these decisions of the 1990s, the CCR today is defined by its somewhat disparate nature. The CREW trust remains, as does a remnant of the NSC. *Good News* magazine continues as part of the activities of the CREW trust but beyond that the national identity in England and Wales is minimal. National events such as Celebrate and New Dawn are organised independently of any national structure, although with people in common. In Ireland there remains a strong National Service Committee structure who organise a national

[71] *Good News*, 81. May 1989, pp.22-24.

[72] Whitehead, C. "Welcome to Celebrate…How did it all start?" In: *Celebrate*, p.3.

[73] "Sharing the Gospel through the Media" In: *Good News, Special Edition "40 Years",* 2007, pp.38-39.

conference, which will be considered in depth as part of this study.[74] There are also numerous smaller events and gatherings of the CCR in Ireland, sometimes with a specific focus, such as families or youth, or on a regional basis.

1.6 The CCR and other New Movements in the Catholic Church

Throughout this whole period of development of the CCR in Britain and Ireland, and indeed internationally, the Catholic Church was seeking to come to terms with and implement the outcomes of the Second Vatican Council which ended in 1965. The CCR is frequently presented by members as part of the response to Vatican II, in particular the developments proposed in ecumenism, the role of the laity and an openness to new forms of worship.[75] It also fits, however, within a longer tradition of new movements in the Church which appeared during the twentieth century, some lay led and some expansions of religious or clerical institutions. Many of these pre-date Vatican II and the date of 1967 to which many Charismatics look as their origins and they have had a degree of influence on the CCR but also differ substantially from it in terms of charism and, especially, organisation.

Perhaps the most important new movement in relation to the history of the CCR is the *Cursillo* movement, founded by a group of laymen in Majorca in 1944 with the first *Cursillo* taking place in August of that year.[76] The movement offers a range of activities and retreats, including local groups, but at the heart of the movement is the

[74] See, in particular, Chapter 6.

[75] Cooper, K. "The Contribution of the Charismatic Renewal to the Catholic Church 40 Years On". In: *Good News, Special Edition "40 Years",* 2007, pp.6-9.

[76] https://www.natl-cursillo.org/eduardo-bonnin-aguilo/

three day '*Cursillo*' or course which is a formation course aimed at equipping lay people for mission, with a particular focus on living a Christian life within the daily lives of members in their own homes. As such, its devolved and dispersed nature has much in common with the CCR, and particularly the aspirations for its form as set out by Petit and the 1994 decision of the NSC.

As mentioned earlier, central figures in the development of the CCR from its earliest days in the United States were members of the *Cursillo* movement prior to 1967. Most important amongst these were Ralph Martin and Steve Clark who would go on to form important covenant communities in the US and set out much of the earlier structure. It is reasonable to expect that their time in the *Cursillo* movement was influential in this.

The CCR lacks the clerical focus of new movements such as *Opus Dei* which holds a strict clerical structure, including a personal prelature, placing it under direct episcopal control. In *Opus Dei* the laity are seen as important but very much in the role of assisting clergy in the mission of the Church and to be guided and instructed by priests in their choices and apostolic activities. As such, a clear distinction can be made between the nature of the CCR as a movement and that of *Opus Dei* and similar movements, with the CCR being lay led on the whole and lacking the formal structure observed in these movements, which more closely reflect the governance and structure of religious orders.[77] I could find no evidence of direct cooperation or collaboration between *Opus Dei* and the CCR, but neither was there any sense of hostility. Both groups present their movements as helping ordinary Catholics to live Christian lives within the day-to-day. In addition to the governance structures, perhaps the two most

[77] http://opusdei.org/en/section/organization/

significant differences are liturgical, where *Opus Dei* can be considered conservative in style, and also ecumenism, with *Opus Dei* presenting little emphasis on this aspect which has helped to define much of the CCR's development and mission.

Perhaps the closest ongoing relationship between the CCR and one of the other new movements is with *Focolare*. *Focolare* also traces its beginnings to 1944, this time in Trent, Northern Italy, with a single charismatic founder: Chiara Lubich.[78] Unlike the CCR, the primary expression of *Focolare* membership is as '*Focolarini*' who live in single sex communities whilst remaining 'in the world'. There are also more peripheral forms of membership in which married people and families live the spirituality of the movement in daily life, much more akin to CCR membership and particularly those in Covenant Communities who are rarely called to live in single sex communities. Finally, and again in contrast to the CCR, there are religious brothers and sisters, priests and even bishops associated formally with *Focolare*. Both movements appear to be committed to helping the message of the Gospel to permeate daily life, primarily through the acts of lay people. During this study I encountered members of *Focolare* at charismatic conferences where it became apparent that having a charismatic spirituality, whilst not formally part of *Focolare*, was certainly not discouraged and was seen as compatible. Similarly, several members of the CCR in Ireland reported attending *Focolare* events and saw this as part of their Charismatic spirituality. Thus, whilst distinct organisationally, there is certainly a blurred boundary in terms of participation and spirituality amongst the CCR and *Focolare*.

[78] http://www.focolare.org/en/movimento-dei-focolari/storia/

There appears to be little connection between the CCR and other new movements such as *Communion and Liberation* and the *Neocatechumenate*. I found no direct links with these groups and only one comment from a CCR member, which was somewhat negative:

> "I have a nephew in the NeoCats, I don't really know much about them. They seem a bit secretive to me, and his mum isn't that happy about him joining." (Patricia)[79]

Thus, the CCR does not stand in isolation as a movement in the Church. Part of its heritage lies with other movements such as *Cursillos* and some of its development has also been linked with this movement and others such as *Focolare*. It is distinct in many ways though, most notably with the absence of a single founder and the lack of formal ecclesial structures in its governance. As such, it resembles most closely the *Cursillo* movement and there would seem to be considerable permeability between the two movements, with CCR members regular attending *Cursillo* weekends and *Cursillo* members attending Charismatic conferences and events. Both movements seem to have a common goal of revival and renewal in the Catholic Church. It might be too much to suggest that the CCR is some form of offspring from the *Cursillo* movement but there is certainly a familiar relationship.

1.7 Studies of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal

Whilst there have been a number of studies of the Charismatic Renewal in the United States and elsewhere in the world, there has been little academic study of the movement in Britain and thus little information is available outside the literature of the

[79] Appendix 3.4.

movement itself. Generally, this material is not reflective in an academic way and tends to be descriptive of history, core beliefs and practices; it is essentially apologetic in nature.[80]

There is, however, significant literature on the Catholic Charismatic Renewal in North America, and some material on the Pentecostal movement in Britain within Protestant and Anglican traditions.[81] As these are potentially key influences on the UK CCR such studies provide the opportunity to gain important insights into sources of specific beliefs and practices in the UK CCR. An important restriction on this approach is the fact that the majority of studies on the CCR in an international context were carried out at the peak of its popularity during the 1970s and 1980s, with some extending into the 1990s. This means that much of the data is at least twenty years old and does not cover the period from the mid-1990s up to the present time during which important shifts have occurred within the movement and the wider Catholic Church, not to mention wider societal changes such as increased globalisation, technological developments, shifts in societal norms regarding morality, international conflicts often presented in religious terms and financial crisis in the West. Additionally, although subject to similar societal changes, more recent studies of Pentecostal and non-

[80] For example, see: Cooper, K. The *Catholic Charismatic Renewal*. (London: Catholic Truth Society, 2001); Hocken, P. *Streams of Renewal*; Hocken, P. *Blazing the Trail*. (Stoke-on-Trent: Bible Alive, 2001); Whitehead, C. *The Nature of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal.* (Luton: Goodnews Books, 2003).

[81]Guest, M. *Evangelical Identity and Contemporary Culture: A Congregational Study in Innovation.* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2007); McGuire, M.B. *Pentecostal Catholics: Power, Charisma, and Order in a Religious Movement.* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982); McGuire, M.B. *Ritual Healing in Suburban America.* (New Brunswick & London: Rutgers University Press, 1988); Neitz, M.J. *Charisma and Community*. (Oxford: Transaction Books, 1987); Walker, A. *Restoring the Kingdom*. (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1985).

Catholic charismatic groups in the UK do not allow for some important theological and cultural differences between Catholics and other Christians such as the influence of hierarchical controls, ecclesial parameters and the impact of specific immigrant communities such as Polish, Irish, African and Filipino Catholics who have all had significant engagement with the CCR and wider UK Catholic Church. This said, the potential identification of common characteristics and beliefs in the presence of such diversity could provide some important insights into those conservative alleles passed along through the development process of the CCR to its form in the 21st century.

Early in its post 1967 history the movement was subjected to a range of sociological studies with a peak occurring in the mid-1970s. In *The Catholic Cult of the Paraclete* Joseph Fichter surveyed the attitudes and beliefs of members in 155 prayer groups across the USA.[82] In addition to describing many of the now well documented phenomena of the CCR such as lay leadership, emphasis on Scripture reading, charismatic gifts such as healing and prophecy, and the subordination of women, he also identified something of the tension existing between the host Catholic Church and the Protestant influences on the still relatively young CCR. This tension is most clearly manifest in prayer and worship practice which he describes as largely reflecting Protestant Pentecostal worship rather than being rooted in traditional Catholic sacramental practice.[83] Whilst creating some discomfort this was not a major source of theological tension with the host Church. Of more significance is Fichter's finding that many unorthodox beliefs were held and promoted by both individuals in the CCR

[82] Fichter, J.H. *The Catholic Cult of the Paraclete*. (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1975).

[83] Ibid. p.41-42.

and by entire groups.[84] Several Protestant teachings that are heterodox to Catholic belief were identified; including rebaptism, rejection of hierarchical priesthood, exclusive reliance on Scripture, non-denominationalism, denouncement of devotion to Mary and the saints as idolatry, and casting out demons in ways other than through the rite of exorcism. Three normally heterodox statements were tested in his survey: "the Second coming of Jesus is imminent", "accepting Jesus as my personal Savior [*sic*]means that I am already saved", and "the Spirit speaks to the heart-not the mind". Each of these statements elicited a majority positive response (71%, 55% and 51% respectively). Fichter's findings suggest that in the first decade after the beginnings of its rapid expansion both the practice and the beliefs of the CCR in the United States were significantly influenced by Protestant practice and teaching.

Other writers studying the movement at about the same time, such as Ford, report similar evidence of heterodox belief amongst certain groups of Catholic Charismatics, again in the US context.[85] Ford goes on to identify two distinct types of Catholic Charismatic, one of which she regards as heterodox in a range of beliefs and practices. Ford's analysis will be considered in greater detail later and will form part of the analysis used in this study.

Whilst there is little by way of further academic study regarding heterodoxy in the CCR during this period it is clear from literature published within the movement, or by sympathetic writers, that there was a perceived need for apologetic defence of the movement with regard to Catholics rather than towards Protestants or the wider

[84] Ibid. pp.39-58.

[85] Massyngberde-Ford, J. *Which Way Now for Catholic Pentecostals*? (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), pp23-29.

Pentecostal movement. In the US, one of the principal apologists was Edward O'Connor who in a series of books and articles published during the late 1960s and early 1970s stressed the essentially Catholic nature of the CCR in response to questions and criticisms that the movement was facing.[86] In the face of continuing questions O'Connor played his trump card on the matter in 1978 with the book *Pope Paul and the Spirit* in which he addresses criticism through direct reference to the teachings of Pope Paul VI on the matter.[87] O'Connor is careful to acknowledge what might be seen as initial conflicts between the Pope and the early CCR (i.e. post 1967) and presents these as largely relating to authority structures, obedience issues and a perceived anti-institutionalism in the CCR.[88] He also acknowledges that there had been instances of heterodoxy particularly in the area of ecclesiology but largely dismisses these as being the result of errors perpetuated by "pseudocharismatics" who seek to establish a separate charismatic church in opposition to the institutional Church.[89] Whilst O'Connor is clear in his attempts to distance the CCR from such beliefs by using the term "pseudocharismatics" it is apparent that he does recognise a degree of tension existing within the Charismatic movement, some parts of which were expressing views considered heterodox by the hierarchy.

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[86] O'Connor, E.D. "Pentecost and Catholicism" *Ecumenist* 6 (1968), pp. 161-164; O'Connor, E.D. *The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church (*Notre Dame: Ave Maria, 1971); O'Connor, E.D. *Pentecost in the Modern World: The Charismatic Renewal Compared with Other Trends in the Church and the World Today*. (Notre Dame: Ave Maria Press, 1972); O'Connor, E.D. *The Gifts of the Spirit* (London: McGraw Hill/Blackfriars, 1974); O'Connor, E.D. *Perspectives on Charismatic Renewal* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975).

[87] O'Connor, E.D. *Pope Paul and the Spirit*. (Notre Dame: Ave Maria Press, 1978).

[88] Ibid. pp.18-30.

[89] Ibid. p21.

It would seem that this struggle with the tension of coming to understand what it means to be 'Pentecostal' or 'Charismatic' and 'Catholic' defined the early years of the movement and, it can be argued, continues today as those in the movement, and beyond, struggle with what Csordas rightly identifies as an apparently oxymoronic title.[90] In 1973, in response to the struggles on the part of the Church to understand, classify and manage this new and rapidly growing movement Pope Paul VI appointed Cardinal Suenens, Archbishop of Malines-Brussels, to oversee the movement and act as special advisor to the Pope on the matter. This was a critical step in the integration of the movement into the Catholic Church and its recognition as a formal movement of the Church. In his book *A New Pentecost?*, published in 1974, Suenens established a sympathetic and even apologetic tone in his role and was soon to be widely regarded as an advocate for the movement from within.[91] He went on to oversee special conferences in Malines on key topics relating to the Renewal and authored a number of reports on the Charismatic Renewal which were to establish the agenda upon which the CCR was to be formally recognised by the Church. By 1975 Paul VI was concelebrating mass with Cardinal Suenens and addressing 10,000 members of the CCR in Rome and expressing his approval of the movement, and a belief that the CCR was a genuine movement of the Holy Spirit in the Church and in the world, what he called "The Sign of Authentic Renewal".[92] From this moment it was clear that the Catholic Church recognised the possibility of being both 'Catholic' and 'Pentecostal' and that the CCR was regarded as having the potential for good. However, the

[90] Csordas, T.J. *Language, Charisma and Creativity*. (New York: Palgrave, 2001), p.xiv.

[91] Suenens, L.J. *A New Pentecost?* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1975).

[92] Address to the International Conference on the Charismatic Renewal in the Catholic Church, May 19th 1975. Full text available in O'Connor, E.D. *Pope Paul and the Spirit*, pp.227-235.

theological and ecclesial tension remained, with the work of Suenens and the Malines commission continuing well into the 1980s. They were to go on to tackle several contentious theological and pastoral issues such as social action, ecumenism, evil and deliverance, and authority.[93]

Unfortunately, little published data exists for the UK CCR during this important period, but what is clear from archive material is that there was significant interaction between the UK and US during this time as the CCR established itself in Britain. This raises the important question of whether similar beliefs to those reported above were held and promulgated during the early years of the UK CCR and whether they can be found within the UK CCR today. Perhaps the only sociological/theological study of the CCR in the early 1970s to include some reference to the UK is found in Rene Laurentin's 1977 book *Catholic Pentecostalism*, in which he reports acting as a participant observer at Charismatic meetings in England in 1971.[94] Most of his data are drawn from studies in the USA and France but the fact that he does not highlight the UK experience as radically different would seem to suggest some continuity between beliefs and practices in the UK and elsewhere in the world. Again, Laurentin identifies a number of points of tension within the movement and areas of criticism from within and without the institutional Church. He groups these concerns into three areas which he titles 'Institutional Integration and Unity', 'Balance and Authenticity of Spiritual Life', and 'Influence and Involvement'.[95] Under 'Institutional Integration

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[93] *Theological and Pastoral Orientations on the Catholic Charismatic Renewal*. Proceedings of the Malines Conference. (Notre Dame: Word of Life, 1974); Suenens, L.J. *Ecumenism and Charismatic Renewal: Theological and Pastoral Orientations*. (London: Darton Longman & Todd, 1978); Suenens, L.J. *Renewal & the Powers of Darkness*. (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1983).

[94] Laurentin, R. *Catholic Pentecostalism*. (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1977), p.9.

[95] Ibid. pp 163-177.

and Unity' he recognises the ecclesial tensions relating to authority identified by other authors and which clearly concerned Paul VI and Suenens. Chief amongst the concerns are worries that the CCR may form into a separate cult along the lines of those developed from Protestant Pentecostalism and that it may seek to profess sufficiency in its beliefs in the direct experience of the Holy Spirit, and reduce the importance of the practices of the sacramental institution of the Church.

Concerns relating to balance in spiritual life centre on accusations of subjectivism, illuminism, emotionalism, fundamentalism and anti-intellectualism. All of these are classically levelled against Pentecostalism, often by Catholic sources. Influence and Involvement tensions relate to the accusation that Charismatics become so focussed on personal spirituality that they cease to engage in the types of social action and public presence considered essential to the mission of the Church. On the whole, Laurentin acts as an apologist for the movement in all the areas of concern listed and provides a highly sympathetic defence of the beliefs and practices of the CCR, going on to describe the importance of the movement for the future of the Church.

Most publications on the CCR published in the UK during this period are either from within the movement itself or sympathetic descriptions such as Tugwell's *Did You Receive the Holy Spirit?*.[96] There appear to be no extant sociological or objective theological studies of the movement in the UK from this period.

The majority of studies of the CCR are unsurprisingly focussed on the country of origin of the movement: the USA. During the 1970s and 1980s a wide range of studies

[96] Tugwell, S. *Did You Receive the Holy Spirit?* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1972).

were carried out using a variety of methodological approaches which Csordas correctly groups into two types: the statistically homogenous and the parochially homogenous.[97] Statistically homogenous studies such as those of Fichter considered above or Bord and Faulkner (1975) employed classical sociological survey techniques involving sampling of various communities across the USA.[98] These studies appear to make assumptions regarding the homogeneity of the movement and the universal applicability of their findings. This conflicts somewhat with the diversity observed in the movement discussed above relating to the origins of the CCR. Bord and Faulkner recognised the limitation of this approach in their later study (1983) in which they included data from statistical studies and more ethnographic observations of particular communities, providing some indication of the complex of belief and practices existing within the CCR.[99] Similarly, Fichter later acknowledged the diversity inherent in the movement, especially between covenant communities and parish-based structures.[100]

The majority of studies have, however, fallen into the category described by Csordas as parochially homogenous. These studies tend to employ qualitative approaches to the study of individual groups or to examine particular phenomena of practice or belief amongst groups in a specified geographical area.[101] Such studies

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[97] Csordas, T. *Language, Charisma and Creativity.* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), p.xv-xvi.

[98] Fichter, J.H. *The Catholic Cult of the Paraclete*. (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1975); Bord, R.J. and Faulkner, J.E. (1975) "Religiosity and Secular Attitudes: The Case of Catholic Pentecostals" *The Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 14: 257-270.

[99] Bord, R.J. and Faulkner, J.E. *The Catholic Charismatics: The Anatomy of a Modern Religious Movement*. (University Park, Penn: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1983).

[100] Fichter, J.H. *A Sociologist Looks at Religion*. (Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1988), p202.

[101] For example: Lane, "Catholic Charismatic Renewal" In Charles Glock and Robert Bellah, eds., *The New Religious Consciousness*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); Lane, R. "The Catholic Charismatic Renewal in the United States: A Reconsideration" *Social Compass* 25: 23-35 (1978); Hegy, P. "Images of God and Man in a Catholic Charismatic renewal Community" *Social Compass* 25: 7-21 (1978); McGuire, K. 1976; McGuire, M. "The Social Context of Prophecy: Word Gifts of the Spirit among Catholic Pentecostals" Review of Religious Research 18:134-147 (1977); McGuire, M.

often contain a degree of assumption that the conclusions drawn about their particular studies can be applied in a more universal context, whether to the broader CCR or in the wider field of the sociology of religious movements. This is valid to some extent as many features described in such studies can be regarded as particular examples of more universal trends or behaviours relating to religious belief, social psychology or sociology; following the work of ethnographers such as Clifford Geertz.[102] Indeed, ethnographic approaches similar to those taken by workers such as McGuire and Neitz are employed in this study.[103] The question here, and it would seem in Csordas' consideration, is not one of validity but sufficiency. Ethnographic studies can reveal important aspects of belief and practice in a much more detailed and nuanced way than broad quantitative sociological studies, but they do contain the inherent weakness of lacking the broader horizon against which to orientate themselves. It is true that when a number of studies are taken as a whole they provide a sense of the patchwork that makes up a complex movement like the CCR and an indication of the threads which hold the various elements together, but such a perspective can develop only with time. Such a view is ultimately likely to provide a much more detailed and accurate picture than other sociological studies, given time and enough studies. Reliance on the development of a corpus of ethnographic studies, however, risks missing the important element of diversity at a given time and the potential for shifts over time in the balance

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Pentecostal Catholics: Power, Charisma and Order in a Religious Movement. (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1982); McGuire, M. *Ritual Healing in Suburban America*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988); Neitz, M.J. Charisma and Community: A Study of Religious Commitment within the Charismatic Renewal. (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1987); Westley, F.R "Searching for Surrender: A Catholic Charismatic Renewal Group's Attempt to Become Glossolalic" *American Behavioral Scientist* 20: 925-940 (1977).

[102] Geertz, C. *The Interpretation of Cultures.* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

[103] McGuire, M. *Pentecostal Catholics: Power, Charisma and Order in a Religious Movement.* (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1982); McGuire, M. *Ritual Healing in Suburban America*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988); Neitz, M.J. Charisma and Community: A Study of Religious Commitment within the Charismatic Renewal. (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1987).

of modes of practice and belief through the accommodation of tension from within and without the movement. To develop the quilt metaphor, what may appear a multicolour quilt over a series of studies carried out years apart may in fact be a series of partial glimpses of numerous shifting quilts, each of only one or two colours. What can easily be lost is the potential impact of time itself as the dynamic tension inherent in a diverse group causes shifts in balance.

Several authors have, however, recognised the diversity of the movement and tried to express it within their studies. Ford recognises two forms of Catholic Pentecostalism in the US in what is partly a sociological analysis of the movement and partly a piece of polemic against one of the types identified, a point which she admits.[104] Poloma, in considering the broader sweep of neo-Pentecostalism points to diversity within the CCR; identifying differences between covenant communities and parish groups, and also between different covenant communities.[105] Csordas, after several decades studying Catholic Charismatic groups recognised the complexity of the movement he was studying and sought to present a broader sociological and historical picture of the CCR, whilst also including some more in-depth consideration of the Word of God and Sword of the Spirit communities.[106] This broader perspective of Csordas has informed the development of the methodology and analysis used in this study which seeks to examine the range of diversity existing within the movement today and to compare aspects of belief and practice with that evident from archive materials dating back to the early days of the UK CCR. In doing this it is hoped that

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[104] Ford, J.M. *Which Way Now for Catholic Pentecostals?* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976).

[105] Poloma, M. *The Charismatic Movement: Is There a New Pentecost?* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982).

[106] Csordas, T.J. *Language, Charisma, & Creativity*. (New York: Palgrave, 1997).

any shifts in the patchwork may become evident and provide insight into the dynamic nature of maturation and accommodation within a movement facing potentially irreconcilable conflicts. A key step in this process must be some method of classifying elements of the movement in order to allow their prevalence and behaviour to be tagged and followed through the data. This will be considered further in Chapter 2.

1.8 The Complex of the UK CCR

Nearly 50 years on from Duquesne and over 100 years from the first Pentecostal experiences it is important to understand that the UK CCR as it stands in the early 21st century is also likely to have been influenced directly by significant social shifts in the UK, and globally, as it struggles with the additional tension of reconciling the religious and social values of the movement with those of secular society. Thus, with competing theological and social tensions it is unsurprising that a glance at the UK CCR reveals a diverse collection of organizations. The question it raises, however, is whether what remains is a single movement and what are the threads that bind the broader movement together? Importantly for those who participate in the many expressions of the CCR in the UK: do these reveal in any way what might be called the essential elements of what it means to be a member of the CCR in the UK? The following chapters outline the approach taken in investigating these questions amongst a range of CCR manifestations in England and Ireland.

Chapter 2. Classifying Charismatic Groups.

2.1 The need to classify?

The classification of religious groups is a phenomenon as old as religion itself, a core element of deciding if an individual or group is closely allied or not. It is something done informally, and perhaps subconsciously, but nuance in thought and behaviour are understood by most adherents to a particular religion, if only in the sense of being recognised as 'one of us' or 'other'. Indeed, during the course of this study I was accepted by one group on the grounds that "you're one of us", meaning that I was Roman Catholic and on several occasions similar phrases were used to identify speakers at meetings or conferences. So, it would seem, that the classification of the CCR in the UK is not simply something of academic interest but is something intrinsic to the nature of the movement's own identity; and potentially in the larger context of religious observance too.

Self-classification has also been a task performed more formally by the leadership of faiths, allowing exclusion and alliance to be discerned. For most of the history of Christianity this classification has been based on theological criteria, although cultural elements were not without importance. Since the work of Weber and Durkheim the study and classification of religious groups has been central to sociology, and sociological criteria have been important to the self-understanding of religious groups.[1]

[1] For a summary of key texts by Weber see Gerth, H.H and Mills, C.W, *From Max Weber* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946), pp.267-358. See also Durkheim, E. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*

Perhaps the most significant scheme of classification of religious groups which developed, and was refined, during the twentieth century is the notion of church and sect types. Whilst the terms were used by Max Weber early in the century it was Ernst Troeltsch who provided the first real consideration of church and sect types.[2] For Troeltsch the key defining feature of the two types lies in their relation to wider society. The church is a conservative organisation that "accepts the secular order, and dominates the masses". It regards itself as universal and "desires to cover the whole life of humanity".[3] Sects, on the other hand, "organise themselves in small groups" and "renounce the idea of dominating the world".[4] Indeed, Troeltsch considers that sects at best tolerate wider society and rather than seeking, as churches do, to incorporate the forms of secular social life into their nature they may even aim to replace the existing social institutions with their own social order.[5] Churches associate themselves with the ruling classes, seeking to interweave the social and ecclesial orders to the point where "the Church stabilises and determines the social order"; sects are more closely associated with marginalised groups such as the poor or politically marginalised.[6] This difference in attitude to the world is reflected in the spiritual emphasis evident in the

[1912] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). See also: McGuire, M.B. *Religion: The Social Context*. (Long Grove, IL: Waveland, 2002), pp.1-24.

[2] Stark and Finke note this lack of development by Weber and similarly attribute the notion proper to Troeltsch (see Stark, R & Finke, R. *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), p.143). For Troeltsch's introduction and definition of sect and church types see: Troeltsch, E. "Stoic-Christian Natural Law and Modern Secular Natural Law." [1911] Trans. J.L. Adams & W.F. Bense. In: *Religion in History* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991) and more fully developed in Troeltsch, E. *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*. [1912]. 2 Vols. Trans: Wyon, O. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992) (Original English translation 1931).

[3] Troeltsch, E. *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, p.331.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

two types, with sects having a more 'otherworldly' set of concerns.[7] Sects are typically more individualistic in nature and seek God in a more direct way through Scriptures and personal experiences, stepping away from any mediation through ecclesial or social structures.[8]

In his consideration of church and sect types Niebuhr also emphasises the relationships between the types and society; considering the church as seeking to "represent the morality of the respectable majority, not the heroic minority" whilst sects are content to be minorities, preferring isolation to compromise with society.[9] Niebuhr also notes the importance of the means of coming to membership and its influence on sects in particular:

> "the former [church] is a natural social group akin to the family or the nation, while the latter is a voluntary association. The difference has been well described as lying primarily in the fact that members are born into the church while they must join the sect." [10]

Sect membership represents an active choice whilst church membership is a social norm or expectation. Churches, for Niebuhr, are educational institutions that form young members into full participation through various means and argues that sects can thus only remain in their initial form for one generation before becoming more church-

[7] Stark, R & Finke, R. *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion*, p.142.

[8] Troeltsch, E. *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, pp.332-343.

[9] Niebuhr, H.R. *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*. (New York: World Publishing Co., 1929), p.18.

[10] Ibid., p.17.

like in their nature and structures.[11] This, he claims is the basis for the formation of denominations.[12]

In light of the history and nature of the CCR, this presentation of sect and church by both Troeltsch and Niebuhr presents some important questions. Firstly, can the CCR broadly, or in individual expressions, be considered sects within the host Catholic Church? If so, to what degree are they in conflict with the Church, and can they be considered as moving towards the formation of a denomination? Perhaps most importantly, in light of Niebuhr's arguments, is the age of the movement and the fact that the first generation of CCR members are now ageing. Can a process of moving towards church-type educational structures be recognised or does the movement rely on constant recruitment from outside? These questions will form something of the backdrop to this study.

Since Troeltsch and Niebuhr, many sociologists have attempted to more accurately define church and sect types, an effort which Stark and Finke consider 'unfortunate'.[13] Numerous sub groups, particularly of sects, have been proposed but there will be no attempt in this study to seek to apply these.[14] One useful aspect of this will inform part of the analysis in this study and is that employed by Stark and Finke. Whilst Stark and Finke apply an economic model in their analysis of groups, which has great potential in studying sects, the key aspect of their approach that will be used here is their

[11] Ibid., pp.19-21.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Stark, R & Finke, R. *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion*, p.143.

[14] For examples of refinements of sect classifications see Wilson, B. "An Analysis of Sect Development" *American Sociological Review*. Vol. 24, pp.2-15 (1959). See also: Stark, R & Finke, R. *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion*, pp.143-146.

understanding of sects and churches as being defined by their degree of tension with society.[15] Drawing on the work of Johnson they argue that all groups can be placed along a continuum based on their degree of tension with the host society; with tension being defined as 'subcultural deviance' from the norms of the host society.[16] Whilst the level of tension with broader society is not an immediate concern of this study the degree of tension exhibited between the various expressions of the CCR in the UK and their host Church community will allow some degree of understanding of the relationship between these groups and the Catholic Church. Points of tension, or subcultural deviance, are likely to be evident in liturgy, teaching, lifestyle expectations and administrative structures; all of which will be considered in relation to the groups encountered in this study.

The CCR in the United Kingdom has never been subjected to a systematic study under any of the above criteria, theological, sociological or anthropological. There have been some studies with specific foci but no attempts to gain a broader insight into the movement in the UK more broadly. Mather's 1983 study considered the British CCR during the period from 1964 to 1983, providing an historical survey of key figures and key ecclesiological and theological parameters.[17] Whilst providing some important baseline material for this study it is now over thirty years old and thus updating some of the aspects considered by Mather will be valuable. Owen's more recent (2007) study considers the English CCR in relation to the Anglican Charismatic Renewal with specific reference to ecumenism and their influence on efforts such as ARCIC and

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[15] Stark, R & Finke, R. *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion*, p.143-146.

[16] Ibid.: See also: Johnson, B. "On Church and Sect." *American Sociological Review*. Vol.28, pp.539-549 (1963).

[17] Mather, A.R. *The Theology of the Charismatic Movement in Britain from 1964 to the Present Day.*

provides valuable insights regarding ecumenism but little by way of ethnographic insight into the CCR[18]. Another comparative study of the CCR and, this time, Protestant charismatics is provided by Murphy in his 2010 study of charismatic groups in Belfast.[19] This final study is perhaps the most informative with regard to this study, and in particular in relation to the Northern Irish groups encountered. Murphy identifies numerous similarities, and differences, between Catholic and Protestant groups in Belfast with regard to social, ecumenical and theological drivers. Perhaps most importantly in our context is his use of ethnographic methods which provided insights into the praxis but also the self-understanding of these groups. This echoes the aims of the current study.

There have been studies of other Pentecostal and neo-Pentecostal groups in the UK. These provide some important insights regarding the behaviour of Pentecostalism in the UK and the potential for determining whether there are any particularly 'British' elements to such groups. However, the lack of consideration of the Roman Catholic dimension is important not only theologically but also culturally as Catholics in the UK still function as a sub-culture in British society, albeit not as defined as in the past, and the CCR exists in the wider context of the Catholic Church nationally and internationally.[20] Insights gained from studies of protestant Pentecostal groups, for

[18] Owen, P.C. *A Study of the Ecumenical Nature of Charismatic Renewal: with particular reference to Roman Catholic and Anglican Charismatic Renewal in England*. (2007).

[19] Murphy, L.D. *Believing in Belfast: Charismatic Christianity After the Troubles*. (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2010).

[20]Hornsby-Smith, M. *Roman Catholics in England: Studies in Social Structure Since the Second World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Hornsby-Smith, M. *Roman Catholic Beliefs in England: Customary Catholicism and Transformations of Religious Authority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

example, cannot be assumed to be directly transferrable to the CCR, although they are relevant and indeed important in the complex of coming to understand the UK CCR as they provide some correlative information of the UK context. Similarly, most studies on the Catholic Charismatic Renewal have been carried out in the social context of the United States, as discussed in the previous chapter. Whilst these provide some important, and transferrable, insights and methodology that can be used in the UK context they are again lacking one important dimension, the very different UK context which would seem to have more in common with European than US religious practice.[21]

In their valuable overview of approaches in congregational studies, Woodhead et.al. divide sociological studies of congregations into Extrinsic and Intrinsic types.[22] Extrinsic studies, they suggest, carry with them some form of purpose or practical outcome as part of their analysis. This may relate to organizational or missional outcomes for the congregation or to broader community functions such as social cohesion.[23] This thesis does not seek to impose any external aims, nor does it seek to meet requirements or requests from the groups themselves. As such, this study falls within the types of studies termed 'Intrinsic' by Woodhead et.al.[24] Intrinsic studies "provide a portrait and analysis of a congregation (or congregations) on its (or their)

[21] Davie, G. *Religion in Britain Since 1945: Believing Without Belonging (Making Contemporary Britain*) (Oxford: Blackwells, 1994); Davie, G. *Europe: the Exceptional Case. Parameters of Faith in the Modern World* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2002); Davie, G. *The Sociology of Religion: A Critical Agenda* (London: Sage, 2013);Davie, G. *Religion in Britain: A Persistent Paradox* (Chichester: Wiley, 2015).

[22] Woodhead, L., Guest, M. & Tusting, K. "Congregational Studies: Taking Stock". In: *Congregational Studies in the UK: Christianity in a Post-Christian Context.* [2004]. Guest, M., Tusting, K & Woodhead, L. (Eds). Kindle Edition (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).

[23] Ibid. Loc.336.

[24] Ibid.

own terms and for its (or their) own sake".[25] The first type of intrinsic approach identified by Woodhead et.al. are 'self-contained' studies which seek a deeper understanding of the culture of the congregation or community. Ammerman argues that in observing and understanding the culture of a congregation or group we can gain insight into the self-identity of that community and its understanding of its position in the world and in relation to God.[26] This reflects the approach of Hopewell who emphasises that, in gathering together, a congregation builds a culture and a network of myths that explain that culture, and that if we seek to understand the group at anything beyond a superficial level then we need to understand this culture and the myths surrounding it.[27] The importance of understanding the culture of the congregation guides the study described here, and the approach of Hopewell in particular will form an important part of the methodology and analysis of the CCR in the UK.

The second form of intrinsic study that Woodhead et.al. describe are 'Typologizing' approaches.[28] Again, this approach informs the current study as two examples of this approach, Ford and Walker, are central to the methodology and critical analysis of this study. Typologizing studies seek to locate congregations in relation to each other and

[25] Ibid. Loc.514

[26] Ammerman, N.T. 'Culture and Identity in the Congregation'. In: *Studying Congregations: A New Handbook*. Ammerman, N.T et.al (Eds). (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998). Studies which take a similar approach to congregational studies include Ammerman, N.T. *Bible Believers: Fundamentalists in the Modern World*. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988); Coleman, S. *The Globalisation of Charismatic Christianity: Spreading the Gospel of Prosperity*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Guest, M. *Evangelical Identity and Contemporary Culture: A Congregational Study in Innovation.* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2007); Percy, M. *The Toronto Blessing.* (Oxford: Latimer House, 1996); Percy, M. "Adventure and Atrophy in a Charismatic Movement: Returning to the 'Toronto Blessing'". *Journal of Contemporary Religion.* 20, (1) (2005): 71-90; Stringer, M.D. *On the Perception of Worship*. (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 1999).

[27] Hopewell, J.F. *Congregation*, pp.46-51.

[28] Woodhead et.al "Congregational Studies: Taking Stock", Loc. 575.

in relation to other groups in wider society.[29] These may use familiar typologies from studies of society more generally, such as 'liberal and 'conservative', at one level but may seek more nuanced classifications to explore phenomena, worldviews or theologies. As noted below, one of the powerful aspects of using typologies lies in allowing a view of what a congregation 'is not' as much as what it 'is' in the context of the typology. This is important in the use made here of both Ford and Walker, and also to some extent the use of Hopewell's narrative approach.

In the division of approaches set out by Woodhead et.al. this study of the UK CCR falls with the form of congregational studies they class as 'multi-focussed' in that it utilises elements of the self-contained and typologizing approaches described above.[30] There is also some degree of seeking to locate the CCR groups in the context of their hosts Church, the Roman Catholic Church in Britain and Ireland, both phenomenologically and historically. The central focus is, however, the self-understanding of the groups and, as such, this is a study firmly located within Woodhead et.al's understanding of 'Intrinsic Studies'.

As noted above, in providing a hermeneutic framework for this study it was decided to use three differing attempts at classifying Christian groups. One, proposed by Walker, looks at neo-Pentecostalism within the UK context during the historical period covered by this study. The second, proposed by Ford, examines the early Catholic

[29] For example: Becker, P.E. *Congregations in Conflict: Cultural Models of Local Religious Life*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Mock, A.K. 'Congregational Religious Styles and Orientations to Society: Exploring Our Linear Assumptions'. *Review of Religious Research*, Vol.34 (1), 1992, pp.20-33; Roozen, D.A., McKinney, W. and Carroll, J.W. *Varieties of Religious Presence: Mission in Public Life*. (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1985); Warner, R.S. *New Wine in Old Wineskins* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988); Woodhead, L. & Heelas, P. *Religion in Modern Times: An Anthology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).

[30] Woodhead et.al "Congregational Studies: Taking Stock", Loc. 645.

Charismatic Renewal in the United States. The third, developed by Hopewell, was also first used in the United States but looked at a broader spectrum of Christian communities. Each differs in its emphasis, whether theological, sociological or from the perspective of congregational studies. Each is relevant to this study and has the potential to help provide insights into the CCR in the UK context. In particular, some degree of critical synthesis of the approaches will help to illuminate the theological and cultural development of the CCR in the UK since its arrival in the late 1960s.

2.2 Catholic Charismatics and Restorationism in the UK

2.2.1 A Reasonable Comparison?

In his 1985 book *Restoring the Kingdom: The Radical Christianity of the House Church Movement* Andrew Walker closely examines the UK Restorationist movement from its beginnings in the early 1970s up to the mid-1980s.[31] At first glance it may appear an unlikely source of relevance to the CCR in the UK. The Restorationist movement is deeply Protestant in theology and structure, seeing itself as evangelical and Pentecostal in heritage.[32] One of Walker's key findings is the movement's explicit rejection of denominational and formal ecclesial structures which would seem to set it a long way apart from Roman Catholicism. Walker describes, and illustrates very clearly with a simple graphic, his opinion that Restorationism has had multiple influences on its development. These appear to come from almost every mainline church and Christian movement in the UK, and many beyond (particularly in the US). The only

[31] Walker, A. *Restoring the Kingdom*. (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1985).

[32] Ibid. p.23.

Christian group considered by Walker to have had no input into or cross fertilisation with Restorationism is the Catholic Church, including the Catholic Charismatic movement.[33] For Walker, Restorationism is a product of classical Pentecostalism and not some form of offshoot from the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Renewal found in mainstream churches.[34] Thus, it would seem that any claim that his classification system and analysis were applicable to Catholic Charismatics would have little relevance.

Despite Walker's apparent reluctance to see any links between Restorationism and Catholic Pentecostalism there do seem to be some internal inconsistencies within his book that suggest a closer relationship than he suggests. Firstly, he points out the significant role of the Fountain Trust in the development of Restorationism, with several key figures being closely involved with the Trust.[35] The Fountain Trust was significant in the Charismatic Renewal and was extremely important in the early development of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal in the UK.[36] As Walker puts it:

> "*This organisation until its demise in 1980 was non-denominational and very influential in both Anglican and Catholic churches."*[37]

This observation does not, of course, show direct relationships between the CCR and Restorationism but it does demonstrate some common heritage, and also calls into question Walker's key assertion that Restorationism has little to do with the neo-Pentecostal Renewal movement. Walker argues that whilst Renewalists and

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[33] Walker, A. *Restoring the Kingdom*, p.255.

[34] Ibid. p.35.

[35] Ibid. p41.

[36] Hocken, P. *Streams of Renewal*, pp.115-122.

[37] Walker, A. *Restoring the Kingdom*, p41.

Restorationists were closely linked during the 1970s they parted ways towards the end of the decade; with Restorationists explicitly rejecting the approach of the Renewal in favour of a Kingdom of God which transcends the boundaries of established denominations.[38] This he does fairly convincingly, and his description of the movement does suggest close similarities with classical Pentecostalism. For our purposes here, however, the question remains as to whether any elements manifest in the classes of Restorationism that he identifies are visible in the CCR, and if one type more closely resembles the CCR than the other. Additionally, in terms of Catholic Charismatic self-identity certain elements of the UK CCR emphasise Topeka and Azusa Street, rather than the 'Duquesne weekend', as the birth of the Renewal in the Catholic Church; which sets it within the context of classical Pentecostalism rather than of neo-Pentecostalism. Some elements of the CCR may then have more in common with Restorationism and classical Pentecostalism than might be expected at first sight. This already suggests that the CCR is perhaps not an homogenous movement and that through comparison with Restorationism, as described by Walker, some further clarification might be gained. This evidence, combined with additional information that key figures in Restorationism, such as John Noble, formed links with the UK CCR during the 1980s indicates that Walker's typology for Restorationism might well provide some insight into the development, beliefs and practices of the CCR in Britain.[39] Additionally, it also provides some further rationale for the assumption that the UK CCR cannot simply be treated as a direct transplant from the 'parent' Catholic Charismatic movement in the United States.

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[38] Walker, A. *Restoring the Kingdom*, p43-45.

[39] Ibid. p108.

2.2.2 Walker's Typology

Walker proposes that Restorationism in the British context, and indeed it may be that Restorationism in the form in which he was studying it only exists in the UK context, can be broken down into two basic types, the product of schism in 1976. These he names Restoration One (R1) and Restoration Two (R2), a typology which he recognises would probably be resisted by those he was studying.[40]

Both types have a number of features in common such as their theological and ecclesiological heritage in classical Pentecostalism and a conscious desire to break away from denominational structures. It is these two aspects in particular which Walker argues resulted in the break with the Renewal.[41] Restorationists seek to restore a Church, or perhaps more accurately the Kingdom of God, based on the New Testament model, a pure and pristine community founded and guided by the Holy Spirit. Denominations, and the formal structures of the mainline churches, are not part of God's plan for His Kingdom which will transcend all boundaries. As with all conscious attempts to establish the Kingdom on Earth, the Restorationist position is to be understood eschatologically. Their eschatology is essentially a dispensationalist and Adventist view in which we exist now in the end times and the existence of Restorationism is a sign of this fact.[42] The end times are not defined by wars, plagues and strife but by a 'latter rain' outpouring of the Holy Spirit, establishing a Kingdom fit for the return of the King.[43] Preparing this Kingdom defines all that Restorationists

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[40] Walker, A. *Restoring the Kingdom*, pp.22-25.

[41] Ibid. p.35 and pp.40-44.

[42] Briers S.J. *Negotiating with Babylon*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Cambridge, 1993. p.53.

[43] Walker, A. *Restoring the Kingdom*, p.23.

seek to construct. Something distinctive about Restorationism is that, in common with the CCR, there is no charismatic individual leader of the type witnessed in many sects with such an eschatological emphasis.[44] This said, the development of R1 in particular has resulted in some individuals, perhaps most notably Bryn Jones, rising to a level where they effectively take on this role in parts of the movement.

R1 and R2 both draw on Ephesians 4:8-12 as the basis for their ecclesiology in building the Kingdom, taking verses 11 and 12 as being particularly important in structuring the organisation of their communities:

> *"And these were his gifts: some to be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, to equip God's people in His service, to the building up of the body of Christ."*[45]

Walker examines at length the manner in which this passage is interpreted by R1 and R2 and it is clear from his analysis that different interpretations of this passage are central to the distinctions that exist between the two types of Restorationism, although it must be noted that such factors are not the only differences between the groups.

The first type, R1, is presented as a more defined and organised group which would recognise the name 'Restorationist'. A closely controlled authority structure exists in which groups and individuals are 'covered' by apostles and elders, often exhibiting very close control of decisions affecting private and corporate lives. Authority is very much a male preserve, both institutionally and within the family, with men and women

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[44] Lindholm, C. *Charisma*. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), p23-28.

[45] Walker, A. *Restoring the Kingdom* (p.22) uses this translation (New English Bible) when making his point, it is not clear if this is the translation of the Bible typically used by Restorationists.

encouraged to take on 'traditional' roles in the family. The gifts and ministries as set out in Ephesians 4, and also I Corinthians 12, are open to all believers (except some being limited only to men) but discernment of the gifts possessed by an individual is very much governed by those in authority over them. This control is exhibited in the practice of 'shepherding' where paternalistic governance is exerted on all levels, from spiritual reading to choices of job and spouse. Walker describes this as being the product of the self-understanding that when converts join R1 "they do not become members of a new church; they leave the secular world for a sacred society".[46] R1 is highly evangelistic in nature, although its recruitment does appear to be largely from other Christian (often Pentecostal or neo-Pentecostal) groups, a phenomenon for which it has received some criticism.[47]

R2 is a less defined type, and almost certainly wouldn't recognise any such name. Member communities of R2 are typically less authoritarian and more loosely structured than R1. For example, shepherding is not practiced to the same extent and where it does occur it is a much less involved process concerned more with spiritual formation than daily life choices of members. Women are allowed in positions of authority, and not only where that authority can be exerted over women and children. Family roles, such as women working, are not subject to the same level of definition or expectation although they may still seem fairly conservative by secular standards. There is less a

[46] Walker, A. *Restoring the Kingdom*, p.170-171.

[47] Ibid. p.261. See, also, Coleman, S. *The Globalisation of Charismatic Christianity: Spreading the Gospel of Prosperity*, for a consideration of the tension created when different branches of Pentecostalism recruit from existing communities.

sense of a community set apart from the world and R2 appear generally more liberal, ecumenical and concerned about social issues than do R1.[48]

As Walker admits, R2 is to a large extent those Restorationists "who are not in R1" and may encapsulate many discernible groups (R3…Rn). R2 then is a convenient grouping that functions more to allow the definition of R1 than as a group in its own right. Whilst Walker does acknowledge this weakness in his approach he does not convincingly counter criticisms of the method put forward by later studies of Restorationism, such as Briers who considers the classification overly contrived and the dualistic taxonomy too limited.[49] To be fair, Briers is writing several years after Walker's original work and there may well have been sufficient time for further schism or evolution, as predicted by Walker.[50]

This, of course, raises again the question of the validity of incorporating Walker's approach into the interpretation of the CCR in the UK. There is no intention of trying to 'shoe-horn' elements of the CCR into Walker's categories, nor to regard his types as fixed in any way. Walker himself never considered the types as definitive or exhaustive and several decades have past and many social developments have occurred since the time Walker was reporting. What his approach brings is some insight into possible directions of development of Pentecostal thought under particular conditions. In common with the group under consideration in this study, part of the context is that of the UK Pentecostal and Renewal movements, and also a degree of isolation from the

[48] Walker, A. *Restoring the Kingdom*, p.253.

[49] Walker, A. *Restoring the Kingdom*, p.25 and p.33, note 9; Briers, S. *Negotiating with Babylon*, pp.11-15.

[50] Walker, A. *Restoring the Kingdom*, p.33, note 9.

broader Renewal. In the case of Restorationists this isolation is the product of a choice to move away; in the case of the CCR it is the demands of the host (Roman Catholic) Church with its particular disciplines which must be met in order to remain a 'Catholic' movement. In common with Walker's approach it will be as much an apophatic exercise of considering what the CCR is not with regard to Restorationism (both R1 and R2) as it will be an examination of any patterns of similarity. Walker's highlighting of the heterogeneous nature of what appear to be unified movements also provides an important perspective when looking at the UK CCR.

Of particular importance in the context of the UK CCR is Walker's concern with the development of denominations and sects of the type defined above. He concludes that Restorationism can be considered a sect within the broader context of Pentecostalism and Renewal, and indeed the Christian Church as a whole.[51] Such sects, he argues, function as a place of spiritual purity in the face of societal pressures, a role which he likens to that of monasteries; they are an inevitable and necessary reaction to the secularisation of churches. Drawing on the anthropologist Mary Douglas he suggests that the formation of sects, or communities set apart in some way, avoids the risk of ritual pollution from practices and thought being incorporated from outside the community.[52] This raises an interesting question about the role of the CCR within the Catholic Church, and specifically within the British Roman Catholic community. In common with Restorationism it developed in the intense social changes of the 1960s and 1970s in the UK.[53] Their communities of origin were showing signs of increasing

[51] Walker, A. *Restoring the Kingdom*, p.292ff.

[52] Ibid.

[53] See Marwick for a consideration of the social upheavals of this period. Marwick, A. *The Sixties* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

engagement with the secular world, either through the liberal elements of Protestant Renewal or stimulated by the major theological and social implications of Vatican II. Additionally, there were significant sources of theological, ecclesiological and worship influence from overseas, principally the United States, that required some translation into the British context. If, as Walker suggests, this manifested itself in the development of a sect in the case of Restorationism, can similar patterns be discerned in the UK CCR? If the CCR in the UK is a sect within the Roman Catholic Church, is there an attempt to avoid contamination from the radical social and ecclesiological 'pollution' dominating Catholic thought towards the ends of the 1960s and subsequently? An alternative, of course, is that the CCR in the UK is quite the opposite and is in fact a conduit for such external influences from Protestantism, secular thought, and the more radical element of Catholicism growing during the period, such as liberation theology. It is in light of these questions in relation to sect formation and development that this study of the UK CCR can best make use of Walker's typology and analysis of UK Restorationism.

2.3 The early Catholic Charismatic Renewal in the United States – Ford's Classification of "types"

Writing almost a decade before Walker, J Massyngberde Ford developed a remarkably similar approach to the classification of neo-Pentecostal groups in *Which Way for Catholic Pentecostals?*.[54] Here she considers the CCR in the United States and comes up with two distinct types, Type I and Type II much in the same way proposed by Walker for Restorationist communities. It is regrettable that Walker was unaware of

[54] Ford, J Massyngberde. *Which Way for Catholic Pentecostals?*

this text and unfortunate that he was unable to engage with the insights as there are numerous points raised by Ford of direct relevance to Walker's approach. It is worth noting at the outset, however, that Ford's consideration of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal is not a dispassionate one. Whilst she was an academic theologian at Notre Dame University at the time of writing she was also an active member of a Catholic Charismatic group. It is clear from the text that the group of which she was a member fell within the Type II classification and her sympathies lie firmly with Type II throughout the book. This said, she does provide some interesting insights into the CCR and makes the important step that earlier studies, such as Fichter's, failed to do in beginning to treat the CCR as a diverse grouping rather than a homogenous entity.[55]

2.3.1 Type I and Type II Catholic Pentecostalism

In a similar way to Walker, Ford's typology involves a very close definition of Type I Catholic Pentecostalism, with Type II being slightly vaguer and to some extent being defined by not being Type I. Unlike Walker's R2, Ford's Type II does have distinctive features in terms of liturgy, theology and spirituality that perhaps legitimate her dual typology more than Walker's.

Type I Catholic Pentecostalism exhibits a highly structured hierarchical organisation which Ford considers to be a "paraecclesial structure".[56] This reflects quite closely the defined hierarchy described by Walker in R1 in which leadership roles are closely defined and final decision making is controlled by a small group of men with overall control; for Ford it is also noteworthy that these men in control are also all white and

[55] Fichter, J.H. *The Catholic Cult of the Paraclete*.

[56] Ford, J Massyngberde. *Which Way for Catholic Pentecostals?*, p.1.

middle class.[57] Authority, as with R1, is considered to be granted by direct gift of the Holy Spirit although the genuine nature of any gift, especially those of leadership, are subject to discernment by experienced leaders deemed to be mature in the Spirit. Ford reports a 'magisterium' operating within Type I that has authority over teaching, advice given to members and to executive matters. Additionally, a developed disciplinary structure exists which exerts control over behaviour and teaching of both lay members and clergy. These magisterial and disciplinary functions run parallel to and at times, Ford argues, supersede the existing structures within the Catholic Church. This is the basis for her argument that Type I has become a 'paraecclesial structure', something which might be considered a sect, or at least sect-like, in the terms outlined above. Ford's conclusion is given additional weight by Fichter's observations around the same time that the CCR was functioning both as a 'spiritual counter-culture' and as a 'formal bureaucracy' with the resources capable of functioning as a social movement.[58] Ford argues that central to this development as a paraecclesial structure is the fact that a large proportion of the members of Type I charismatic communities are non-Catholic, in some cases up to 45% of members being non-Catholic.[59] She is at pains to point out that being non-Catholic is not itself problematic and goes on to quote Zwingli and Franz Agricola on the virtues apparent in the Anabaptist way of life. This makes an interesting source of comparison as whilst presented as a sign of positive virtue it draws parallels between Type I Catholic Pentecostals and Anabaptists which is unlikely to ever be favourable to a Catholic reader in light of the heretical theology of the movement, its millennial beliefs and some of the extreme expressions of Anabaptist

[57] Ibid. p.2.

[58] Fichter, J.H. *The Catholic Cult of the Paraclete*, p.6-11.

[59] Ford, J Massyngberde. *Which Way for Catholic Pentecostals?*, p.3.

belief such as John of Leyden and Munster. Placing Type I within the same context as Anabaptists is a clear expression of Ford's concerns regarding potential heterodoxy in Type I. Heterodoxy is a concern shared by Fichter with regard to the whole Catholic Pentecostal phenomenon and it may well be the case that Ford is attempting to distance Type II from this in the face of evidence of non-Catholic practices and beliefs in parts of the wider movement.

In a similar way to R1, Ford describes Type I Catholic Pentecostals as eschatologically focussed in their beliefs. Again, they seem to present a belief that they are living already in the end times and that their role is significant in preparing for, and bringing about, the return of the King. This corresponds with Fichter's findings, around the same time Ford was writing, that over 70% of Catholic charismatics in the United States believed the statement that "the Second Coming of Jesus is imminent".[60] He points out that this is not a statement that Catholics would traditionally agree with.

There is a strong focus on community life and proper behaviour and discipline. For many this is expressed through membership of covenant communities, the largest and most significant being the Word of God Community, Ann Arbor and the People of Prayer Community, South Bend. In terms of influence and practice they are presented as being strongly influenced by the Hutterites, and Ford draws direct parallels with the description of the Bruderhoff Hutterian community described by Zablocki.[61] Again, by developing the Anabaptist influence there is a clear subtext of heterodoxy. The role of the charismatic community in the eschatological worldview of Type I is captured in a

[60] Fichter, J.H. *The Catholic Cult of the Paraclete*, pp.44-45.

[61] Zablocki, B.D. *The Joyful Community: An Account of the Bruderhof, a Communal Movement Now in Its Third Generation* (London: Pelican, 1977)

talk by one of the key leaders, Ralph Martin, in July 1970. Ford reports that Martin states that we are "encountering the community of the Holy Spirit…the first breaking in of the Kingdom".[62] If this is reported accurately it demonstrates two key points. Firstly, the eschatological view of Type I. Secondly, an ambiguous relationship with the history of Christianity to date and more specifically the sacramental economy taught and practiced by the host Catholic Church. Whilst I am unable to verify the content of Martin's talk in this instance the reported contents are congruent with his other talks, writings and not least the 1975 prophecies given in Rome.[63] Martin's position is also put forward by other senior charismatics such as Kevin Ranaghan and Kerry Koller. Koller, for example, argues in a consideration of Revelation 21 that dispersed prayer groups are not what the Spirit wants but rather "a city, a people, a church, a Christian community", this he does not equate to existing Catholic structures but to Neo-Pentecostal communities.[64] Individual prayer groups are called upon to come together into community and form a church. This is considered a defining and worrying feature of Type I by Ford who highlights the emphasis on constituting or forming a church rather than renewing existing structures. Clearly, this stands in stark contrast to the repeated appeals of Ian Petit and the UK NSC strategy of the mid-1990s. This paraecclesial structure, combined with the high proportion of non-Catholics, leads her to the conclusion that Type I risks becoming a denomination very quickly, rather than a Catholic renewal movement.[65] Such concerns are also voiced by Fichter and to some

[62] Ford, J Massyngberde. *Which Way for Catholic Pentecostals?*, p.7

[63] See 1975 Rome prophecies in Appendix 2 of this thesis.

[64] Ford, J Massyngberde. *Which Way for Catholic Pentecostals?*, pp.6-7

[65] Ibid., p.130.

extent Suenens in the Malines reports.[66] What Ford adds is the nuanced understanding of heterogeneity within Catholic Pentecostalism during the period.

Another important feature of Type I, again in common with R1, is the lack of interest in social issues. This is linked with the emphasis on detachment from the world in order to achieve salvation and in preparation for the Second Coming. There is also acknowledgement that for some people Pentecostalism is attractive precisely because it does not call for social change.[67] This is perhaps unsurprising bearing in mind the social profile of the movement being largely white and middle class and the social conditions of the times both in the Church and in secular US life being weighted towards change in matters as diverse as Vietnam, race and gender equality, lay roles in the Church and liturgical reform. In place of social action, the emphasis in Type I is placed on evangelisation, again in common with R1.[68] Ford proposes that this points to a shallowness in the spirituality of Type I in which evangelisation becomes an end in itself but does not prepare the ground for a deeper mysticism. She considers the ministries of Ephesians in combination with those set out in Romans, Corinthians, I Thessalonians and I Peter and places them into three categories: evangelising ministries, solidifying ministries, and pilot/discerning ministries. Evangelising ministries include evangelists, miracle workers, healing, tongues and interpretation. Solidifying ministries include teachers, prophets, exhortation, sharing and acts of mercy; Ford highlights the role of professionals such as counsellors, sociologists and psychologists in these ministries. Pilot ministries include apostles, bishops, priests,

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[66] Fichter, J.H. *The Catholic Cult of the Paraclete*, pp.44-45; Suenens, L.J. *Ecumenism and Charismatic renewal: Theological and Pastoral Orientations*. (London: Darton Longman & Todd, 1978).

[67] Ford, J Massyngberde. *Which Way for Catholic Pentecostals?*, p.130.

[68] Ibid. pp.52-58.

deacons and widows.[69] The evangelising ministries are thus presented as 'enthusiastic' but ultimately superficial if not supported by the other two groups of ministries. Type I is seen as being stuck with an overt emphasis on the highly enthusiastic evangelising ministries but with little underlying substance. As such it is presented as an immature form of spirituality in need of growth and depth in order to avoid schism with the Catholic Church.

Ford presents Type II Catholic Pentecostalism as 'flexible and less structured" than Type I, "fully integrated with the theology and sacramentality of the contemporary Catholic Church", open to non-Pentecostal influences, interested in Eastern Orthodox theology, and similar to early Franciscan and Dominican spirituality. Again, Ford's sympathies are clear and there seems to be something of a classic conservative/liberal dichotomy being presented with the usual suggestions that the 'other side' is somehow less orthodox due to its position. Whilst this does mean that caution is needed in handling Ford's typology it also means that at the very least a conservative/liberal division was perceived within Catholic Pentecostalism at the time, supporting the notion of diversity within the movement at this relatively early stage in its development. Much like Walker's R2 a great deal of what defines Type II is that it is not Type I. It does not possess the strong organisational structure of Type I and certainly doesn't present anything resembling a magisterium or a disciplinary structure. It is typically represented by parish prayer groups rather than covenant communities and has a much higher proportion of Catholics, but is not exclusively Catholic. It does not present a particular eschatology and as such is less concerned with building communities for the

[69] Ford, J Massyngberde. *Which Way for Catholic Pentecostals?*, pp.93-94

End Times. Type II Catholic Pentecostals are typically more concerned with social action and a broad range of ministries within the Church. As such it aims to be a source of renewal rather than seeking to become a sect within the Church. In Walker's terms then it is less concerned with being a pure community set apart, it is more open to influences from outside without being concerned about ritual pollution. For Ford, the defining reason for the difference between Type I and Type II is one of maturity as a form of spirituality. Type II is presented as engaging with solidifying and piloting ministries as well as the evangelising ministries which define Type I.[70] As such its members are engaged with teaching and service ministries within the movement and also the wider Catholic Church and there is a recognition of the existing authority and leadership structure within the Church. Ford draws parallels with several classical forms of spirituality: Franciscan, Dominican and Carmelite. Whilst Ford does not draw out the point it is notable that each of the forms of spirituality to which she likens Catholic Pentecostalism exists within a formal structure of a Third Order for lay members. In such Third Orders laity engage in the spiritual practices of a religious community within their secular setting and are guided and governed by clerical structures or religious orders. As such, any notion of becoming a sect is inhibited by clear authority structures and magisterium.

Type II Catholic Pentecostalism as presented by Ford appears similar to R2 in many ways, but it must be remembered that this comparison is somewhat relative in that both types are distinct because they are not the type with which they are being compared, i.e. Type I and R1. Comparison then is limited, to a great extent, to between these

[70] Ford, J Massyngberde. *Which Way for Catholic Pentecostals?*, pp.93-95.

typologies and the broader context of the host community, social context and origins. Both Walker and Ford do seem to demonstrate the potential for differentiation within movements on the basis of practice and belief. As Walker acknowledges, this could undergo further fine tuning to produce more subtle distinctions. There is also the potential for some degree of hybridisation to take place where different types encounter each other. In Walker's typology it was apparent that R1 were making clear efforts to avoid contamination by R2 or other influences by operating very separately in terms of gatherings and communication media. In the Catholic Pentecostal groups, Type I were attempting some separation with certain activities being available only to core members. However, the continuing existence of national and international meetings and conferences left open the potential for cross-fertilisation and the development of hybrid forms of Catholic Pentecostalism. Detecting such chimeras requires the ability to look over a period of time and also a more subtle method for looking at the phenotypical manifestations and genes of the communities examined.

2.4 Hopewell's Worldview Approach

Walker and Ford present dual typologies for the examination of movements and whilst they go far beyond crude views that assume polarisation they still assume a linear division. This is certainly extremely useful but only goes so far in unpicking subtle differences and is probably too crude in determining any degree of hybridisation in thought and practice between the types identified. What may help in providing an even more nuanced picture is the provision of an extra dimension within the classification of religious groups within a movement or community. One approach

with the potential to provide this through the in-depth examination of world view is that taken by James Hopewell.[71]

Hopewell's work lies in the field of congregational studies which has developed rapidly in recent decades and shares much in common with anthropology and ethnography.[72] Hopewell's approach is essentially intrinsic in its approach, seeking to understanding the nature of the group through the myths by which they explain their history, existence and future, but also has potential to be applied in a more extrinsic approach seeking, for example, to determine congregation health.[73]

Hopewell drew strongly from Geertz, and thus Weber, in seeing the stories of individuals and faith communities as the key to understanding the operant faith held rather than the official religion taught by the group. In this way, he believed the "web of significance" proposed by Weber, and taken up by Geertz as expressed through symbols, could be understood for what it really meant to believers rather than in terms of creedal statements, or definitions provided by the hierarchy or leadership of a faith.[74] This is not to say that what Roof terms "formal religion" is of no, or even little, significance.[75] What it points to is the richness and complexity that can be held together in the world view and ethos of Christians, not only in wider definition of the term but also within particular denominations and even within parishes or worshipping

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[71] Hopewell, J.F. *Congregation: Stories and Structures.* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987).

[72] Percy, M. "Adventure and Atrophy in a Charismatic Movement: Returning to the 'Toronto Blessing'" p.76. See also: Ammerman, N. and Farnsley, A. *Congregation and Community*; Ammerman, N., Carroll, J., Dudley, C. and McKinney, W. *Studying Congregations*; Dorsey, G. *Congregation: the Journey back to Church*. (New York: Viking, 1985); Eisland, N. *A Particular Place*. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1998).

[73] See: Ammerman, N.T. 'Culture and Identity in the Congregation', pp.92ff.

[74] Hopewell, J.F. *Congregation: Stories and Structures*, pp.5-9.

[75] Roof, W.C. *Community and Commitment.* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), p.178.

communities. Such diversity of belief, even in churches that appear to have rigidly defined doctrines, suggests that individuals are engaging theologically with the concrete experiences of life and making sense both of doctrines and life experiences. This would suggest that a vast amount of theology is being "done" by believers in their encounter with diverse philosophies and experiences; perhaps eclipsing that done by "professional" theologians.

Explorations of this operant theology could then reveal rich insights into the whole range of theological issues encountered by members of a faith and inform the more formal and systematic debates of official religions. At the very least it has important implications for pastoral care, evangelisation and catechesis. It is perfectly conceivable that certain official doctrines could clash with the faith of an individual or group unless expressed in terms sympathetic to the world view of the believer or believers. For example, the Catholic prohibition on the ordination of women would need to be explained very differently to those who view authority as a key feature of Christ's Church as opposed to those who emphasised in His mission and teaching the radical equality of men and women.

For Hopewell, all of this points to the fact that Christians, and indeed all those holding a faith, are engaging with a nuanced dialogue with the world and all that it means to be human.[76] It is this nuance, defined by the cultural and intellectual experience of individuals and groups, that can never be fully defined in the official teachings of any church or congregation. It is for this reason that we need ways of expressing the complexity of human life in simplified ways, allowing each person to

[76] Hopewell, J.F. *Congregation: Stories and Structures*, p.199-201.

locate their experience in the wider context of the "whole horizon of human interpretation".[77] In Luhmann's terms this is done through social systems defined by communication; whereas the complementary expression of Geertz, and Weber, describes a web of symbols. For Percy, it is a map in which each person's nuanced view is located in relation to those surrounding and defining it.[78] The key for Hopewell is how this nuance is expressed by communities, and individual members. It is in the telling of stories, both individual and corporate, that nuanced views are expressed, developed and interpreted. Perhaps most crucially in his approach is the locating of such stories in the history of story-telling appropriate to the culture of the teller. Hopewell worked in a North American context and so, correctly, used the tradition of Western story-telling and, in particular, mythology. As MacIntyre states, the only way to gain understanding of any society, is "through the stock of stories which constitute the original dramatic resources".[79] Thus by locating our own stories within this stock of stories we locate our world view and experiences within society. This is as true for groups as it is for individuals. Groups too form their own myths which "provide the basic form of signification by which a group perceives and expresses its identity" and "mark the essential structures of meaning and value in which that group participates".[80]

This is perhaps not novel in itself; Geertz after all recognises the role of story-telling in the gaining of a thick description of a culture and Hopewell is, in many ways, developing this. Hopewell's novelty lies in his application of literary criticism models

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[77] Ibid. p.201.

[78] Percy, M. "Adventure and Atrophy in a Charismatic Movement: Returning to the 'Toronto Blessing'", pp.71-79.

[79] MacIntyre, A. *After Virtue*. (London: Duckworth, 1981), p.205.

[80] Hopewell, J.F. *Congregation: Stories and Structures*, p.49.

to the interpretation of the stories told by members of congregations. In particular, he draws upon the thought of Carl Jung, Joseph Campbell and, especially, Northrop Frye.[81] Central to his approach is the expression of religious world view through Frye's four main categories of western myth: Tragedy, Irony/Satire, Comedy and Romance.[82] Frye locates each of these narrative genres within a circle, with each genre marking a cardinal point similar to that of a compass. Every myth, he suggests, falls somewhere within this circle; if not on a cardinal point then somewhere within the continuum of the circle. Thus, there can be, for example, romantic comedies and romantic tragedies, as well as comic and tragic satire.

Comic narratives are not defined by humour but by a belief in a happy ending to the story. In comic narratives, a crisis occurs through some form of error or misunderstanding but ultimately this is resolved and the protagonists come to a fuller knowledge of the world's working, which is essentially harmonious. Romantic tales too are defined by a happy ending. Romances are tales of adventure in which the lover is separated from the beloved not through a misunderstanding or lack of knowledge but, rather, through some outside agent. The hero or heroine then engages on a quest to be reunited with the object of their desire, overcoming in their quest the obstacles that separate them. This is often achieved through the help of superhuman forces, with the hero being helped by gods, spiritual forces or extraordinary virtues; in the case of many classical romantic plays this quite literally involves the action of a *deus ex machina*. Tragedy also involves heroism, but here the hero is not helped by gods from the rafters

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[81] Hopewell, J.F. *Congregation: Stories and Structures*, p.42 & p.47ff. Key sources for Hopewell are Jung, *Symbols of Transformation: An analysis of the Prelude to a Case of Schizophrenia*; Joseph Campbell, *Hero with a Thousand faces*; Northrop Frye *The Educated Imagination* and *Anatomy of Criticism*.

[82] Frye, N. *Anatomy of Criticism*, pp.131-223.

but must submit in obedience to the inevitable harshness of reality which he is powerless to alter. The divine is present, but in the form of eternal laws which cannot be altered but only obeyed and operated within. Resistance to the inevitable progress of these laws brings trauma but submission brings with it salvation, even if the path contains sorrows or crosses that must be borne, a salvation which protagonists bear witness to through their obedient suffering. Thus, as Frye states, tragic heroes "are wrapped in the mystery of their communion with that something beyond which we can only see through them, and which is the source of their strengths and their fate alike".[83] Ironic narratives contain no heroes, nor is there any purpose to be discerned from the events of life. There are no transcendent or supernatural forces giving purpose to existence, nor are they there ready to intervene and help; there are no miracles in ironic tales. Humans are human, trapped in a world that is not just, nor will it be justified. Our only help is to be found in the support of our fellows as we struggle to survive in an arbitrary world.

As can be seen from the description above, there is some compatibility between the genres and, as noted, many stories are a blend of narrative types. However, opposing points of the literary compass cannot, in Frye's view, be combined; just as those of the geographical compass cannot. Thus, the polar opposites of irony and romance cannot be combined, nor can comedy and tragedy. This, of course, does not preclude tragedies containing humour, or ironic love stories, but it does indicate opposing world views expressed in mythical form that cannot be reconciled with each other.

[83] Frye, N. *Anatomy of Criticism*, p.208

Hopewell builds on Frye's insights by applying the narrative categories to stories told by congregations and individual members of Christian communities. In doing this he allies each of four world view characteristics with the four narrative genres.[84]

The first world view identified is that termed by Hopewell as 'Canonic' and is allied to the Tragic myth type. For Christians, a canonic world view is characterised by the importance of an authoritative interpretation of the world presented through revelation, expressed in Scripture or closely defined Tradition in the form of dogma and proclaimed doctrines. Fidelity to teaching is required and the self is to be subordinated to the defined will of God expressed in His revealed truth. Diametrically opposed to this world view is the 'Gnostic' view, which Hopewell identifies as being similar to Frye's comic genre.[85] This view of the world regards the cosmos as fundamentally sound but misunderstood by a fallen humanity. Whereas the canonic world view demands surrender to defined laws and strictures, the Gnostic view is that what is required is enlightenment or wisdom in order to remove the scales from our eyes. If such enlightenment is achieved, harmony will be restored for the individual and society and progress towards union with God, and each other, can be made.

A 'Charismatic' world view is then identified as being similar in character to Frye's romantic genre.[86] This view focuses on evidence of the transcendent spirit active in the world, and personally experienced in the life of the individual and community. Providence is real in the world and, whilst laws of nature do exist, God can break in at

[84] Hopewell, J.F. *Congregation: Stories and Structures*, pp.67-85.

[85] Gnostic here does not denote particular historical sects but, rather, a general orientation in world view.

[86] Again, as with the Gnostic definition, Charismatic does not refer to particular groups allied to Pentecostal forms of Christianity but, simply, a general orientation.

any time and act in the world, influencing the heroic stories of each person. The opposite pole on the compass of world view identified by Hopewell, and corresponding to Frye's Ironic genre, is the 'Empiric' world view. The empiric world view is characterised by a rejection of the supernatural in the working of the world. This is not to suggest that it necessitates atheism but, rather, that the world functions according to scientifically definable laws and processes which may, according to the faith of the individual, have been established by God. Of critical importance is a reliance on sense data and 'realism' based on personal experience and demonstrated principles for the working of the world.

Hopewell applies these categories to the interpretation of data gathered through participant observation, interviews and through the use of a specifically designed questionnaire. In this way he achieves a "thick description" as described by Geertz, whilst defining compass points for the orientation of the map produced by the necessary simplification entailed in attempts to describe complex systems such as faith communities. The ability to combine differing, but not opposing, world views or narrative genres into blended definitions also allows for the nuance necessary in understanding differing but closely related faith groups. Thus, Hopewell's approach provides a potential lens through which to examine both modern and historical data which reveal world view through the stories embraced by a group or community. Of particular value in the context of this study is that the axes upon which Hopewell's cardinal points sit are relative in nature. There is no absolute point of 0,0 where the axes meet as one might find on a graph or some form of chart datum but, rather, relative directions which can be shifted and narrowed to allow crudely defined groups to be examined more closely.

In his initial study Hopewell presents case studies in which he identifies congregations with stories that can be classified distinctly within the 360^0 continuum presented. The parameters that he uses can easily then be focussed in if sub-groups were identified within these congregations. In our context here, there exists the potential to consider whether a group identified as Charismatic can then be more subtly defined if heterogeneity is identified as was done by both Walker and Ford. This second order classification can then be repeated if necessary, perhaps allowing R2 and Type II to be more subtly defined and any differentiation identified. Perhaps most powerfully of all is that, if sufficient historical data exists, there is the potential for chronological differentiation. The analysis of worldview in historical data such as journal materials, recorded talks and other materials allows for a form of thick description that allows a degree of comparison with existing groups. Thus, to borrow the biological analogy above, we can not only look at the ecology of a group through examining the niche it currently occupies we can also examine its evolution and perhaps trace a trajectory for its development.

Chapter 3. Methods.

3.1 Methodological Considerations

For several decades the use of anthropological methods has been applied not only to 'foreign' and 'exotic' cultures in the context of studying religion but also increasingly to more familiar situations close to the original culture of investigators.[1] Indeed, the sense of bringing anthropological and ethnographic understanding closer to home has produced a growing interest in the role of self within a culture and in methods such as autoethnography as a way of understanding one's position within society and also understanding cultural influences on the self.[2] This reflects the realisation that culture is not some abstract notion but is the product of complex interactions between the individual and the group. De Munck expresses the relationship between the individual and culture as symbiotic, one in which neither can exist without the other, stating "*self and culture together make each other up and, in that process, make meaning*".[3] This seems a reasonable assertion and certainly sits comfortably with the notion that we are social creatures widely held in biology, psychology, and anthropology; this view is also explicit in the teaching of the Catholic Church which is the host community of the Charismatic Renewal as studied here[4] .

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[1] For example, see Fenella Cannell "The Anthropology of Christianity" in *The Anthropology of Christianity,* London: Duke UP, 2006) (Cannell Ed) pp.1-45.

[2] Chang, H. *Autoethnography as Method.* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2008).

[3] De Munck, V. *Culture Self and Meaning*. (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 2000), p.2.

[4] Second Vatican Council, *Gaudium et Spes* 12 "For by his innermost nature man is a social being; and if he does not enter into relations with others he can neither live nor develop his gifts."

Whilst culture undoubtedly has internal influences and dimension the key assumption taken here, drawing from the anthropologist Clifford Geertz, is that culture is primarily exterior to the individual; that it is essentially "public". Geertz argues quite boldly against any notion that culture is located interiorly, referring to the idea as "*the main source of theoretical muddlement in contemporary anthropology*" and stating that "*Culture is public because meaning is.*".[5] For Geertz it is only in the making public of behaviours and their understanding and interpretation by others that meaning is made. His classic example of this is the multiple intentions that may lie behind the act of winking (closing of one eye) depending on the cultural understanding, and situation of the performer of the act and those observing.[6] One possible problem with this view is that it is perfectly possible that the winker and the observer may have quite different understandings of the act and yet continue to coexist within a group without either feeling any less sense that they are a part of the same culture as the other. Unless there is a clear misunderstanding, made manifest externally, there may be no opportunity to gauge a sense of the meaning other than by the response of one actor. Indeed, there may even be deliberate but unspoken differences in interpretation in which one or both sides understand that an act means something different to the other. Thus, simply because an act, symbol or behaviour is external it is not necessarily correct to assume a common understanding and the act of external observation alone risks missing this nuance. An example of this from within the preliminary stages of this study was the admission by one respondent that she raised her hands during prayer not

[5] Geertz, C. *The Interpretation of Cultures*, pp11-12.

[6] Geertz, C. *The Interpretation of Cultures*, p.20.

because it meant anything to her but because it meant something to other members of the prayer group:

> "They do it because they feel it opens them to God or something, I just do it because they expect it".

Thus, for her it was a symbol of cohesion but for others in the group, I was able to confirm, it did indeed have a more immanent spiritual reason – including being "*ready to catch the Spirit*". I do not suggest that Geertz is naïve enough to ignore this but simply that ignoring any internal dimension would fail to recognise the potential diversity of understanding within a group.

This final point is, to some extent, addressed by Obeyesekere by whom culture is presented as existing in an interaction of personal and public symbols.[7] A complex dialectical relationship exists between the culture and the individual in which a symbol, or knowledge, exists outside the individual until it is used by them, and so enters their minds and is held there much as knowledge is captured and held in the aviary model proposed by Plato in his conversation between Socrates and Theaetetus.[8] In this model members of a culture use this knowledge to communicate with each other and regulate behaviour, retaining the integrity of the culture beyond the individual appropriation of elements of the symbolic structure and directing them towards further corporate understanding of the web of symbols that constitutes the culture.

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[7] Obeyesekere, G. *Medusa's Hair: An Essay on Personal Symbols and Religious Experience*. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1981).

[8] Plato. *Theaetetus*. 196d1-200d4.

I agree with Geertz that it is wrong to reify culture in a 'superorganic' model or to reduce it to the "*brute pattern of facts that we observe*" in a community.[9] Neither can I agree with thinkers such as Goodenough who argue that that culture is located "*in the minds and hearts of men*".[10] But, I cannot agree with Geertz that culture is located solely in the public negotiation and expression of meaning. There is an individual dimension to culture in which personal notions of meaning exist, develop and are tested in various ways. This is not to say that there can be such a thing as "individual culture" in which each person in a community has a distinct and non-interacting cultural identity. As stated above, culture is a complex interaction of the individual and the group. Individuals have a degree of autonomy regarding which traits of the culture they wish to acquire, retain or pass on to others. They may reinterpret or renegotiate aspects through a combination of internal thoughts and interaction with others. In this way, new cultural ideas arise, diversity can be found within groups and potential shifts in the norm may take place depending on the degree of acceptance in the community. Luhmann, for example, proposes an autopoetic model for social systems in which new concepts are tested against core criteria and subjected to evolutionary selection.[11] In this context, such internal diversity of thought and interaction with other members of the culture represent spontaneous mutation within the system. Other concepts may be introduced into a culture from outside and subjected to such selection. Key to this is the fact that, in modern western societies, individuals are rarely members of a single

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[9] Geertz, C. *The Interpretation of Cultures*, p11.

[10] Goodenough, W. *Cultural Anthropology and Linguistics*, p.36

[11] Luhmann, N. "Society, meaning, religion – based on self-reference" *Sociological Analysis, 46:1* (1985) 5-20; Luhmann, N. "The autopoiesis of social systems" in Geyer, F & van der Zouwen, J. (Eds) *Sociocybernetic Paradoxes.* (London: Sage, 1986); Luhmann, N. *Social Systems* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995)

community or organisation and may be members of many at any given time. In the case of members of the CCR they are members of the Renewal in one or more of its expressions, usually also members of a parish, have a sense of their membership of the Universal Catholic Church and are also frequently involved in a range of professional, family, Church and other charitable activities. Each part contributes in some way to their self-identity and also feeds through into their understanding of each organisation or community. As this is expressed publicly it will be tested by, and will test, the assumptions and core criteria of the culture.

Individuals are not bound by their culture and can shed their membership if the process of seeking mutual understanding of meaning fails on either side and they are unwilling to shed that understanding. For example, in preliminary studies one respondent talked about leaving the CCR as a movement when she felt compelled to take the Bible literally and accept creation in six days. She felt unable to do this and so stopped attending meetings and conferences. However, she did continue to pray in tongues privately and considered her spirituality to be 'charismatic'. This also raises the important point that even when no longer formally a 'member' of a culture, through choice or force, there can still be considerable influences on the individual who may hold certain traits as precious and may even still regard themselves as members. As Chang observes, this is seen typically in immigrant communities where accepting a new nationality does not eliminate cultural identity[12].

It is, thus, important to recognise the complex nature of culture as an interaction of negotiations between members in which meaning is made, along the lines of the model

[12] Chang, H. *Autoethnography as Method*, p.23.

proposed by Geertz, but also to consider the complex internal processes which are taking place within individual members. These internal processes are influenced by, and in turn influence, the external web of meaning. Knowledge and symbols are appropriated from the culture and influence the worldview of the member. They also, however, develop their own concepts or symbols, or gather them from elsewhere, and offer them as alternatives or additions to the symbolic web of the culture. This, then, reflects something of the model put forward by Obeyesekere. There is a process of selection, by group and individual, which may result in change in the cultural symbolic language, rejection of the new concept or symbol, or the ceasing of membership by the individual or sub-group who hold the new idea as more important than membership. This is the stuff of change or schism, or perhaps sect formation. Here then, we find a concept reflecting that of Luhmann in his belief in selective processes operating at the cultural level.

The methodology outlined below, and used in this study, attempts to capture, to some extent, the complexity of gaining a 'thick description' of the external web of symbols as proposed by Geertz and also gaining some insight into the internal aspects of culture as expressed by individual members. This internal aspect is considered in terms of the symbols and concepts held by individuals in relation to the external symbols, i.e. are external symbols re-processed into internal symbols which make more sense in the complex internal interactions of the multiple influences on individuals? Also, what level of processing and selection takes place externally and internally when concepts are presented? This is important on a cultural level when new ideas are presented to the group and on an individual level when entering membership and when new concepts are presented by other members.

A key aspect of the methodological approach taken in this study is the role of narrative in understanding worldview and, in particular, how CCR members see their present position in relation to their history and to their future. In narrative, the cosmological is placed on the human scale and at the same time the human is integrated into the cosmological scale. Without narrative all of the symbols, norms and rules that constitute the semiotic web proposed by Geertz exist outside time; which would condemn members of the society in question to having no cosmological or historical significance. Now, whilst it is easily conceivable that a group might see itself as eternal and unchanging, some form of superorganic culture, it is unlikely that they could long survive the cognitive dissonance brought about by any direct denial of existing outside time. Like Canute before the waves they would soon have to account for their metaphorical wet feet in the face of the temporal reality of their existence.

The recognition of the value of narrative in cultural studies has developed considerably over recent decades.[13] Geertz in one of his later works, *After the Fact*, dwells on the role of narrative as a factor in the understanding of culture both due to shifts in symbolic meaning and relationships in the culture, and also due to its influence on the ethnographer.[14] He observes:

"The history of notion formation thus lives in the present, and culture as it manifests itself in this bazaar or that funeral…Understanding a form of life, or anyway some aspects of it to some degree, and convincing others that you have indeed done so, involves more than the assembly of telling particulars or the imposition of general narratives. It involves bringing figure and ground, the passing occasion and the long story, into coincident view".[15]

[13] Ammerman, N.T. 'Culture and Identity in the Congregation', pp.92-100.

[14] Geertz, C. *After the Fact*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996).

[15] Geertz, C. Ibid., p.51.

He goes on to argue that ethnographers can no longer delude themselves that they are in some way studying from 'outside' and that it is not sufficient to 'take a picture' of a culture at a fixed point.[16] "*What is needed*…" Geertz states "…*or anyway must serve, is tableaus, anecdotes, parables, tales: mini-narratives with the narrator in them*".[17] Alasdair MacIntyre would seem to support this in his consideration of the narrative unity of life where he states:

"Narrative history of a certain kind turns out to be the basic and essential genre for the characterization of human actions".[18]

What both Geertz and MacIntyre suggest is that it is erroneous to consider individual human acts, or cultural symbols, in isolation. Neither can a sequence of actions be considered as isolated acts but, rather, as part of a narrative which makes the actions intelligible.[19] It is only in understanding the narrative context of acts or symbols that we can make sense of them. Indeed, if we fail to understand the narrative within which an action sits we can do little other than guess at its meaning or seek to impose an understanding which may or may not resonate with the understanding of the actors.

The approach taken in the study reported here seeks to gain a thick description of the CCR through overlapping descriptions of several expressions of the broader culture that form the movement. These include small and large parish groups, conferences, large events and Life in the Spirit seminar series. In seeking to gain insight into the specific,

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[16] Geertz, C. *After the Fact*, p.64.

[17] Geertz, C. Ibid., p.65.

[18] MacIntyre, A. *After Virtue*. (London: Duckworth, 1981), p.208.

[19] MacIntyre, A. Ibid., p.209.

and also the broader, worldviews held by group members a range of methods, including participant observation and interviews were used. Central to each mode of data gathering was an alertness to the narrative forms being used by participants and respondents, in line with the approach taken by James Hopewell and discussed earlier.

3.2 Practical Methodology

The data gathering phase of this study lasted for a period of just under three years, from February 2010 to November 2012. There was also an additional one-off visit to the Catholic Miracle Rally in May 2013. During this period three main types of expression of the CCR in the UK and Ireland were explored. The first of these was parish prayer groups which form perhaps the most common and basic expression of the CCR. The second was large national, and regional, gatherings and conferences which, as noted above, have been an important part of the life and identity of the CCR from quite early in its existence and continue to be a vital part of the movement's life in the UK and Ireland. The third expression was a particular, perhaps unique in the UK context, manifestation of the CCR in the Catholic Miracle Rally. The Miracle Rally is not strictly a conference as seen with other such events but is part of the outreach and mission of a Charismatic covenant community, *Cor et lumen Christi*. As such, this final expression was handled in isolation from the other modes of the CCR studied here.

In addition to these three main expressions there were also encounters with the CCR through other one-off events or groups that exist outside parish structures but with a particular focus or mission. Thus, Youth 2000 and the Harvester Men's Group were encountered on single occasions and input from CCR groups at events not specifically

aimed at Charismatics, such as a day on catechesis, was also witnessed. Data from these encounters informs some of the analysis of the above experiences but does not form a core part of the study.

The results reported in this study were obtained through three forms of data gathering: participant observation, informal interviewing and formal interviews.

Participant observation represents the largest mode of data gathering for this thesis and totalled approximately 400 hours. Most of this took place in the parish prayer groups, as reported below, with other participation taking place at various CCR events. During meetings and events I took notes, where appropriate, at the time. This was usually possible and unobtrusive due to the almost universal habit of note taking by CCR members, especially during talks and moments of prophecy. When note taking was not possible I would make notes as soon as possible afterwards, either during breaks or after events. At several events, such as Life in the Spirit seminars, I was able to record the event using a digital recorder with the permission of the organisers. Again, recording of CCR events is not unusual and a substantial market exists for recordings of individual speakers and entire conferences. I was able to purchase several of these, both for events I attended and for previous years. For one set of Life in the Spirit seminars I was asked to record the event by the organisers and to produce CD versions for participants. I did so at no charge.

In addition to noting the details of events and conversations (with permission) I also noted down shortly after each event or meeting my own reflections in the form of a field diary. This enabled a reflexive approach to my participation and enabled my own

position as observer and participant to be examined and incorporated into the analysis as discussed below.

Informal interviews were, at times, based around particular events that myself and the respondent had just experienced or reflections on the nature of a group; an example is given in the conversation with Gavin reported in the section on the large established prayer group at St. John's (Chapter 5.2). Whilst lacking the depth and breadth of the formal interviews, these moments did allow the exploration of specific topics and represented a spontaneity and honesty that was, at times, not apparent in the more formal interview situations. Some of these informal interviews were recorded using a digital recorder but most were not. Notes were taken at the time when recording was not possible. All respondents were aware during the conversation that I was engaged in the study and asked if they were content for the conversation to be 'on the record'. In addition to the initial consent, a more formal statement of consent was obtained by all participants used in the thesis. This outlined the nature and limits of confidentiality and that all reporting would be anonymous and that pseudonyms would be used.[20] Several respondents indicated that they were content for their real names to be used but this offer was declined. All names used in this thesis are pseudonyms.

Formal interviews were arranged by appointment and all participants were provided with an interview outline and permission form prior to the interview.[21] Interviews were all recorded using a digital recorder and later transcribed. Respondents were aware that they could withdraw their consent at any time and that neither recording nor transcripts

[20] See Appendix 4.1

[21] See Appendix 4.2

would be shared with anyone else. They were also informed that these would be destroyed when no longer needed.

The details of each respondent and the type of interview, or interviews, they took part in are outlined in Appendix 3. What follows is a description of each mode of the CCR studied, the degree of my involvement with each, and some reflection on my role as observer and participant.

3.2.1 Parish Groups and Activities

Perhaps the basic unit of the CCR is the parish prayer group, it is here that the day-to-day life of Catholic Charismatics are lived out and through which most recruits to the movement are obtained. In total five parish groups were visited as part of this study, some for extended periods and others only for as few as two meetings. A brief outline of the study in each community follows with the parish names changed.

St Michael's

St Michael's is a suburban parish in a large town in southern England, with average mass attendance each weekend of 400 to 450 people. The parish has a reasonable demographic spread with a number of families with young children attending regularly. The suburb is reasonably affluent with a wide range of housing, including some large detached houses on a fashionable street close to the church. The church itself is quite new, being rebuilt about the turn of millennium. The facilities, such as meeting rooms, are good and the parish priest is quite young, in his mid-forties.

The town has four parishes, including one in another suburb approximately two kilometres away from St Michael's. In 2006 a group of parishioners from this neighbouring parish, along with some from St. Michael's, approached the parish priest to ask if they could run a series of Life in the Spirit seminars. He agreed and even took part in some meetings. After the seminars were finished it was decided that there would be weekly prayer group meetings and the group from the neighbouring parish agreed to be part of this, leaving their own group to help build this daughter prayer group. They would, however, continue with other commitments in their original parish.

Due to numerous activities in the parish it was decided not to hold a weekly prayer group meeting but, instead, to have a monthly meeting. In addition to this, members of the new Charismatic group in the parish decided to form smaller groups that would meet on a weekly basis and wouldn't require the large room and music resources of the monthly prayer meeting. One of the small groups would meet in the house of a couple from the neighbouring parish and the other would meet on Friday mornings after mass, using the Lady Chapel as its venue.

By the time I encountered St. Michael's these groups, and the monthly prayer meeting, had been running for over three years and were settled into an established pattern. Initially I attended the large prayer meeting several times, but it soon became apparent that the smaller groups provided the potential for insight into a different dimension of the CCR in the parish. Both groups were willing to allow me to join their groups as a participant observer and to engage in interviews. The Friday group had no hesitation in allowing me to participate; after approaching one of the members during a large meeting she invited me to the next Friday group where I explained that I was engaged in a study and all members were quite happy for me to participate. For the

house group I initially approached Tom, one of the host couple, and he then asked the rest of the group at their next meeting; upon which they all agreed. Again, at my first meeting with this group I introduced myself and the nature of the study.

In total, I attended five meetings of the main prayer group, six meetings of the house group and eight meetings of the Friday group over an eight month period. On all occasions, the meetings followed a similar format, as reported in Chapter 5.3. In addition to participant observation I also interviewed members of both small groups, who also all constituted members of the larger monthly meeting. From the house group I interviewed Shirley, Tom, Margaret, Jacob and Vanessa. From the Friday group, interviews took place with Yvonne, Ailish and Brenda. As with all interviewees, profiles of each person and the nature of the interview carried out are set out in detail in Appendix 3. All names of individuals have been changed and replaced with age and culturally appropriate names. Names were used in an alphabetical sequence to additionally randomise attribution to respondents.

Life in the Spirit

The parish of Our Lady of Lourdes in which the Life in the Spirit seminars presented in Chapter 5.1 took place is a moderate sized parish in a town of just approximately 30,000 residents in southern England. The parish has a weekly mass attendance of just over three hundred, spread between a mass on Saturday evening and a 10.30am family mass. The town is prosperous with a busy high street populated by a range of shops, restaurants and coffee shops. There is a very high employment rate with a large number of technology companies in the area. Significant inward migration from eastern European countries, particularly Poland, has brought a number of younger Catholics and

families into the parish but many of these go to a nearby larger town to attend a Polish mass. Some, however, do attend mass at Our Lady of Lourdes and their children largely attend the parish school.

The current parish priest is in his early sixties but has had health problems for some time and so provides little provision in the parish outside the celebration of sacraments. All the parishioners I encountered saw him as a 'good man' but just not able to do as much as he would like. It felt to me that his illness had left something of a vacuum in the parish in terms of activity and initiative. Several people had come forward to help deal with various practical matters in the life of the parish and a new sacristan was dealing with most issues relating to sacraments that did not require a priest. Some members of the parish felt that the spiritual life of the parish was suffering, and they also felt that increased spiritual engagement from parishioners would bring with it a greater level of volunteering in running the parish. There was a genuine concern amongst several members of the parish that without this the parish may be placed under the care of a non-resident priest and that they would become, effectively, a sub-unit of a neighbouring parish.

It was against this background that one couple, Sarah and Jim, felt that there was a need for spiritual renewal in the parish and that a series of Life in the Spirit seminars might bring this. They had both been involved in the CCR for a couple of decades and had helped to run seminars in parishes before they had moved to Our Lady of Lourdes. With the help of some friends, and people from another nearby CCR prayer group, they sought permission from the parish priest and set about organising seminars. Jim is a musician and so took the lead on pulling together a worship band and Sarah took responsibility for the talks. Others looked after the administration, catering and getting a

supply of books for a stall from a Charismatic book supplier. Initially, Sarah had thought about bringing in speakers, which is normal practice, but in the end she felt called to deliver each of the talks herself. This was partly due to lack of budget to cover costs but mainly, for Sarah, due to the fact that she felt that she knew the needs of the parish more than any outside speaker:

> "I felt that as a community we were wounded and tired, and that what was needed was a tailor-made response from someone who understood. I prayed about it and knew that it was the right thing.". (Sarah)

Responding to a notice in Good News magazine advertising the seminar series, I contacted Sarah initially and explained my study in a phone call. After discussing my attendance with the rest of the organising group she called back and said they were 'more than happy' for me to attend. At the beginning of the first meeting I was introduced to all attendees as someone:

> "…from Oxford University who is really interested to see how the Spirit is moving in our parish, to help us understand where he wants us to go and to see the fruits of these seminars". (Sarah)

As Spickard notes, the way informants present us as investigators and the way we are presented back to ourselves provides important insights about our role, our relationship with the group and also how the group regards itself.[22] This was one of the first moments in the study in which I became alert to the possibility that my role and interests might be appropriated and re-presented for the purposes of the group I was studying. This was the first of the groups reported here that I encountered. It suggested that the

[22] Spickard, J.V. "Micro Qualitative Approaches to the Sociology of Religion: Phenomenologies, Interviews, Narratives and Ethnographies". In: *Sage Handbook of the Sociology of Religion.* (London: Sage, 2007), p.137.

group was able to see any involvement as a sign and contribution to their renewal, and that they were perhaps of a greater significance "*it's great that our little group should attract the attention of Oxford University*" (Jim). The community made me extremely welcome and sought to involve me in a number of activities, though I limited my involvement to participation in the session and helping with serving tea and coffee. I got a feeling that they really wanted me as part of their community. Their openness was a great help in enabling me to get a sense of their motivation and hopes for the seminars and their genuine desire to enliven their parish. Over the ten-week period I spent with them it would be right to say that I was able to develop a genuine affection for them and was able to personally empathise with their hopes for their parish, all the time being aware of the hazards of 'going native'.

At Our Lady of Lourdes I attended the seminars over a six week period (including a whole day Saturday event), three masses in the parish and two follow up meetings after the seminars. Also, whilst there I carried out three interviews with Sarah, Jim and Gareth.

Large established prayer group

The large established CCR prayer group at St John's parish has been in place, in one form or another since 1979. Initially the main drivers behind the establishment of the prayer group were a small group of parishioners who had experienced a Day of Renewal at a nearby convent and the parish priest who had also been to a similar event, and was excited by the potential of the Renewal for the parish. The initial core group and the priest held a number of prayer meetings together before deciding to hold a series of Life in the Spirit seminars in 1980. These proved immensely successful and the group

expanded to a membership of about fifty, with a number of young families and teenagers. Following this expansion, a youth group was set up which ran until the late 1990s. At one point the youth group had its own band and regularly went on trips to events as a group in their own right. The adult group maintained high numbers and, as the town saw a large influx of people in the late 1980s, peaked in membership around then or in the early 1990s.

To some extent, this group saw itself as missionary in nature. On several occasions they provided people and support for other parishes, in the town and beyond, who wanted to set up prayer groups or run Life in the Spirit seminars. Over the years they have been visited by a number of high profile speakers such as Ian Petit, Charles Whitehead, John Vaughan-Neil and Kristina Cooper. Since this period in the 1980s and 90s the group has declined to a point where today its activities are limited almost solely to regular prayer meetings which take place two or three times each month, depending on the length of the month and the time of year.

The town itself is large, with several Catholic parishes and primary schools; the town also has a large Catholic comprehensive and two Catholic independent schools, one boys and one girls. The town has a conscious Catholic heritage with one of the forty English Martyrs coming from the town and a small pilgrimage shrine just outside in a Recusant chapel. Now, due to rapid expansion, the town functions as something of a dormitory town for London and is defined by large numbers of commuters. Several of the members of St John's parish suggested that this had been one factor in the decline of activities, including the prayer group. Lack of social cohesion, lack of time, and the physical dispersal of families were all suggested by members as factors in the decline at

St. John's. The biggest factor suggested, as discussed in Chapter 5, was lack of support and enthusiasm on the part of local clergy, and even the diocesan bishop.

I attended St. John's for over a year from mid-2010 to late 2011. Over that time, I attended eighteen prayer meetings and spent some time with a few members at the Catholic Miracle Rally in 2011. I also interviewed seven members of the group: Gavin, Laurence, Patricia, Helen, Ian, Kelly and Eileen.

I approached Gavin, the named contact in the parish handbook, about spending time with the group and met with him for coffee before he asked the rest of the core group. They all agreed and my initial introduction to the group was matter of fact and I was asked to talk to the group for a few minutes about my aims and what I would be doing with the data. The option for any members to object by making their feelings known to the core group privately was offered but to my knowledge no one came forward.

3.2.2 Conferences and Gatherings

Athlone

I arranged to travel to the National Charismatic Conference in Athlone in June 2010 through connections with a parish prayer group in Belfast. I had already introduced my study to the group members and they were extremely welcoming to me. On the bus to Athlone, Joe told everyone what I was doing and got me to talk to the whole group through the microphone as we travelled. Again, as with all groups, if anyone was uncomfortable with my presence they were asked to approach Joe privately and I would

step back to whatever degree was necessary. Nobody voiced objections and many members went out of their way to come and chat with me, one even offering "*you can use that if you like*" as he talked of one of his experiences as a young man.

I had first heard about the national conferences through the Belfast prayer group and felt it would provide an opportunity to get a snapshot of the CCR on a national scale. National conferences have been taking place in Ireland for over thirty years at a range of venues, mainly in Dublin. For at least two years prior to my attendance the conference had been relocated to Athlone in central Ireland and was held in the large sports hall of the Athlone Institute of Technology. The conference itself lasted three days and accommodation was provided on site in student halls. The accommodation we were in was divided into a series of flats with common rooms. I was in a flat with five other members of the Belfast group and as the conference progressed it became apparent that the social side of the conference was just as important as the formal and spiritual input. In addition to eating together as a group, we socialised in the bar and then returned each night to one of the flats to allow the party to continue. On the second night everyone had to do a party piece and there was singing, poetry recital (comedic generally), some joke telling and even some dancing. I was not excused and found myself giving a rendition of the 'Wild Rover' which became quite raucous during the choruses. This was an important part of my acceptance into the group and also in terms of my own ability to understand the nature of the CCR in this expression. This event was part of the members' lives and experience of the CCR but also of their broader faith experience as Catholic and as Irish. Several songs during this time were nationalistic in tone and the poems and jokes tended to be subversive, with the Church and clergy being particular targets.

The conference itself was attended by several hundred people from all over Ireland, and some from the United States and Canada. I also met a few other English people attending as part of a prayer group from London. Most of the people encountered had come as small groups or couples and were members of prayer groups. A few were members of communities such as Chemin Neuf, Focolare or a Christian Zionist group based in Dublin. The conference was structured around praise and worship at the beginning and end of each session with a speaker or liturgy forming part of the session. All activities took place in the main hall with all attendees, there were no 'break out' sessions or alternative speakers.

During the conference I had informal interviews with a number of participants, both from the Belfast group and others. Six people were interviewed over the course of the conference or on the journeys to or from Athlone. Those interviewed were: Joe, Lorna, Mairead, Niamh, Orla, and Rita.

Larne

In August 2010 a regional conference of the CCR in Northern Ireland was held at Drumalis retreat centre near Larne. The conference took place over a weekend from Saturday morning to Sunday afternoon. There were approximately 180 to 200 attendees over the weekend, mostly from Charismatic prayer groups and communities in the Belfast area, many of whom I already knew. I had not planned to attend the conference but found out about it when visiting a Belfast group the week before so took the opportunity to attend. As I had no time to speak with organisers beforehand I felt that it would be unethical to use data from conversations at the event or to seek interviewees during the weekend. It did, however, present an opportunity to hear some speakers and

to reflect on my own experience and feelings about the CCR and their events. In short, it provided something of a reflexive moment in which I was able to consider my relationship with CCR members and to consider whether my presence openly as a researcher impacted upon the dynamic of my participant observation. As such, Larne provided some deeper insight into the CCR but, more importantly, helped to form my methodological approach and interpretation of observations.

As Neitz observes, becoming an effective ethnographer involves a blurring of identity and the need to "walk between the worlds" of our own history, experiences and beliefs and those of the group we study.[23] My period at the Larne conference, and other meetings in which I did not actively gather data as part of my participant observation, allowed me a moment in which I could risk allowing myself to wander closer to the world of the CCR without fear of losing the role of observer. I was able to make myself somewhat more vulnerable in these moments and approach more closely what Zablocki terms 'maximum feasible immersion' within the group and the event.[24] Zablocki considers the ethnographer of religion both a 'serial convert' and a 'serial apostate', moving into the space of belief and out again.[25] I certainly recognise this process in many of the moments of participant observation I engaged in during the study. One moment being able to embrace and understand the belief and practice as seen from the perspective of participant and then stepping back and reflecting on my own experience

[23] Neitz, M.J. 'Walking Between the Worlds: Permeable Boundaries, Ambiguous Identities'. In: *Personal Knowledge and Beyond: Reshaping the Ethnography of Religion*. Spickard, J.V., Landres, J.S and McGuire, M.B. (Eds). (New York: NYU Press, 2002), pp.33-46.

[24] Zablocki, B.D. 'Vulnerability and Objectivity in Participant Observation of the Sacred". In: *Towards Reflexive Ethnography: Participating, Observing, Narrating*. Bromley, D.G. and Carter, L.F. (Eds). (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2001), pp.223-245.

[25] Ibid.

and that of others. It was only in such moments that I felt I gained any real understanding of the movement and its reality to members. In essence, the method applies the old adage that one cannot know another until you have walked a mile in their shoes but, additionally requires us to step out again and look back along that mile. Zablocki explains:

> "when this technique is partly successful, it may result in the important breakthrough of actually being able to enter the sacred time and the sacred space of the religious group, at least for short periods…Such a fleeting experience of sharing this space and time can be as valuable as a zip disk worth of interviews…Its scientific value resides, I think, in the capacity it gives the researcher to validate and contextualize more conventional observations"[26]

One moment at Larne that perhaps illustrates this was towards the end of the weekend, during the final praise session. Following enthusiastic singing and prayer in tongues a 'conga line' was formed and began to dance around the meeting hall and then out into the hallways and the rest of the building. Initially, I attempted to observe what one participants called the '*conga for Jesus!*' but I was eventually pulled in by a prayer group member and found myself in the middle of a long line of people singing, skipping and laughing in an unselfconscious way. From outside the conga made no sense but from within the line it made perfect sense. The joy of the event, the abandonment in the face of unconditional acceptance by the Holy Spirit and the bond of community required more than vocal expression, it required something physical and communal. The conga line allowed this physicality and communality, and remains a moment in which I felt I understood why the CCR was so important in the full expression of faith for its members, approaching sacramentality in its ability to physically manifest grace.

[26] Zablocki, B.D. 'Vulnerability and Objectivity in Participant Observation of the Sacred", p.225.

During the rest of the weekend there were several speakers from local groups and two external speakers. Firstly, the main speaker for the weekend, Mario Restrepo: a South American convert and writer on the theme of eschatology and spirituality. Restrepo spoke on the theme of apocalypse during the weekend and was well received. The other speaker was a pharmacist from Dublin who refused to dispense the contraceptive pill and was promoting natural family planning. His talk spoke of how he had been persecuted for his practice by the rest of his profession and so had set up a charity to combat the growth of contraception in Ireland. Their themes were socially conservative, and most participants seemed quite comfortable with their messages.

Celebrate

The Celebrate conference described here took place in October 2011 in Southampton and was one of the numerous regional Celebrate conferences that take place around the country each year. I was later to attend the conference in Southampton on two further occasions but no data from those conferences are reported here. It is, perhaps, worth noting that the subsequent attendances did provide confirmation that the 2011 event was not exceptional in its style and nature.

I attended the whole of the weekend and met with some participants later. I initially heard about the event from a flyer handed around at St Michael's and it was clear that this was a regular feature in their annual calendar. I booked to attend individually and travelled by myself but while there I did meet three members from St Michael's who had travelled together. I did not attach myself to this group but, rather, participated on my own and took the opportunity to engage with other participants not previously known to me. I took part in the main sessions and some break-out sessions. There were no

evening events as all participants returned home at the end of the day and travelled back the next morning.

The weekend included a range of speakers from the CCR, including several contributions from Charles Whitehead, and some other speakers from other Catholic groups. There did not seem to be any great ecumenical involvement.

The number of attendees was approximately 200 over the course of the weekend, with some members only attending on one day. Three interviews from this event are reported here: Oscar, Natalie and Philomena.

3.2.3 Catholic Miracle Rally

Details of the history and nature of the Catholic Miracle Rally are given elsewhere in the thesis. The bulk of the data presented in the thesis are taken from a visit to the May 2010 Rally and supported with additional data from visits in 2012 and 2013. On each occasion the structure of the event was very similar. I attended the event on my own each time, although I did meet with some members from parish groups I attended or had attended earlier in the study.

All events, apart from stalls and exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, took place in the main hall of the Friends Meeting House in Euston, London. This was one of the rare CCR events to include any participants or speakers from outside the Catholic Church, but it was still strongly Catholic in its identity.

In addition to participating in all events, I spoke with numerous participants encountered either by virtue of being near each other during sessions or as a result of conversations started during breaks. Unlike the events in Larne, Athlone or even Celebrate I found it more difficult to make myself vulnerable at this event and to become a 'serial convert'. A such, it is possible that much of my analysis of the Miracle Rally is as more of an observer than as a participant and 'serial apostate'. I have reflected at length on this and have concluded that whilst the size of the event (up to 500 people) and the nature of the venue perhaps made it more difficult to engage in an intimate way it is perhaps more a product of my own response to the content and style of the event. In particular, the style of Damien Stayne stood out amongst all the speakers and organisers encountered during this study and, in addition to setting the tone of the event, also affected my response to the broader experience. This degree of detachment influenced my decision to attend the event on three occasions, in order to confirm for myself that my interpretation was as honest as possible. I am content that the event described is typical of the Miracle Rally but also recognise that my response is also important and perhaps is also indicative of an event that stands apart from the normal CCR experience.

Eight interviews were carried out during the Miracle Rally or shortly afterwards: Adam, Brian, Catherine, Deidre, Elizabeth, Francis, Gregory and Andy.

3.2.4 Other interviews

The data from two other interviews are reported in this thesis:

James

I met James at a Charismatic men's group and struck up a conversation with him during the break. We spoke to some extent during the meeting and met up again later for a more structured interview.

Kristina Cooper

Kristina Cooper (her real name) is editor of the Good News magazine and spoke with me on two occasions, the second being a more formal interview. We also spoke on the telephone twice. In addition to the outcome of interviews with her I also saw her speak at several events.

Literature and Archive Sources.

The editor and staff of Good News magazine allowed me access to their archive of material relating to the CCR (then at Allen Hall in London). In addition to copies of Good News magazine and newsletters dating back to the late 1970s, the archive also contained correspondence dating back to the late 1960s. These proved particularly useful in establishing some of the early history of the CCR in the UK. I visited the archive several times and was also kindly allowed to borrow some material.

Other literature sources included copies of New Creation magazine kindly loaned or given to me by members of the CCR in Northern Ireland. This produced a more patchy record but did provide some insights as far back as the mid-1980s.

Presentation of Results

The following chapters present the results of the data gathered in the form of a series of vignettes that illustrate the core nature of the groups studied, and accompanying data from interviews and participant observation derived from the wider experience of each group. Interview data, where appropriate, is presented in dialogue form with the investigator identified as “KC”.

Chapter 4. Images of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal in the UK and Ireland.

4.1. Introduction to the vignettes

The following accounts describe three distinct modes of the CCR in the UK, each with some common threads and people but also quite distinct, and indicating a diverse movement, or perhaps multiple movements.

The first, the Catholic Miracle Rally is in many ways the least typical of the vignettes and represents the theology and world view of a particular covenant community, *Cor et Lumen Christi*. Nevertheless, it is well attended and is promoted at national and local levels within the UK CCR with many prayer groups organising attendance by members of their group. My attention was first drawn to it through a leaflet handed to me by a prayer group member at a small meeting in a suburban parish. I attended the rally in its entirety on two occasions in 2010 and then in 2012, the account here is drawn from the 2010 rally at the Friends Meeting House, Euston and captures the essence of the experience. Some additional reflections in the analysis draw on experiences of the 2012 rally and a briefer visit in 2013.

The second set of vignettes, in Chapter 5, are provided by attendance at four different charismatic prayer groups in southern England and Northern Ireland. Time spent with these groups varied from a few meetings, a weekend trip and some social time in the case of the Northern Ireland groups through to prolonged attendance over the course of just over two years for the English groups from 2010 to 2013, with

occasional subsequent visits. One of these groups had also formed part of an earlier study in 2008.[1]

The third set of images, in Chapter 6, come from an experience of the CCR that appears to fall somewhere between the extremes portrayed in the previous sets of stories. Each year there are a number of national and regional charismatic conferences that bring together members of prayer groups and covenant communities for praise, talks and social interaction. The accounts here are drawn from conferences in England, Northern Ireland and one from the national Irish conference in Athlone in which I accompanied a coach party from Northern Ireland for the duration of the conference.

[1] Chappell, K.R. MTh thesis. University of Oxford, 2009.

4.2 Catholic Miracle Rally

A Saturday morning during early summer of 2010 in the centre of London, there is a real buzz of excitement as hundreds of people gather for the first day of the Catholic Miracle Rally, organised by the charismatic renewal covenant community *Cor et lumen Christi*. The venue is the Friends Meeting House in Euston, devoid of religious symbolism in its architecture, the only imagery in the room is that brought and displayed by the organisers of the two day event. Most prominent of these is a digital projection of a figure, Jesus, with long fair hair and blue eyes emerging from a large pool of water hands raised to heaven as water drips off him. He wears a white garment that is soaked and clinging to his muscular torso in an image reminiscent of Colin Firth playing Mr Darcy.[2] This image provides the standard background for the weekend, replaced sometimes by words for hymns or other imagery but returning to this image as default. The platform immediately in front of the screen is set up for a music group with guitars, drums and microphones. Apart from this there is a lectern and table and no other imagery or furniture. The 'team' from the community are distinctively dressed in blue trousers or skirts, white shirts and a wooden cross, which is only available to those who join the community.[3] The community members appear to be largely in their

[2] *Pride and Prejudice*, BBC adaptation 1995. http://www.bbc.co.uk/drama/prideandprejudice/

[3] The *Cor et lumen Christi* community was founded in 1990 by Damian Stayne who still leads the community. Membership exists in two forms: "Community of Life" in which single people, couples and families live in community and rely on 'providence' for their income, and "Companions of the Heart" in which members live according to the ethos and rule of the community in everyday life. http://www.coretlumenchristi.org/our_life_together.php (14/04/15)

twenties and thirties, except for a few more senior members of the team who appear more middle-aged.

Subsequent visits to the Miracle Rally in 2012 and again in 2013 revealed little difference in the overall presentation of the setting, or the make-up of the organising community. The image of the wet Christ was replaced in projection by images of a dove and fire or a range of devotional images; noticeably Catholic in some cases, such as Marian imagery and icons. In 2012 the front of the stage was dressed with four images in addition to the back projection. These images were, from left to right: an icon of the Blessed Virgin Mary, an image of the Holy Family, the Rublev Icon of the Trinity, and an image of the gathered apostles at Pentecost. As such, this event was more self-consciously Catholic in its symbolism and imagery than the earlier Rally.

In an interview after the 2010 Rally I ask Andy, a member of the *Cor et lumen Christi* community, about the choice of venue and the style of the day. His responses are largely pragmatic or allude to the fact that the decision is made unilaterally by the leadership with no reference or explanation to ordinary members like himself:

> "I think we use Euston because it's easy to get to: central London and near the station. There aren't many places of the right size. I think it's also a bit cheaper than a lot of places...Damian [Stayne] never asks us if we should do anything different. We go along and it always works."[4]

The attendees are more diverse in age and ethnic origin than the organising community. Whilst all speakers and leaders during the 2010 weekend are white, with the exception of one singer in the music ministry group who is of African-Caribbean

[4] Interview with 'Andy'. 24/09/10 (See Appendix 3.7)

appearance, only about 40% of attendees are white European, with many of these having origins outside the UK: in particular a Polish contingent makes itself known with a banner; and Irish, South African and American accents are clear during breaks. About one third to two-fifths of participants are of African-Caribbean origin; about 15-20% are Asian, either from the Indian sub-continent or from Oceania, at least one large group is Filipino. There are a few Hispanic people and a few far-Eastern Asians. Perhaps about two-thirds are female and the average age must be early fifties, although there are some children earlier in the day and quite a few people well beyond retirement age.

Subsequent visits to the Miracle Rallies suggest little variation in the demographic composition of the attendees. Indeed, the international composition of the audience is emphasised by the fact that by 2016 the organisers were providing simultaneous translation in Spanish and Polish. The speakers do show a greater diversity in other years with European speakers, and speakers and clergy from India and Africa being represented.[5]

On all visits to the Rally the first day is broken into two distinct parts. The first is a series of talks and worship sessions for the registered attendees of the 'Rally', the second an open session for anyone to attend that will consist of a healing service in which miraculous healing of physical ailments is promised, not loosely but emphatically by Damian Stayne the community leader *"we will see people healed here today"*.

[5] Fr Daniel Ange from Belgium in 2012; Fr Cyril Edamana 2015; Fr Joseph Edattu 2016; Dr Jonathon Oloyede 2017.

Following some welcomes and introduction, including the assertion from Damian Stayne that "*God is going to do great things here today*", the first session of the day is begun with a "praise session" led by the music group, a set of professional Christian musicians. The format of the praise session is common to that of much Charismatic worship, a combination of choruses in which the cadence is frequently brought from high tempo to slow repetition of key phrases. At this point the chorus frequently moves into glossolalia which continues for several minutes before dying down into whispered personal prayer either in tongues or English (although other languages are discernible in the group). A few individuals occasionally shout out terms of praise or ejaculations such as "*Come Lord!*", "*You are great!*" or simply "*Yes!*". Occasional noises are also made, at this early stage they can be described as moans or squeaks but later in the day they will develop into shrieks, gasps and yelps.

After this period of praise a series of speakers are introduced by Damian Stayne, the founder and leader of the community. The first is John Vaughan-Neil, a well-known figure in the UK CCR whose handbooks for Life in the Spirit seminars are widely used by prayer groups.[6] His talk is focussed on prayer and redemption. Though focussed on prayer he opens with a reading from Wisdom 1:13-15 considering creation and its goodness. Vaughan-Neil then enters into an excursus that touches on the relationship between science and religion, in particular evolutionary theory. His position emphasises the creative role of God and is well received by the audience who make approving statements and applaud when science is "*put in its place*" as one delegate later said during coffee. There is a sense that Vaughan-Neil expects this response and

[6] Vaughan-Neil, J. *Sons and Daughters of the Living God Participant's Guide* (Parts 1 and 2) (Luton: New Life Publishing, 2001) and Vaughan-Neil, J. *Sons and Daughters of the Living God: Team Handbook* (Luton: New Life Publishing, 2001).

is opening with it to build trust and a relationship with his audience. This is the first of several subtle and explicit criticisms of intellectualism made over the course of the weekend and at other Miracle Rally events. Vaughan-Neil himself later goes on to criticise theologians who argue for the impassibility of God, stating that "*God has feelings*" without presenting a counter argument beyond the emotional. This pre-eminence of the emotional over the intellectual is continued by the second speaker, Michelle Moran, who openly criticises intellectualism to widespread approval in the room before concluding "*I'm not anti-intellectual, actually I'm quite a strong 'mind' person"* but *"mind is not enough*".

Vaughan-Neil's talk continues to consider the power of prayer and the role of Scripture, particularly the Psalms, in prayer. Thus, a model of prayer based around lamenting, trust/abandonment, petition, and thanksgiving is recommended to the audience. This is linked throughout with the commendation of the value of praying in tongues, and especially singing in the spirit. Again, in an appeal to the purity of the emotions in such matters he apologises to the music group but suggests that unmediated, unaccompanied, singing in the Spirit is purer and more effective than structured or liturgical singing or prayer. He ends with the assertion that "*there is no such thing as no answer from God*". This is not explained but the whole audience is urged now to sing in the Spirit, which takes place.

Moran is introduced as the second speaker, again by Stayne. She is the chair of the British CCR and the International CCR, a member of the Pontifical Council for the Laity and most importantly "*one of us*", as Stayne puts it. Her credentials beyond question, she proceeds to talk about Scripture, the Holy Spirit, spiritual warfare and the last days. Throughout her talk there are strong apocalyptic and dualistic tones as she

presents a partially realised eschatology she repeatedly refers to as the "*third age*", i.e. that of the Holy Spirit, following the age of creation and the age of the prophets. Moran quotes the Catechism of the Catholic Church on the last days at several points to emphasise the authority of her message.[7] She sees intellectuals as a barrier in the fight that is to be fought, using John chapter 6 and the story of Nicodemus as an example of a "*blind intellectual*". The primary weapon for Christians in the warfare that exists now is the Bible, the "*sword of the Spirit*". There is a real urgency in her words and tone as she warns that these are the last days; we cannot waste time, this is a "wake up call". Matthew 25 is read to emphasise the outcome for the sheep and the goats. The challenge is put to all in the room to put their faith into action and to move from thinking to doing. The nature of this action is not made clear but does appear to be a challenge to those who engage purely in "personal spirituality" and contains a clear call to evangelise.

Moran's talk is followed by an appeal from Stayne for attendees to become more involved in social action by making pledges at the Cafod (Catholic Fund for Overseas Development) stand in the foyer. During his appeal Stayne says:

> "in the Charismatic Renewal we are often accused of being selfish. This is an opportunity to prove otherwise."

He invites the people to pray and, if they are moved to give, then to stand up and go out immediately with the Cafod representative. When the first person stands Stayne points him out as an exemplar and leads applause for him. Of the 500 or so people in the room eight stand up and go.

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[7] *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1994) paragraphs 668-679.

Later, during breaks, I discuss this request to go and pledge money to Cafod with some participants, including one of those who did go out to donate. Catherine, a middle aged Irish woman living in London, was very clear in her reasoning for not donating. She felt that Cafod were engaged in "*immoral*" activities and she wasn't prepared to help fund them. When I pursue what she means by 'immoral' she elaborates that they:

> "give out condoms and promote birth control" and that "they advise women in Africa to have abortions".[8]

I ask if she does, or would, donate to any charities and she tells me that she makes regular donations to Aid to the Church in Need and that this is "*my charity"*.[9] Two other people I speak with, Deidre and Brian, give less dogmatic reasons for not donating to Cafod. Deidre simply "*didn't feel called"* to donate and Brian, a young white South African living in London, confessed that he would but that he had very little money spare:

> "I know I have more than the people they are helping, believe me I've seen it for myself, but I just can't spare any cash at the moment*"*.

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[8] An online search reveals a number of reports of Cafod promoting the use of condoms as part of its HIV/Aids strategy in the developing world. Cafod's own website seems to support this as do reports in mainstream newspapers such as The Guardian and The Telegraph (See: http://cafod.org.uk/News/UK-news/Pope-on-condoms-2010-11-23; https://www.theguardian.com/society/2004/sep/24/internationalaidanddevelopment.religion; http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1472466/Catholics-back-Aids-condoms.html). Several conservative Catholic organisations have called for Cafod to lose its status and funding as a Catholic organisation (http://www.cathud.com/RESOURCES_CATHOLIC/pages_AF/what_is_cafod.htm and http://catholicactionuk.blogspot.co.uk/2008/02/cafod-dossie.html give a flavour of some of the strength of feeling regarding Cafod in conservative circles). I could not find any reliable evidence of any support for abortion by Cafod.

[9] Aid to the Church in Need is a Catholic charity which supports local churches in troubled or persecuted Christian communities. Many of its activities take place in Africa, the former Soviet Union countries, the Middle East and other predominantly Muslim countries. Whilst some of its activities can be classed as social action they all focus on faith development and evangelisation as their primary aims. http://www.acnuk.org/

Adam, a 62-year-old British man of African-Caribbean descent, did donate:

> "I don't give to any other charities on a regular basis…after the second or third person went out I just felt a real urge to go".

When I asked if he would keep up the regular payments in the future he paused and replied "*Yeah. Probably*."

As the event progresses, the presenters all take a somewhat paternalistic, or maternal, tone in dealing with the attendees but this seems to be accepted and welcomed. The people are here to be taught and accept the authority and instruction of those on the stage. This tone becomes accentuated in the afternoon as there is more praise and worship and a period of prayer ministry. This period of prayer and praise is much more intense than that experienced at the opening of the day. There is considerable 'slaying in the spirit' with several teams dotted around the room to attend to people as they collapse. Indeed, in some places people are queuing to be prayed over by approved prayer partners and behind them during prayer are team members whose ministry is to catch people and lay them down on the ground. A high percentage of people are being 'slain' in this way. Most people are praying and singing in tongues, other noises have increased in pitch with distinct screaming, ululation, laughing and barking audible. To my right a woman in her late twenties or early thirties moves from praying in tongues to loud laughter whilst rolling her eyes, patting her chest and stroking her breasts. After some minutes of this she collapses to the floor and rolls into a foetal position whilst moaning and laughing gently. Around the room two other women are also curled up in similar foetal poses. Moran is up on stage telling people

not to stare at people during this phase but to concentrate on prayer, "*pray or leave*" is her forthright, and slightly irritated, instruction to attendees.

Talking to attendees after this period of prayer ministry I find that most are very comfortable with the experience. This apparent comfort notwithstanding, when, just after the session, I encounter a member of one of the parish prayer groups I have previously attended, she looks at me wide eyed and says conspiratorially "*Well, that was a bit weird*". This was her first experience of the Rally and despite her unease at this point she did return to the Rally in future years. There is no doubt, however, that sessions of this intensity go beyond the normal experience of most parish based CCR groups and even other conferences and gatherings. A possible exception to this is a Filipino prayer group I encountered in a parish which will be discussed in more detail later.

In the immediate aftermath of the prayer ministry there is a calm atmosphere in the venue as some people remain lying down, some sitting and a few stand and chat. It would not be fair to suggest it was some form of stunned quiet or even regret at what had happened. Most people appear genuinely content and at peace. When I ask some respondents later about their experience of the prayer ministry two reveal that they were 'slain'. Catherine had had the experience before and "*knew it would happen, it always does*". In describing how it feels she describes a memory of being prayed over: with a hand on her head and then beginning to feel warm all over,

> "after that I can't remember anything…the next thing I know I'm waking up on the floor with a lovely young girl kneeling next to me [laughs]". (Catherine)

When asked how she feels as she comes around from the faint she describes a sense of calm and relaxation: "*You just know that the Holy Spirit is all over you, wrapping you up like*". Elizabeth, who is African-Caribbean and from the West Midlands, had not experienced being slain in the Spirit before and finds it a little more disconcerting. She reports a similar sense of warmth to that described by Catherine before collapsing but does remember beginning to fall backwards:

> "I just fell. Straight as a board. I wanted to save myself, but I couldn't…It wasn't a very nice feeling really". (Elizabeth)

She didn't feel that she had completely passed out but that the world went "*a bit blurry and swirly*". Afterwards she felt fine, quite relaxed but "*a bit embarrassed*".

The service ends with some further hymns and an assertion from Stayne that "*We are now expectant for this evening*": the healing service to take place in the evening. This service is open to all, regardless of attendance during the day, and they hope to almost double numbers for this session. At this point attendees are taken into some form of elect and asked to spread themselves around the room, especially into the galleries, for those "*coming cold*"; we are to "*spread the light*" and have been warmed up for the purpose. This will clearly influence the dynamic for the evening. This is a clear formula employed by Stayne as he uses almost identical wording at two other rallies.

We break for supper with some gathering at tables with their own food, some crossing over to various outlets at Euston Station and some going downstairs to a canteen serving a range of food. Due to large numbers, all tables need to be shared and I find myself sharing with two seminarians, both white and in their early thirties.

Francis has a long history with the CCR and grew up in a family that regularly attended prayer meetings and occasionally had prayer meetings coming to their home. He is one of only a handful of people I meet during this study who can be considered to be second generation CCR. He still regularly attends CCR prayer meetings and closely associates his vocation with his Charismatic experiences. This is his first Miracle Rally though. Gregory doesn't have a great deal of experience with the CCR. He has been to a couple of prayer group meetings and a local religious community in his home town regularly have Charismatic prayer evenings. There isn't a Charismatic prayer group at the seminary and both agree that it is unlikely that there would be much appetite for one beyond themselves.

> *"It's not something most people are interested in now, a bit old fashioned I suppose…they're more likely to be interested in liturgy*" confides Francis.

When I ask about the liturgy he replies:

"*Latin, lace, you know*". (Francis)

I ask them what their fellow seminarians would have made of today,

"*mad I suppose, they don't like all the emotional stuff*", (Francis)

'and you?' I ask,

"*A bit intense for me*" replies Gregory "*but I can see these people have real faith and love the Lord*".

When asked if they will encourage prayer groups in their parishes when they are ordained: Francis replies immediately that he will. Gregory, after a little thought, "*Yes,*

probably". When I ask if they would bring a group here both reply that they probably wouldn't as it might be a bit overwhelming.

After the break for supper, during which there is also the opportunity for adoration of the Blessed Sacrament and to shop from the stalls set up outside the main room, the healing service begins with more praise and worship in a similar way to the morning session. The hall is even busier than during the day with both the main body of the hall and all of the galleries full. The demographic make-up of the people appears similar to earlier in the day, with perhaps a few more young people present.

After praise, Stayne introduces the evening ahead. A video is played showing miraculous healings performed by Stayne and his team at earlier rallies and around the world. Most international images appear to be from Africa.[10] There are two reasons, we are told, why healing may not be received. The first is unrepented sins and the second is a failure to forgive others and so all are invited to take part in a general prayer of repentance and asked to explore their hearts and forgive those who may have sinned against them.

Healings are done by groups, i.e. limbs, senses, internal illness etc. The first group is limbs. People who wish to seek healing are asked to identify themselves and people around them are asked to place their hands on them; our role is to "*channel*" the healing Spirit. Stayne becomes angry at this point and shouts at people to put their hands on the correct part of the body that requires healing, "*this is a serious business and you must follow instructions carefully!*". Attendees comply with his instructions. Those not

[10] Videos on the community's website include African, Italian, British and Hungarian examples of healing and can be accessed at http://www.coretlumenchristi.org/videos.php (14/05/15)

physically close enough stretch out their hands with palms open towards the person seeking healing. Stayne says prayers, invokes the Holy Spirit to heal and commands the various body parts to be healed *"…hands, be healed, in Jesus' name!*".[11] Many people begin praying in tongues for a period over those wishing to be healed. It would seem that about 100 to 150 people are seeking healing.

As the prayers end Stayne declares that the Spirit has revealed to him that there have been 43 healings and asks people who have been healed to come forward and be assessed by 'scrutineers' before coming onto the stage.

In an interview with Andy, from the community, I ask what happens during this period of being scrutinized:

"*Basically, we get their story so we can let Damian know…we find out what was wrong with them, how they feel now and what difference the healing will make to them*". (Andy)

Do you check to see if they are genuine? I ask.

"*A bit but not really, I've never come across a false claim. They all show some healing. One of the main reasons we do it is to give variety and make sure the big healings get onto stage*". (Andy)

So it's not all legs? I check.

"*Yes! Plus, if someone has got out of a wheelchair that really shows the power of God*". (Andy)

[11] Video of Stayne performing such healing can be seen at http://www.coretlumenchristi.org/videos.php the clip titled "Miracles, Glasgow Catholic Healing Outreach Part 1" is available on Youtube.com and demonstrates the style of healing used by Stayne: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QmXW00iNRTg#t=300

Have you ever seen that? (KC)

"*Oh yes. Several times. We've had it here and I saw it in Italy too*". (Andy)

Do you ever get people who you think are unsuitable? (KC)

"*Sometimes. Some people, I think, probably aren't up to going out in front of hundreds of people*". (Andy)

How do you mean? (KC)

"*Emotionally*". (Andy)

After a period of further praise, during which people are scrutinized by members of the team, the healed are brought onto the stage and interviewed by Stayne. The first woman has regained movement in a shoulder, and the second woman hip function. Each is asked to prove their new level of movement. Several others indicate relief from various forms of joint pain. A woman, possibly in her sixties, walks on to the stage holding a pair of walking aids up high and explains how she could not walk unaided but is now fully cured. There is much acclaim around the room followed by cheering and laughter as Stayne takes the walking aids from her and walks, then runs, down the aisles with the healed woman chasing him. I had, however, seen this woman and talked with her earlier in the day and she had not had crutches with her then. In fact, I had held open a door for her as she walked through holding a hot drink. The reasons for her claim can only be speculated upon but she is clearly enjoying herself at this moment. When I talk to her the following day about her healing I do not mention my earlier encounter with her and she affirms a story of many years of pain and immobility.

A young boy of eight is brought forward by his uncle and tells how his feet have been healed. He has not been able to run for as long as he can remember but says that his feet are now fine. The boy's mother is called up to confirm the story, but she seems unconvinced and indicates that he suffered from some degree of over-pronation but does not suggest it was crippling in any way, simply that he wasn't very good at running. Stayne disregards the message she is giving and declares another miracle. It is possible that the boy and the older woman have both been caught up in the same sense of event and the parent-child dynamic created by the leaders, and accepted by participants.[12] It would seem that neither wishes actively to deceive and is genuinely convinced of their healing, although where the older lady's walking aids came from I am not sure.

The process is repeated with healing of senses: eyes and ears. There are several reports of percentage recovery of hearing or sight. Stayne was later overheard explaining to a group that many people fail to report incomplete healing,

> "I had one person who was blind and got their sight back in one eye but didn't come forward because they were still blind in the other eye". (Damian Stayne)

Following the senses, internal illnesses become the focus. After the healing prayer Stayne looks up to the gallery and raises one hand with palm open. As he moves his gaze along the gallery he says that there is a man in the gallery who has been cured of a

[12] This comment is an allusion to the transactional model of relationships proposed by Eric Berne and subsequently developed by numerous psychological researchers and practitioners (see: Berne, E. *Games People Play: The Psychology of Human Relationships* (London: Penguin, 1964). Transactional analysis is based on a model in which people take on Adult, Parent or Child roles in differing circumstances. Whilst there is no attempt here to carry out an in-depth analysis of relationship dynamics it is clear that the leaders during the rally, particularly Stayne, assume a parental status and delegates fall quite comfortably into a child-like role. This will be considered further in the final discussion.

heart complaint: "*You may not even know that you suffer from heart disease, but you are cured*". This is greeted with applause. Several people come forward after being scrutinized to proclaim that they now feel better despite illnesses of various durations, including many years. They are encouraged to see their doctors for confirmation of their healing but are told unequivocally that the doctor will tell them they are healed.

The certainty of healing, both its possibility and reality in the very moment of the rally, is discernibly real amongst both attendees and leaders, especially Stayne. There is no sense of pretence about the event, only genuine belief. What is also clear is the understanding of why these events are taking place. The healings witnessed at the event are part of God "*upping His game*", as Stayne puts it, in the face of evil forces. The world is increasingly dark and sinful, reference is made to the devil walking the streets of Euston this very night. This is said with such intensity that a hush falls over the room and I feel the hairs stand up on the back of my neck. Two speakers during the evening refer to Romans 5:20 "*when sin increases so grace abounds*" and declare that we are engaged in warfare against evil forces which are prevailing in a society hostile to God. We are even warned that our participation in this event will make us targets but that we must go out and tell people what we have witnessed. Healing, then, is part of the struggle against evil and a powerful force in proclaiming the Gospel.

The next morning is somewhat quieter initially and the attendance has reduced again to something equivalent to, or slightly lower than, the previous daytime level. The day begins with mass celebrated by several priests, none of whom are English. The principal celebrant is French and the concelebrants are Ethiopian, Polish and American. The tone against intellectualism seen on the first day is continued with the homily declaring that what is needed is not theology but a lived faith which is the only

meaningful thing. Prior to the homily the priest held up some notes and declared that all he had planned to say had already been said by earlier speakers. With some dramatic emphasis he ripped up the notes, threw them down and asked the room to put out their hands and pray that he be guided by the Holy Spirit in what to say. He then proceeded to extemporise his homily. This is a frequent tactic witnessed in CCR meetings and events, with some forms of variation that may include notes being torn, simply put to one side or providentially left behind. In all cases observed during this study, a total of six times, the speaker requests that the people pray for them before they speak – usually with hands outstretched towards them – in a manner that echoes the liturgical prayer over a priest or deacon before reading the Gospel in public liturgy.

During mass, prayer in tongues occurs at several points, most notably during intercessions and post communion. This is accompanied by dancing and raised hands. There are a range of hand positions from open palms at waist height facing upwards, through raised hands with palms facing up or down, through to clenched fists reminiscent of a power salute. There is also a great deal of physical contact throughout with hugs, hand holding, patting and stroking common. A woman in her late middle-age next to me reaches out and takes my hand following communion and raises our arms together above our heads; later in the day she hugs me.

I discuss physical actions with each of the people I interview during or after the Rally to seek to understand their significance for each participant. All are very comfortable with expressions such as raising arms and lifting palms, although the seminarian Gregory admits he is still getting used to it a little. Adam and Deidre indicate that this is as far as they feel comfortable, that it is what they are used to in the parish prayer groups and feel no need to go beyond this:

> "Sometimes I think, well, it gets a bit, urm, competitive. People thinking more about others watching them, and them showing how much they've got the Spirit" (Adam).

Catherine, Elizabeth and Francis all indicate that they have no issues with people expressing themselves in whatever way they wish:

> "You've got to abandon yourself to it, to the Spirit" (Elizabeth).

Francis is a little more detached in his consideration of expressions:

> "I've seen it all, over the years. A lot of it isn't for me but it doesn't distract me or bother me in any way". (Francis)

All admit that in their normal parish masses at home they might hold their palms up at a level below their shoulders during the Our Father prayer but that is the limit in that context.

Following the mass is another healing service, though this time very different in style as it is based around the Eucharist. The Blessed Sacrament is processed around the room in a monstrance held by one of the priests and attended by acolytes. The procession around the room takes over thirty minutes and becomes the most frenzied period of the whole weekend. As the procession takes place the music group play a strong rhythm which builds in intensity as Stayne repeatedly emphasises the real presence of Christ in the host "*This is Our Lord. Present amongst us!*". The crying, yelping, laughing and barking witnessed the previous day return, along with intense rocking of many people which spreads to a point where almost the whole room is swaying. People raise their hands and stretch out towards the monstrance, leaving their

seats and pushing forward to get closer and try to touch it as it passes. At one point two children are trampled by the crush of people pushing forward towards the monstrance and have to be taken out. As the Blessed Sacrament moves around the room there is a wave of fainting and at one point several dozen people are unconscious on the floor. Stayne explains the desire to touch the monstrance in terms of touching the hem of Jesus' garment in order to receive healing.

What is striking during this period is the individualistic nature of the experience. In preparation for the healing service the evening before we had been asked to spread out and mix with those coming and each stage of the healings involved communal efforts and required engagement by all. Indeed, failure to properly support those seeking healing had resulted in scolding by Stayne. Here though, in the morning Eucharistic healing service, each person acts in solitude and is focussed only on the Blessed Sacrament as it moves around the room. We occupy the same space but engage with the healing offered by God as individuals. This is perhaps exemplified in the multiple individual actions that appear to go unnoticed by others, such as the fainting, shouting and self-caressing; and presented at its most extreme in the trampling of children by people in a personal trance-like state. The reasoning for this is not entirely clear in the moment but theologically the most marked difference between the two events is the emphasis on the Holy Spirit in the evening service and upon Christ, present in the Blessed Sacrament, in the morning healing service. This is one of several examples encountered during this study where a marked difference in the relationship between the people and these two persons of the Trinity was apparent.

For Elizabeth, the Eucharistic healing service is the highlight of the weekend:

> "I don't think I ever experienced anything as powerful at that, not for a long time anyway. I felt Jesus was right there, holding me…You know, sometimes, when you go to mass or adoration or Benediction it all feels a bit 'over there', you know, happening but not involving you. With this I felt He was there for me. Speaking to me" (Elizabeth)

"What was he saying? How did it feel?". I ask.

> "He wasn't saying big stuff to me. Not telling me secrets. He was just telling me that everything was going to be alright. Holding me. Reassuring me." (Elizabeth)

This is very similar language to that used by Elizabeth when talking about the experience of the praise session the previous day.

Catherine too found the Eucharistic healing service an important part of the weekend but rather than emphasising the emotive language used by Elizabeth she chose to focus on the sacramental dimension:

> "When you think on it, it blows your mind. Jesus, really there. Present in the Eucharist. If you really accept it, believe it, how can you not just want to be there and forget the rest of the world." (Catherine)

Again, Adam seemed a little more reserved and even sceptical. He did not question the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist but was not quite sure the more emotional and extrovert behaviours were necessary:

> "Not for me really. I think we should be a little bit more respectful. But, perhaps I'm just getting a bit old [laughs]". (Adam)

Ultimately the procession returns to the stage and the monstrance is held aloft by the priest for a prolonged period with a number of men taking turns to support his arms in

an image highly reminiscent of Moses at the defeat of Amalekites in Exodus 17.[13] To close the adoration the martial imagery continues with a hymn containing the refrain "*There's a battle raging over this land. A deep damage to the people*". This pattern of adoration is a feature that is common in *Cor et Lumen Christi* services of Eucharistic healing and adoration and was not encountered in any context outside the community during this study, or indeed in broader experience of Catholic Eucharistic adoration.[14]

The final speaker of the weekend is David Payne, well known amongst Charismatic Renewal members as a leader since the 1980s and amongst many Catholics as the founder of Catholic Evangelisation Services who produce a wide range of evangelistic and catechetical materials, including CaFE (Catholic Faith Exploration) which is seen as a Catholic response to the Alpha Course.[15] Throughout the weekend it has been noticeable that the vast majority of attendees have bibles with them and frequently turn to them when reference is made, in addition many have notebooks and make copious notes during talks. This is not unusual at CCR events and some organisations provide note pads and pens for attendees.[16] At the Miracle Rally, this note taking is perhaps most pronounced during Payne's talk. He takes as his starting point the book of Hebrews which he commends in its entirety but, in particular, Hebrews 6:19-20 as a special insight into who Jesus is now: our anchor and priest. Payne asserts that we need to "*shower in the blood of Jesus. The blood of Jesus mixed with the Holy Spirit*" and

[13] This allusion to Exodus 17 is my own observation. No reference to this passage was made by Stayne or any of the other leaders.

[14] See Image 1.1. in Appendix 1 in which the same process is shown at a *Cor et Lumen Christi* service (not the Miracle Rally).

[15] Information on CaFE, CES and Payne can be obtained at: http://faithcafe.org/

[16] This was observed at several conferences and 'days of renewal' and at two series of Life in the Spirit seminars.

goes on to say that "*the Father wants to marinade us in his love*". The imagery of soaking is visited several times in his talk before moving to declare a call to action, to be "*an ambassador for the King of Kings*" in the world. He picks up the martial imagery of earlier and states "*we are an elite team*", and then "*we are the top three percent of Catholics in the country, the crème de la crème*", called to proclaim and evangelise. Not simply an army for Jesus, but Special Forces.

The event closes with Stayne asserting the urgency of the battle and the imminence of the end times, closing with a hymn composed by him "*We dare to believe…*" containing strongly immanent imagery "*this is the day when your promises come…*" and "*this is the hour…*".

Speaking after the event was over, Deidre explained that she had enjoyed the event and that it had "*opened me up a bit*" to "*different ways of doing things*". For her the most enjoyable parts of the weekend had been the talks where she felt she had learned new things and new ways of thinking about things:

> "*Yes, I'll come again. I think it's a bit too much for everyday but a great refresher, good to be with lots of other people and some young people too."* (Deidre)

When I asked what she meant by 'too much' she elaborated:

> "*Some of the things people do, some of the shouting and the rolling around. I don't' get that."* (Deidre)

When I asked about the content of the talks:

> "*Great, all great. I feel really fed. I'll go back and share it all with the people in my group*". (Deidre)

4.3 Catholic Miracle Rally Analysis

Whilst the events described here at the Catholic Miracle Rally do relate to a particular event, or, more strictly, events, as more than one rally was attended during the course of this study, the observations presented here do resonate with other encounters with the UK CCR. These include other meetings with the *Cor et lumen Christi* community and some other groups, perhaps most notably a Filipino prayer group in the South East of England and a Charismatic men's group in London. In both of these groups the intensity of experience encountered during the Miracle Rallies was replicated in similar forms. In the case of the Filipino prayer group this intensity was experienced on a regular basis during prayer group meetings and was in no way limited to 'special events'. The intensity of sounds and physical expression seen during the Saturday praise session at the Miracle Rally was in many ways typical for this group. Thus, whilst several of the respondents, such as Deidre and Adam, suggested that such intensity would not be sustainable throughout the year it would seem, for one group at least, that it can become the normal experience.

For the men's group, the intensity was experienced during a weekend retreat rather than during regular meetings which were more measured in their tone and expression. During the weekend there was a build-up of intensity, with the most intense expression coming on the Saturday evening. Here, swaying, loud shouting and prolonged hugging were all witnessed much as with the more intense periods of the Miracle Rally. One participant, James a married man in his forties, described the weekend as "*cathartic*" and went on:

> "There is something liberating about just being with men. Honest.… I guess it doesn't hurt that there are men from all over here. Not just English like me. I think it gives the chance to do something different*".* (James)

When asked about whether he would try to replicate the experience back in his parish:

> *"*[laughs] No. For one thing I think they would think I was a bit mad. Also, this isn't for everyday is it? It's a bit like a holiday I guess. Good for you, but you can't live like that all the time…I will come to another one of these though.". (James)

James, then, would seem to reflect the experiences of those Miracle Rally participants in seeing such emotional and experiential intensity as something out of the norm.

It would not be fair simply to dismiss the theological and sociological phenomena seen at the Friends Meeting House as products of showmanship, mass hysteria or 'being caught in the moment'. This said, it would be fair to suggest that these things played a part both at the Miracle Rally and the intense experiences seen elsewhere. For the men's group, which is perhaps the fairest comparison, the whole of Saturday had involved sessions of increasing intensity and speakers using strongly emotional language building towards a session of low lighting and highly repetitive choruses.

The implicit and explicit theology and ecclesiology seen during the Miracle Rally represents a genuine and significant, albeit minority, expression of the CCR in the UK in the early 21st century. To some extent this may be a temporary level of intensity, a 'boost' or 'holiday', that allows participants to sustain enthusiasm throughout the year. Nonetheless, there was little indication that such intensity was wholly unacceptable to regular members of CCR groups and, in some cases, was seen as welcome.

In terms of Walker's classification of Restorationism into R1 and R2 it is apparent that the UK CCR, as expressed in the Catholic Miracle Rallies, shares a dispensationalist and adventist eschatology.[17] This is clear in the words of Stayne but perhaps most vividly in those of Michelle Moran who presents a message of the end times being already realised and the Catholic Charismatic Renewal as a clear sign of this and part of the preparation for the end. This, Ford would argue, they share in common with Type I charismatics as identified in her study.[18] It is not insignificant that Moran is not a member of the organising group for the rally but is in fact the Chair of the International Catholic Charismatic Renewal based in Rome, and a member of the Pontifical Council for the Laity. Whilst it is possible, indeed likely, that she is stressing a certain emphasis for a particular audience it is also reasonable to assume that she does not find the beliefs expressed during the rally incongruous with her core beliefs or, indeed, those she represents on an international level. At the very least, it points to an understanding on her behalf of the tone and emphasis that is expected and desired by the audience and organisers of the event.

To find an emphasis on eschatology in this, or indeed any, expression of the CCR should not be surprising. As Cox notes, such an emphasis on the future is at the heart of the appeal of Pentecostalism in its broadest sense. For Cox, Pentecostalism is less a religion and more a "mood", what he calls a "millennial sensibility".[19] Such a mood is certainly apparent at the Miracle Rally, not only through the talks but also in the worldview of the attendees encountered in this study.

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[17] Walker, A. *Restoring the Kingdom*, p.23; Briers, S. *Negotiating with Babylon*, p.65.

[18] Ford, J.M. *Which Way for Catholic Pentecostals?*, pp.44-49.

[19] Cox, H. *Fire From Heaven*, p.116.

When asked about the challenges facing the world, and the place of the Catholic Church within it, all of the respondents replied in apocalyptic terms that echoed the presentation of the present as the end times put forward by the speakers. Deidre pointed to declining numbers of Christians and the relationship between the West and Islam:

> "In a few years there will hardly be any Catholics left, any Christians at all. The Muslims are pushing us out. And, if it's not them, there are so many temptations out there and so many attacks on our priests... We really need to listen to the Spirit. He's telling us to be ready, that God is going to bring an end to it all because it's all such a mess". (Deidre)

"Are you saying that the end of the world is coming?" (KC)

> "Yes, there are all sorts of signs...wars, gays, papers and TV against Christians." (Deidre)

Francis, the seminarian, voiced his response is a more moderate way but still echoed the sense of changing times and the position of the CCR in this:

> "The Church is facing a lot of challenges in the world today, not least through the growth of moral relativism. One of the reasons I think the Renewal is important is that it is built on firm ground. Not scared of talking about moral certainty. I think it still has a big role in helping face the new age". (Francis)

There appears to be no explicit rejection of denominational or ecclesial structures in the ecclesiology presented officially in the Rallies, or amongst the participants. On the contrary, the strong emphasis on sacramentality as seen in Eucharistic adoration and the centrality of mass, along with frequent references to the hierarchy and the use of magisterial documents, such as the Catechism of the Catholic Church, show a strong ecclesial rootedness. This said, the organising group *Cor et lumen Christi* do seem to

exhibit some of what Ford terms "paraecclesial" authority structures seen in Type I charismatics and also reminiscent of Walker's R1.[20] Unsurprisingly perhaps, the covenant community is quite rigidly structured with general boundaries being defined by uniform clothing and unique wooden crosses worn only by established members of the community. It might be argued that the clothing and crosses had a largely utilitarian function in terms of identifying staff who might help attendees, but non-community members with functions at the rally were not dressed in the uniform or wearing crosses. In one encounter an attendee admired the cross of a community member and asked where he might buy one, to be told that only members could have the crosses, indicating a conscious exclusivity in the community. This exclusivity is apparent from other encounters with *Cor et lumen Christi* and manifest in their liturgies and activities which are not explicitly marketed to those outside. Numerous events, prayer meetings and masses are listed as explicitly for community members only. As a covenant community this is a rational thing to do in order to foster cohesion within the group, but it was a feature unique to this community amongst the encounters with the UK and Irish CCR considered here, and does reflect the setting apart described by Walker with regard to R1 and Ford's description of the imperative of community, often to the exclusion of the rest of the world and Church, exhibited in Type I charismatics.[21]

Within the group there is also a clear hierarchical structure with Stayne at the head with almost total authority. He, in many ways, presents as a classic 'charismatic' leader that one might expect in the formation of cult or sect.[22] The senior assistants seem to be

[20] Ford, *Which Way for Catholic Pentecostals?*, p.1.

[21] Ibid., pp.1-20

[22] See Lindholm, C. *Charisma* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990) for a useful survey of the traits of 'charismatic' leaders, and associated sociological and psychological theories.

almost entirely male and white, although there is little evidence of significant non-white membership in the community at all. The presence of a clear authority structure, and the predominance of men in positions of authority, does echo the descriptions of both Walker's R1 and Ford's Type I. It is also notable that, whilst the growth of lay leadership does echo recent developments in authority structures, the position of women in *Cor et lumen Christi* runs counter to developments in the Catholic Church since the Second Vatican Council in which women have gained increasing representation in positions of authority.[23] Indeed, it would also seem to run counter to much of the experience of the wider CCR in which figures such as Moran have taken leadership roles. As noted below, other expressions of the CCR encountered in this study also had strong female leadership at all levels. Thus, it would seem that the community stands somewhat apart from developments in power structures seen in the wider CCR and Catholic Church. As such, it is perhaps located more closely in relation to certain conservative Evangelical or Pentecostal groups.[24]

Within his talks Stayne placed relatively little emphasis on Church hierarchy when compared with speakers such as Moran and Payne who come from outside the covenant community. He did, however, demonstrate deference to the priests during mass, stating at one point "*how lucky we are to have such great priests who God works through in such great ways*". In contrast to this, he also took on the role of talking and explaining the meaning of events during the procession of the Blessed Sacrament during the Eucharistic healing service, an event normally controlled exclusively by

[23] Hornsby-Smith, M. *Roman Catholic Beliefs in England: Customary Catholicism and Transformations of Religious Authority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[24] Machado, M.d.D.S. "Speaking Up against Abortion and Homosexuality" In: M. Lindhardt. *New Ways of Being Pentecostal in Latin America*, (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2016), p.212.

clergy. Both Walker and Ford describe groups as having authority in areas of teaching, advice and executive matters, often linked to particular individuals.[25] *Cor et lumen Christi*, and to some extent their self-expression through the Miracle Rallies, demonstrate a close parallel to the models of authority exhibited in their studies.

Whilst the organising group, particularly Stayne, show little emphasis on clerical hierarchy, there is no such pattern apparent amongst the participants interviewed during the rallies. The fact that two seminarians felt comfortable attending the rally is perhaps indicative that there was no overt anticlericalism. All respondents interviewed saw success and growth of the Church, and indeed its survival, as being linked with increased numbers of priests as well as a growth in lay activity and leadership:

> "The biggest challenge facing the Church at the moment is the lack of priests" (Brian)

> "I don't know what will happen in the future. If we don't get more priests the Church will die." (Catherine)

> "The priests are getting older. We need to help young men see their vocation or else we will find ourselves without a Church" (Elizabeth)

Thus, there is no sense that the rally participants see the CCR as able to function independently of the Church. They see this mutual survival as embedded within the sacramental priesthood and, through reference to the mass, as rooted in the Eucharist. It is probably valid to assert that there are somewhat subtle but real differences between

[25] Walker, *Restoring the Kingdom*, *passim.* A good illustration of this phenomenon is provided in Chapter 4, pp. 72-94; Ford, *Which Way for Catholic Pentecostals?*, pp.8 ff.

the ecclesiology of Stayne and those attending, and indeed speaking at, the rallies. The use of more overt Catholic imagery in later rallies, e.g. Marian iconography, may be a response to this or a shift in the underlying ecclesiology of the group itself. The latter may be the case as recent website material for the group also includes some aspects with more emphasis on traditional Catholic ecclesiology, including episcopal letters of recognition, courses on sacraments, and future speakers listed as including Bishops and Archbishops.[26]

Ford describes Type I charismatics as having a high proportion of non-Catholic members, in some cases 45%.[27] The Miracle Rally seemed to show no such ecumenical representation. In fact, I encountered no non-Catholics in my time and no reference was made to groups from other traditions in any of the rallies attended. Some occasional mention of ecumenism was made and the work of the Holy Spirit in all churches but there was very little priority given to this either in the rallies or during conversations with community members. The *Cor et lumen Christi* website does consider other traditions and professes an openness to all Christians but the manifestation of their ecclesiology in worship, writing, talks etc. is deeply, if not exclusively, Roman Catholic. What was noticeable, however, in the first Miracle Rally was the absence of overt Catholic imagery and iconography. Whilst there was exposition of the Blessed Sacrament throughout the weekend this took place in a side room and most of the images such as those projected on the screen during the rally or on display stands were largely generic in their Christian nature. Crosses, images of

[26] http://www.coretlumenchristi.org/images/home/recognition.pdf; http://coretlumenchristi.org/documents/CMR2017.pdf. May 2017

[27] Ford, *Which Way for Catholic Pentecostals?*, p.3.

Jesus, Doves, fire and water were all in evidence but there was no Marian imagery and most crosses were unoccupied by a corpus. Similarly, book stalls sold a wide range of authors, not exclusively Catholic writers, and traditional Catholic products such as rosary beads and pictures were significantly outnumbered by bibles. Apart from the addition of the imagery at the front of the room in later rallies the above pattern largely held true in these too.

None of the respondents interviewed at the Miracle Rally indicated any form of ecumenical involvement either through membership of activities at other churches or in groups seeking ecumenical cooperation. All identified strongly as being Catholic first and foremost. Most also identified as Charismatic as well but this was not set in any context other that the CCR. The only ecumenical involvement of any sort that was reported was by Francis and Gregory who were both required by the seminary to take part in inter-church activities as part of their formation. To what extent this was voluntary is unclear.

It would seem that, to some extent, the overtly Catholic nature of the rallies was unconscious on the part of the organisers. Notwithstanding the title of 'Catholic Miracle Rally' much of the content of the weekend, in particular the open healing service on the Saturday evening, would have been equally well-received in a non-Catholic environment. It is perfectly possible that the community organising the rallies were aware of a need to hold in tension competing desires and needs. There were certainly points during the weekends when the Roman Catholic nature could not be denied. An attendee from a Protestant background would probably have been unfamiliar and deeply uncomfortable with the Eucharistic healing service on the Sunday, however familiar they found the Saturday healing service. However, the main

thrust of the message presented during the rally was Pentecostal rather than Catholic; an immanent theology of the Holy Spirit. Thus, it would seem that a tension was at play between a fundamentally Pentecostal/Charismatic message and the deep desire to demonstrate Catholic orthodoxy and compatibility with membership of the Roman Catholic Church. This relates strongly to the issue raised in the early days of the movement with the CCR being seen as a potential site of heterodoxy, as highlighted by Ford and other authors such as Suenens and Fichter.[28] The movement finds itself attempting to promote novelty and diversity whilst proving its orthodoxy and purity. In a sense, this captures the dilemma of the CCR generally and is shown with special intensity within the rally. It would seem that explicit ecumenical engagement is difficult to hold in tension with these aims and has resulted in an almost exclusively Catholic membership and outward expressions of worship and teachings that are unlikely to draw non-Catholic attendees into the movement any deeper than the comparatively superficial moment of the healing service.

Walker presents R1 Restorationists as less concerned with social issues than his R2 grouping.[29] Similarly, Ford presents Type I as lacking concern with social action compared to Type II Catholic Charismatics.[30] Lack of social concern seems to be an issue that the organisers of the Catholic Miracle Rally are acutely concerned about. They do not want the movement to be seen as inward looking and out of touch with the world. In inviting Cafod to be present at the rally, and to have a stall, they are making a

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[28] Suenens, L.J. A New Pentecost?; Suenens, L.J. *Ecumenism and Charismatic renewal: Theological and Pastoral Orientations*. (London: Darton Longman & Todd, 1978); Fichter, J.H. *The Catholic Cult of the Paraclete*, pp.39-58.

[29] Walker, *Restoring the Kingdom*, p.253.

[30] Ford, *Which Way for Catholic Pentecostals?*, pp.52-58.

clear attempt to bring social action into the context of the CCR. Stayne's appeal in which he expressly exhorts people to overcome the stereotype reinforces the point. The low response to the appeal for signing up to regular contributions to Cafod was accompanied by a notable lack of enthusiasm amongst the people present, there was little vocal support for Stayne in his appeal and the body language was muted with many people looking at the floor or looking away from Stayne. The people who volunteered were applauded but little affirmation was given to Stayne's key point as he spoke.

As indicated in the response given by Catherine when asked about her reluctance to donate, it is possible that the lack of enthusiasm was associated with the particular group chosen. Cafod is seen by many socially conservative Catholics as heterodox in its teaching and as such they are unwilling to support its activities. Whilst Catherine was explicit in her attitude to Cafod, other respondents indicated more informally a lack of enthusiasm for its activity. "*Not Cafod, no*." was the simple comment of Gregory when asked about his willingness to support. It is interesting that Stayne chose to promote this group, especially in light of his desire to overcome the broader stereotype of Charismatics as less socially engaged. It may be that he was not alert to the tensions associated with the organisation or that they simply came to him and asked to be promoted. Stayne appears astute in his activities so it is also quite possible that he wished to challenge the socially conservative element of the CCR in a more fundamental way. I was unable to ask him about this so can only speculate. What does seem apparent is that had a more conservative group, such as Aid to the Church in Need, been selected it is possible that uptake may have been higher. Catholic identity, and adherence to orthodoxy in relation to reproductive teaching at least, appear to be

important for those at the Miracle Rally, indicating again that being Catholic remains the primary identity of those at the Rally. Thus, it may be inaccurate to presume lack of interest in social action in the CCR. It may be that it is more accurate to think in terms of social action being acceptable but provided the right agenda is fulfilled. This will be explored further in later chapters, but leaves open the important question of why few CCR groups have initiated any social action of their own and governed by an acceptable framework of teaching. It would still seem that social concern is far from a core activity of the CCR.

Speakers did not emphasise social issues as they spoke, although they frequently referred to the state of the world as a sign of evil at work and in an eschatological context. This is, of course, despite the conscious efforts of the leadership to overcome a problem of perception. Any attempt to promote social action was, however well meant, only peripheral and lacked any integration into the core messages put forward by speakers and other symbolism at the rally. For example, I saw no books on sale concerned with social action but numerous volumes on spiritual warfare, healing and personal testimonies of conversion. Similarly, healing was considered only in a personal and highly individualist context; a sign of repentance and personal forgiveness of others. Notions of healing those outside the Church, indeed outside the movement, were not put forward in any missionary or apostolic context.

Perhaps the most marked parallel between the CCR at the Miracle Rally and both R1 Restorationists and Type I Charismatics was in the area of evangelisation. Both Ford and Walker identify their groups as highly motivated towards evangelisation and this was extremely clear in the Miracle Rally too. Indeed, the *Cor et lumen Christi*

community see evangelisation as one of their primary aims.[31] However, the mode of evangelisation being promoted is often ambiguous. There is little by way of exhortation to go out into the world and preach the Word to unbelievers. There are prayers for conversion in the world but there is no emphasis on empowering or enabling attendees to go out and evangelise. A closer examination of the messages being put forward suggests that the evangelisation being promoted is an internal evangelisation, or re-evangelisation, of the Roman Catholic Church. This strongly parallels the "New Evangelisation" promoted by Pope John Paul II and Pope Benedict XVI.[32] The notion of the "New Evangelisation" is somewhat ill-defined and has been built up from a number of statements made by these popes. What does appear to be central in the notion of the New Evangelisation, however, is a call to the re-evangelisation of the Church or at least societies which might previously have been seen as Christian in nature. Of particular concern here is Western Europe. This is not to suggest that the message presented in the Miracle Rally is a form of repackaged papal message on evangelisation. In fact, as will be discussed later, it would seem that quite the opposite may be the case, with the CCR having significant influence on papal thought since the 1970s.[33]

When questioned about evangelisation, none of the respondents indicated any current involvement with evangelising activities, nor any intention to go out after the rally to do so. Again, the two seminarians (Francis and Gregory) were somewhat different in that they were aware in what might be called a 'professional sense' of their

[31] http://coretlumenchristi.org

[32] John Paul II *Redemptoris Missio* (7th December 1990); John Paul II *Fidei Depositum*, (11th October 1992); Benedict XVI, *Ubicumque Et Semper* (21st September 2010).

[33] See Chapter 6.2.1.

obligation to evangelise but this appeared more closely associated with their role as seminarians rather than as members of the CCR. Brian indicated an enthusiasm for spreading the Gospel message but didn't feel personally called to do so:

> "Yes, we have to get the word out there; to let people see what is happening in the world and that there isn't much time to change. We need to encourage more young men to become priests, to help them. Perhaps we even need to allow married men to be priests so that we can get numbers. Otherwise, there will be no one to preach and spread the Gospel." (Brian)

Brian's response raises again the eschatological context in which the Rally takes place and that in which the attendees view their activities. This frames not only the evangelistic imperative but also provides insight regarding the lack of urgency for social action. Perhaps most striking is the clerical emphasis regarding mission. For Brian there appears to be little lay leadership in evangelisation beyond a supporting role and he is willing to consider some fundamental changes in the Catholic priesthood to enable clerical leadership to continue. This seems to run counter the nature of the event itself and post-conciliar developments in Church organisation which both indicate enhanced roles for lay leadership in Catholicism.[34] Other respondents, such as Adam and Deidre, did point to the role of the laity in evangelisation with both pointing to Stayne and David Payne as exemplars:

> "What's needed is more people like him [Payne]. Great speakers who can go out and tell people about what being a Catholic is really about… I think that's what young people want and what most priests aren't very good at." (Adam).

[34] See Daniel, P. "Have we seen the death of dialogue?". In M.P. Hornsby-Smith *Catholics in England 1950-2000: Historical and Sociological Perspectives* (London: Cassell, 1999), pp.78-98, for a consideration of some of the dynamics or authority and leadership in British Catholicism since the middle of the twentieth century.

In the case of Adam, it is interesting that, whilst he sees laity as key, their role is taking over where clergy are lacking rather than being central to the lay mission. Also worthy of note is, that amongst those who saw a greater role for the laity, none of them pointed to female examples or role models, despite the high-profile role of Michelle Moran on the day, and of women in the wider CCR movement.

The evangelisation promoted by the CCR in the Miracle Rally is closely associated with notions of renewal in the Church rather than outward facing mission. In this sense the emphasis on evangelisation and the lack of social action focus are entirely compatible and both represent an inward-looking ecclesiology. The only speaker to explicitly consider the broader forms of evangelisation is Payne although on closer consideration much of what he promotes is also essentially renewal or re-evangelisation rather than outward facing evangelisation. This is perhaps best illustrated by his notion of the CCR as the "*top 3% of Catholics*" or the "*crème de la crème*". This points to 97%, or the ordinary milk, of Catholicism that requires the attention of the elite and to be evangelised or renewed. This is such a high percentage that it would suggest a priority target over and above the more disparate constituency of people who had never heard the Gospel, or heard it in a non-Catholic context.

It is worth considering here the three groups of ministry proposed by Ford when examining evangelisation in Catholic charismatic groups. The first group, Evangelising ministries, include the evangelist, the miracle worker, healing, tongues and interpretation.[35] With the possible exception of interpretation of tongues all of these ministries had extremely high profiles during the Miracle Rally. Ford sees these

[35] Ford, *Which Way for Catholic Pentecostals?*, pp.93-95.

ministries as somewhat superficial unless balanced by the other two groups and representative of an immature community or movement.[36] This would seem a fair appraisal as the ministries, each have a primary function in witness and mission but little role in consolidation, cohesion and governance of a community. An alternative way of expressing their role could be as 'foundational' or 'gateway' ministries. The role of glossolalia as a foundational charism has been well explored and there appears to be something of a consensus that it is the first of the gifts to be expected.[37] Indeed, in one informal interview in a prayer group context the respondent doubted the ability of another member of the group to lead sessions on the basis that: "*he hasn't even got the gift of tongues, and that's the most basic charism*".[38] It should be noted here that this contradicts the findings of Bord and Faulkner working in the 1980s who concluded "*nothing we observed suggests that nonspeakers are 'second class' citizens*".[39] Whether this represents a significant development in the role of glossolalia in Catholic Charismatic identity is hard to tell but the attitude of the participant quoted above was by no means unique in this study and stands in contrast to Bord and Faulkner's assertion that they had seen no such attitude throughout their study.[40]

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[36] Ibid., p.95.

[37] Csordas, T.J. *Language, Charisma, & Creativity*. (New York: Palgrave, 1997), p.49; Maurer, S.A. *The Spirit of Enthusiasm*; Neitz, M.J. *Charisma and Community*, pp.39-42.

[38] Conversation during coffee break with Laurence (54) who had been involved with the CCR for over 20 years.

[39] Bord, R.J. and Faulkner, J.E. *The Catholic Charismatics: The Anatomy of a Modern Religious Movement*, p.79.

[40] Similar comments were encountered on two other occasions. In one case a prayer group participant (Patricia) stated "*You need tongues if you want to really be part*.". On the other, during Life in the Spirit seminars, a speaker suggested that if tongues were not received as a gift then participants weren't "*fully open to Baptism in the Spirit*".

Life in the Spirit seminars that lead to Baptism in the Spirit frequently mention the gifts listed by Ford under "evangelising ministries" and, with the exception of prophecy, ignore the other categories in the context of new entrants.[41] Thus, it would seem that these ministries can be considered as 'primary' in the sense that they are those promoted to new members and even expected by them. However, an emphasis on these ministries does also seem to suggest a degree of immaturity or superficiality, as Ford suggests.

Ford's second category of "Solidifying" ministries includes teachers, prophets, exhortation, and acts of mercy. There is extremely little coverage of these gifts or ministries within the context of the Miracle Rally, though it should be acknowledged that the very nature of the event does inhibit exploration of these deeper and more mature gifts as Ford sees them. Teaching and prophecy are evident but are closely controlled and almost exclusively reserved for the organising community, guest speakers and clergy. Unlike other CCR events encountered in this study, and in contrast to reports of prophecy from 'the floor' at other meetings and events, there is no encouragement of prophecy from attendees at the Rally. Prophecy is given but is largely limited to Damian Stayne's interventions with some from other speakers. Teaching is exclusively provided by the community and invited speakers. Input from attendees is limited to witness and testimony from by those healed during the weekend and each person who gives testimony is first subject to a verification procedure before

[41] For example, in *Sons and Daughters of the Living God* by John Vaughan-Neil the guidance to leaders regarding Baptism in the Spirit (Session 8) contains a number of pages on helping participants to "yield to the gift of tongues" (pp.113-117), including helping those who do not yield. The assumption through the text is that tongues can be expected, although leaders are also told to reassure those who do not speak in tongues immediately that this does not mean that they have not received the Holy Spirit. The only other gift to be mentioned in this section is prophecy which receives seven lines (p.111).

being allowed on to the stage. Ford is not entirely clear in her definition of exhortation but if it is taken to be equivalent to *paraklesis* then the aspects of comfort, accompanying and encouragement can be assumed. Along with acts of mercy there is little time spent on these matters. There is some effort at social engagement in the appeal for help and donations to Cafod, but its explicit nature makes its unusualness more outstanding and, as discussed above, it was poorly received.

It would seem that two aspects are at play here. The first is the subsuming of acts of mercy and exhortation into the ministry of healing. Clearly, healing brought in faith and the Holy Spirit negates the need for comfort and encouragement. As to whether such ministries are seen to be representative of a lack of faith is not clear and so their active omission cannot be confirmed. Both McGuire and Csordas independently report the role of healing in Catholic Charismatic groups as representative of faith and displacing the need for other ministries.[42] Such emphasis on healing would then go some way to explain the lack of social engagement within the CCR; relying on a divine immanence and direct intervention in suffering rather than human actions manifest in the ministries of mercy and exhortation. Both physical and psychological healing are emphasised during the Rally, including the healing of sorrow or depression, these would seem to be a direct replacement for exhortation. Whether there is any active rejection of human action on theological grounds, such as concerns of Pelagianism, is not clear from what was observed; it might simply be that human action was seen as peripheral and unnecessary.

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[42] Csordas, T.J. *The Sacred Self: A Cultural Phenomenology of Charismatic Healing*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1994); McGuire, M.B. *Pentecostal Catholics: Power, Charisma, and Order in a Religious Movement*, pp.163-183; McGuire, M.B. *Ritual Healing in Suburban America*, pp.56-68.

The second aspect of the theology presented during the Rally that relates to the absence of the ministries of exhortation and mercy, and indeed the other solidifying ministries, is the provisionality of the current state of the world, and the Church, inherent in the eschatology put forward. The dispensationalist position adopted by speakers during the Rally again acts against a model in which solidifying is necessary. The Adventist position emphasises the urgency and necessity of the evangelisation ministries with little imperative for solidifying. As mentioned, such a worldview is widely reported amongst Pentecostal and Restorationist groups and is, in many ways, typical of faith groups holding a fundamentally apocalyptic worldview.

The final group of ministries proposed by Ford, 'Pilot' ministries, have little consideration at all within the context of the Rally. These ministries, including apostles, bishops, priests, deacons and widows are involved in a deeper level of maturing of a movement and bring with them sacramental notions and, in particular, the development of a caste holding particular authority over the ordinary members of the movement. Ordained ministries are not heavily represented during the Rally except during mass and, even then, their role is at times taken over by the organisers, such as the moment during the Eucharistic healing service in which Stayne takes the lead. There are references made during several of the talks to Rome and the Pope, but these are largely done in order to provide evidence for the legitimacy and authority of the CCR and the speakers present. The only 'Pilot' ministry that is obvious is that of apostle and this is embodied in the person of Damian Stayne who exerts a charismatic authority throughout the Rally and in whom authority is clearly present in terms of what is said, who has access to the stage and which stories will be told. It is notable that when people are allowed up on stage following healing, the individual and their story

are introduced to Stayne by one of the community members who places their hand on the shoulder of the person and addresses Stayne rather than the rest of the room. The person is then handed over to Stayne who generally keeps some degree of physical contact with them, except when chasing them on the stage or around the room. The ritual is highly reminiscent of the presentation of a candidate to the bishop for confirmation by a sponsor in the Catholic Rite. It would be wrong, therefore, to state that the pilot ministries are completely absent in this expression of the CCR, but their expression is tightly controlled and limited, in this case, to a particular individual.

Later Miracle Rally events do offer greater clerical involvement and by 2017 the invited speakers include a priest, bishop and archbishop. This would suggest that the need to affirm Catholic identity is being enhanced and perhaps also that pilot ministries beyond that of the group leader are being emphasised. This may suggest a degree of 'maturing' of the group. As mentioned above, this is manifest in the community itself through its literature and may now be evident in the Rallies in their later expressions.

In terms of Ford's classification system, the expression of the CCR witnessed in the Miracle Rally and the other expressions of *Cor et lumen Christi* covenant community correlates quite strongly with her presentation of Type I charismatics some forty or so years earlier. There is by no means a perfect correlation however. For example, the absence of any significant ecumenical involvement and the strong, indeed potentially exclusive, Roman Catholic emphasis stand in contrast to Ford's presentation of Type I. However, features such as the eschatology, lack of engagement with social issues, authority structures, emphasis on evangelisation and the lack of solidifying and pilot ministries do point to strong similarities. Many of these aspects also place the CCR, as seen in the Miracle Rally, as perhaps resonant of Walker's R1 Restorationist groups,

although this must be seen as an analogue rather than a direct parallel due to markedly different ecclesial contexts.

One important dimension raised by Walker with regard to R1 is that of its role as a sect, or place of spiritual purity.[43] What is not clear is to what extent this expression of the CCR represents something of a sect. There are certainly elements present in terms of structures and teaching, and there is also a sense of the covenant community as a place of purity. This question can perhaps only be answered with a deeper and thicker understanding of the community itself beyond the expression of the Miracle Rally, something beyond the scope of this study. Perhaps more significant is the question of what 'purity' means in this context: Catholic, Pentecostal or some other form of purity? From the perspective of the host Church this raises the question of the community, and the Rally, as less an island of purity and perhaps more of a conduit for contamination in which non-Catholic theology and praxis are introduced into the life of the Roman Catholic Church. This is a question that must be asked of the whole CCR, and not simply the covenant community considered here, and will be explored further in the context of other expressions of the CCR in the following chapters.

Weber distinguishes a sect from a 'church' as a "restricted association" of people committed to set of religious values.[44] Both Weber and Ernst Troeltsch recognise 'church' and 'sect' as differing expressions of social and religious worldviews.[45] As outlined in Chapter 2.1 of this thesis, the church type typically has an accommodated

[43] Walker, *Restoring the Kingdom*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1985), pp.292ff.

[44] Weber, M. *The Sociology of Religion*, p.65.

[45] Troeltsch, E. *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*. Volume 1. pp.331-43 and Volume 2 pp.993-4.

negotiation with secular structures and is conservative with regard to praxis and social structures. A sect is comparatively small, more detached from the secular and directed towards perfection amongst members. Whilst little can be said of the Miracle Rally *per se* with regard to this classification it would appear, initially at least, that the *Cor et lumen Christi* community does show elements that would suggest sect-like behaviour and structures. Thus, the Miracle Rally presents as something of an outward facing moment for the sect and opportunity of proselytization amongst the church community. Perhaps more importantly within this understanding of religious groups in the context of this study is the additional element put forward by Troeltsch, and highlighted by Coakley, of 'mysticism'.[46] This type is not as sociologically defined as the other two groups and is more associated with individualism by Troeltsch. Coakley, however, suggests : "*the mystic type does not withdraw, but more commonly disturbs and galvanizes the more settled social patterns of its surroundings, whatever they be*".[47] It is possible that this may be a more valid understanding of the *Cor et lumen Christi* Community and the Rally, and indeed the broader CCR, than that of a sect within the Catholic Church or indeed what McGuire might consider a 'cult' which can be seen as having a more negative relationship with the host church and society.[48] This will be discussed further in the final chapter.

One of the recurring themes in the speakers during the rally which received vocal support from the floor was essentially an anti-intellectual narrative in which people who

[46] Coakley, S. *God, Sexuality and the Self*. (Cambridge: CUP, 2013), pp.155 ff.; Troeltsch, E. *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*. Volume 2. pp.729-45.

[47] Coakley, S. *God, Sexuality and the Self*, p.161.

[48] McGuire, M.B. *Religion: The Social Context*, pp.185-194.

relied too much on their heads, particularly theologians, were criticised and seen as 'missing the point'. The message from the leadership of the Rally is that we are people of the 'heart' or the Spirit rather than the head. Too much thinking is seen as part of the problem with the world and the Church. This does appear to conflict with the observed level of intense engagement seen during the talks in which participants took copious notes to record input and sought to pass this on to their prayer groups on return. The experience of the Rally cannot be considered as a purely emotional or spiritual experience. Participants are seeking knowledge that is transferrable to their daily lives and a key factor in achieving this appears to be intellectual internalisation. This said, when explicitly questioned, there was a distinct hostility to intellectualism. Some of this was directed towards "*liberals*" as Catherine termed them whilst for others, such as Brian, the concern was more with '*elitist*' elements.

> *"*Some talks you go to, the speaker seems to just want to show you how clever they are rather than help you understand things better. Sometimes I sit there and just feel stupid and want to leave. Maybe everybody else understands it, but for me these talks are much better. Don't get me wrong, these people here are clever but they don't just want to show it off – they want to help you know more about God." [Elizabeth]

Thus, it would seem that the use of intellect as a tool is fine but as an end in itself intellectualism is regarded with suspicion and a tool used but certain groups, such as liberal elites, to exclude others. Attendees and leadership, then, appear to portray themselves as 'common people', a more honest and simple form of discipleship. Such notions of discipleship are often expressed through devotion to the Blessed Virgin and saints whose message is one of simplicity, often child saints and visionaries. During talks at the Rallies, references were made to several saints all of whom, with the

exception of St Augustine, fit within this pattern. These included, St Bernadette of Lourdes, the visionaries at Fatima, St Therese of Liseux and Bl Chiara Badano.

Scientists are explicitly criticised, and their theories dismissed as failing to capture the true reality of the world. As noted, one attendee remarked that they saw themselves as '*putting scientists in their place*'.[49] What this place is remains unclear, but it would seem that science is seen as having little of value to say about God and the human encounter with Him. Theologians and other Christians who rely solely on intellectual endeavour are dismissed as following the wrong path to enlightenment by both Vaughan-Neil and Moran. The one exception is reading the Bible which is described as "*the Sword of the Spirit*" by Moran and used by all speakers to provide proof of points. Thus, divine revelation is presented as superior to human reason and something to be engaged with directly.

Associated with the immanent concept of the Spirit, and the dispensationalist and Adventist eschatology as outlined above, the notion of spiritual warfare and struggle is central to the message of the Rally. Indeed, some of the imagery used by Stayne and other speakers was at its most vivid when on this subject; causing, as mentioned, a physical reaction in myself as participant observer. The image of warfare helps to define the self-identity of the CCR as expressed in the Miracle Rally and it must be said, by implication, the *Cor et lumen Christi* community. It cannot be asserted, however, that it is limited to the covenant community as all speakers emphasised this image and several respondents indicated sympathy with this view. When asked about

[49] Informal interview with participant during break.

the state of the Church and the world all respondents indicated a belief in evil forces active in the world and challenging the Church in all of its forms.

The nature of the warfare being fought is on multiple levels. There is a personal spiritual and moral struggle that each person must engage with. This is not an abstract struggle or one simply due to natural human failings but is a struggle with a real and active enemy that seeks to undermine the personal holiness of each person and their relationship with God. The imagery used by speakers and leaders is clear and unapologetic as the devil, the agent of all evil, is affirmed as a real presence in the world, not only surviving but thriving in "*these current times*". This spiritual struggle is perhaps most manifest in the reception of healing where failure to be healed is due either to unrepented sin or to the inability to forgive those that have sinned against you.

There is also an institutional battle in which Christ's Church is under attack from the forces of evil "*stalking the streets*" seeking to undermine the work of the Church and draw both believers and unbelievers away from God and into evil. The most intense battle is, however, focussed on the movement itself and particularly those present at the Rally who are the elite forces of God: the "*crème de la crème*", the "*top three percent*". As with any war the enemy ranges its strongest resources against the best troops and so the price that is paid for being in the elite group is that they will face the strongest assaults, the greatest temptations and hardships, and will be mocked for their efforts, hence book stalls filled with titles dealing with spiritual warfare, temptation and deliverance.[50] This was clear in conversation with many of the respondents:

[50] Material for sale at the book stall included: Esper, J.M. *Spiritual Dangers of the 21st Century* (Goleta, CA: Queenship Publishing, 2009); Lozano, N. *Resisting the Devil: A Catholic Perspective on Deliverance*

"Yes, I think the devil is trying to stop us. I think he is scared of people who care about their faith" (Deidre)

"He wants us to fail because we know he is there. I've felt it lots of times. Not big things. Little things. Things go wrong when you are going to a meeting – like the car breaks down or something. I was going to New Dawn once and the day before my washing machine leaked, my daughter broke her wrist and I put petrol in my diesel car. That isn't just coincidence." (Catherine)

"We don't tend to talk about it in terms of evil forces but there are a lot of temptations that suddenly appear when you enter seminary." (Francis)

Would you put these down to evil forces? (KC)

"Yes, yes I would. It's so clear and it just keeps coming. So many drop out." (Francis).

Such proximity to the end times brings with it an urgency to act. Actions that look to consolidate institutions and build structures are not only pointless but potential distractions. The imperative is evangelisation, telling people the Good News and warning them against complacency.

In terms of Hopewell's analysis of religious narratives, the outstanding feature of the story presented by the CCR in the Miracle Rally is that it is charismatic in nature; what Frye would consider to be romantic in genre. This is not in the least bit surprising as one might say that the clue is in the name of the movement. Indeed, there is no attempt here to suggest that classifying an expression of the CCR as 'charismatic' is in any way novel or ground breaking, but it does point to Hopewell's classification as being accurate in this element at least.

(Huntingdon, IN: Our Sunday Visitor, 2009); MacNutt, F. *Deliverance from Evil Spirits: A Practical Manual* (Grand Rapids, MI: Chosen Books, 1995); Scanlan, M. *Deliverance from Evil Spirits: A Weapon for Spiritual Warfare* (Cincinnati: St. Anthony Messenger Press, 1980).

The charismatic, or romantic, tale is defined above all by a sense of the immanence of God; something expressed by the overwhelming use of the name of the Spirit in talks and even in casual conversation. For groups and individuals with a charismatic negotiation it is the Spirit who personifies the presence of God in the world and this is certainly the case as observed at the Miracle Rallies. This applies to personal spirituality by way of deep and personal encounters with the Spirit who penetrates and dwells within the person. Hopewell considers scenarios in terms of personal, social and cosmic notions with each aspect presenting an initial situation or crisis, a necessary response and a resolution to the initial crisis.[51] Charismatic mythology, according to Hopewell, presents an initial personal crisis of weakness in the face of challenges and forces ranged against the person as they seek to fulfil God's will. Our personal weakness was strongly emphasised during the Rally, as was our dependence on the providence of God in facing the real and strong forces that oppose us in seeking unity with God. The required response is one of tarrying with the Spirit, taking time and perhaps even bathing in the Spirit to allow oneself to be permeated. Such imagery was highly evident in the Rally, from the soaking Jesus on the screen to the prolonged periods of exposition and healing prayer in which people presented open physical posture, including laying down, and expressed clear openness and desire to be filled by the Spirit: "*come Lord Jesus*" and "*fill us Lord*". Payne even exhorted participants to bathe in the blood of Christ. The resolution to the crisis, brought through tarrying and openness is that of empowerment. Strength and resources are granted to meet the opposing forces head on and ultimately to defeat them. This, in many ways, defines the whole theme of the Rally which exists as a sign of that power made manifest in the

[51] Hopewell, J.F. *Congregation: Stories and Structures*, pp-70-71.

lives of the community and leaders, and made available to those attending. This was apparent in the response of the interviewees as they sought refreshment and empowerment from the event to go out to their own groups and parishes.

The social crisis defined in Hopewell is particularly important in the context of the Rally. The crisis on a social level is defined by Hopewell as conventionality, a mistrust or disdain for conventional religion which has lost its way and has become stale. Hopewell quotes Oral Roberts as an illustration of a typical romantic worldview as Roberts paraphrases Eliza Doolittle:

"*Words, words, words, we're sick of words. We've heard your theologies. We've listened to your sermons. Will you please now give us a demonstration? We want to see. Show us*."[52]

This view is echoed strongly in the contributions of speakers during the Rally and the responses of the people interviewed. Indeed, the whole anti-intellectual tone of the Rally is congruent with this worldview and the sense of conventionality as lying at the heart of the ecclesial crisis. A new simplicity of discipleship is sought that allows a more honest Church to grow from what has become stale.

The response to the crisis of conventionality is posited by Hopewell as Charism. This means the opening up to the indwelling Spirit and reception of the gifts brought in this. Gifts come in many forms and are theoretically open to all. It is here, however, that Ford's analysis of charisms provides some extremely useful insights and expansion upon Hopewell's categories. It is clear from the consideration above that the charisms to be expected fall very much within the 'evangelising' classification proposed by Ford,

[52] Hopewell *Congregation: Stories and Structures*, p.76. From Roberts, O. *The Holy Spirit Now*. (Tulsa: Oral Roberts Associates, 1976).

i.e. evangelist, miracle worker, healing, tongues and interpretation. This suggests what Ford might considers a somewhat superficial response to the crisis, but one that is defined by evangelisation. Charism in this context can thus be considered to equate to a call to evangelisation and the associated gifts necessary to do this.

Finally, the resolution to the social crisis is that of transformation. Charism transforms conventionality into a faith alive in the Spirit, a faith that makes real the Kingdom in the world. The impetus for the Rally is the renewal of the Church. The evangelisation being proposed in the Rally is an evangelisation of the Church rather than an engagement with the wider world. To achieve this there is little need for the charisms defined by Ford as 'Solidifying' or 'Pilot' as these abound in the structures of the Church. Renewal of the Church will come through a recapturing of the mission focus of the Church above the conventional maintenance mode that it currently stagnates in.

The fact that evangelisation is essentially focussed on the Church itself points to a view in which the Kingdom is seen as coterminous with the institutional structures and works of the Church. There is no desire to evangelise apart from the existing Church structures but, rather, to evangelise and renew those structures. When this is done, the decline of the Church in terms of numbers and authority will not only be halted but reversed.

It is also quite possible that it is in this area that the broader CCR has had its most significant impact on the Catholic Church through the development under the papacies

of John Paul II and Benedict XVI of the notion of the New Evangelisation.[53] Both popes have demonstrated considerable openness to the CCR on an international level. John Paul II, the originator of the notion of the New Evangelisation, had frequent meetings with members of the CCR and the preacher to the papal household appointed under his papacy, and confirmed in that role by Benedict XVI, was the charismatic Raniero Cantalamessa.[54]

The third form of crisis proposed by Hopewell is on the cosmic scale and reflects the fundamental cosmology of the group: the interpretation of the world around us and time itself. As Frye argues, the cosmology represented in the mythology of a group represents their science, their mode of explaining natural phenomena.[55] For the purposes of this analysis I would argue that it is correct to consider the nature of the cosmological crisis and its resolution as representing the epistemological framework of the group. It defines their concept of the nature of knowledge and, as a framework for their understanding of time, it also defines their notions of contingency and permanence. As such it is the pivotal aspect of the interpretive framework proposed by Frye and Hopewell, linking existential and transcendent elements. In providing this link it is within the context of this crisis that time as *chiros* and as *chronos* are brought into dialogue, as are notions of the physical and spiritual. A decision must be made by the group, and individuals within the group, as to the nature of time and what events in the world mean with regard to God.

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[53] For a Charismatic Renewal perspective on the 'New Evangelisation' see: Martin, R. *Will Many Be Saved?* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B Eerdmans Publishing, 2012).

[54] For biographical details of Cantalamessa and his role in Charismatic Renewal and with regard to the papacy see: http://www.cantalamessa.org/?lang=en.

[55] Frye, N. *Anatomy of Criticism*, pp.160-162.

In the charismatic/romantic negotiation Hopewell suggests that space and time are seen as perpetuity. The nature of time and space are essentially unchanging with eternal truths and a linear progress of time. Time is essentially premillennial in nature, we sit between Pentecost and the Parousia and the worldview is defined by this eschatological outlook. This can certainly be seen in the apocalyptic emphasis of the speakers, attendees and the literature on sale.

There are moments, however, that suggest a more complex view of the world than this simplistic picture. John Vaughan-Neil, as part of his criticism of intellectualism, argues for a passible and mutable God and is well received by the people attending. Similarly, at the 2012 Rally Fr Daniel Ange included in his talk an account of the life of Chiara Badano, a member of the Focolare movement who died at the age eighteen and was beatified in September 2010. In discussing her approach to suffering as she died from cancer, Ange quoted Badano: "*I know Jesus suffers to see me suffer and I don't want to make Him more sad, so I keep smiling*".[56] This is clearly not congruent with a cosmology that sees time, space and God in perpetuity. If God Himself changes then what can be assumed of His creation and also of eternity? Yet, this causes no radical dissonance amongst the people. Of the worldviews suggested by Hopewell this element of the story seems to fit more comfortably with the Gnostic/Comedic negotiation where the cosmic crisis is one of illusion and uncertainty rather than perpetuity. In the Gnostic worldview, time is seen as cyclical and the cosmos seen as ultimately trustworthy. Within the certainty of return, and security of a fundamentally

[56] Talk by Fr Daniel Ange, 12th May 2012. Catholic Miracle Rally, London.

good creation that this brings, a notion of a changing God is possible as any change is only temporary and contingent on the particular needs and circumstances of the time.

The primary view of time in this expression of the CCR is an apocalyptic notion in which the people do exist between Pentecost and the Parousia, but closer to the latter. They see the signs of the end times and are themselves one of those signs, and an instrument in bringing about the end of time with the second coming. For Hopewell, it is the search for, and recognition of, signs that is the classic response for those with the charismatic/romantic worldview. They require confirmation that God is active in the world and need these signs to guide them in terms of what must be done and when. Ultimately, all signs have eschatological significance as the purpose of time is to lead to this point where there will be a definite end and the establishment of the Kingdom of God. This Day of the Lord will be the resolution to the crisis of time on the cosmological scale. To this extent the CCR observed at the Miracle Rally complies well with Hopewell's classification of the charismatic/romantic worldview.

In the consideration of the people of the Rally through the lens of Hopewell's classification there remains one vitally important gap thus far, the role and nature of healing. The Miracle Rally makes little, if any, sense in the absence of physical and spiritual healing achieved through the dramatic intervention of God through the Holy Spirit in the lives of those present. For healing to take place there must be some form of active participation of the people in collaboration with God, both as individuals seeking healing and as a people who are a sign of God and helping to bring about this breaking in of the Kingdom into the *chronos* time of London on a weekend in late May. This participation could be elicited through obedience to processes and rituals developed in direct response to revealed truths. Following a pre-determined path of

revelation and sacrament could potentially achieve the required collaboration with God's will to bring about the conditions necessary for healing. On initial analysis this might appear to be what is taking place, particularly during the 'Eucharistic healing service' in which the procession of the Blessed Sacrament is emphasised as bringing healing. The healing referred to during this service is almost exclusively spiritual in nature with no physical healing being reported or testimony sought during or after the service. The interaction of participants, whilst done as a group, is highly individualistic and concerned with personal encounter with God. It is a ritual of consolidation of the relationship of the individual and the community with God rather than an evangelical act. There is no obvious focus on the breaking in of the Kingdom through miracles, or desire to show the coming of the end of time. This is a deeply Catholic moment, despite what might be seen as an unusually emotive expression, in which the real presence transcends any eschatological focus; Christ is present and time stands still. In the Eucharist the people step outside the personal, social and cosmological crises discussed above as the end time is experienced directly in the eschatological feast of the Lamb of God.

It is the evening service of healing on Saturday that is the key in understanding the essence of the Rally. As Stayne asserts the reasons why the healing that is constantly on offer from the immanent God is not received and manifest, the central theology of healing and of the group are revealed. The reasons are that sins are unrepented and that forgiveness is not granted to those who sin against us. Stayne's call to repentance and forgiveness is a call to personal action and participation. It stops short of stating that absence of healing is due to a lack of faith, but it establishes a role for human action if healing is to occur.

At no point during the weekend does Stayne seek to provide a model or explanation of the nature of illness, neither could I find any discussion of this in any of the community material. This is unusual. In her study of Christian healing groups McGuire reports that all groups present models of illness, its causes and meaning.[57] When asked about illness Andy, the community member, indicated that there was no particular understanding of illness itself beyond the material reality that might be presented in conventional medicine:

> "Where does illness come from? I don't know really. I think it is just when something goes wrong with the body. Infection, injury, cancer…you know. I don't think it's a punishment from God if that's what you mean? We heal people, but we don't think that if they're ill they are bad people. It's the healing that's important, not the disease." (Andy)

What Stayne does address clearly is the failure of healing and this, for McGuire, is the other critical element of the ministry of healing.[58] Failure of healing is likely to cause a degree of cognitive dissonance amongst participants who have been told of the certainty of healing and the power of God. McGuire reports that some groups make sense of this by claiming that healing has occurred but not been accepted, or 'claimed' by the person, sometimes because they like being ill. Others link failure to lack of faith on the part of the person being prayed for. The explanation offered by Stayne falls under what McGuire terms 'blockages' to healing which typically include unrepented sin, anger or false beliefs.[59] As such, whilst illness itself is not presented as being the

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[57] McGuire, M.B. *Ritual Healing in Suburban America.* (New Brunswick & London: Rutgers University Press, 1988), pp.32-36.

[58] Ibid. pp.68ff.

[59] Ibid. p.71.

fault of the individual, lack of healing in the context of the healing ministry is their fault. In this way, lack of healing is not the result of God's power, or indeed Stayne's, being lacking.

An additional factor in the lack of healing is the correctness of the prayer and the way it is offered. During the Rally a somewhat mechanistic model of prayer is offered, not only by Stayne but also notably by Vaughan-Neil who offers a model of prayer which indicates certain forms as being more effective and direct. Again, this is another explanation offered by other Christian healers to account for failure.[60] At the Rally this is most manifest in the earnest, and at times angry, exhortations from Stayne to touch the right parts of the body and adopt a correct attitude during prayer. Participants were left in no doubt that if this didn't work then at least part of the blame was on them.

As such, the power of God remains unchallenged when faced with the dissonance of failure and potential challenges to the legitimacy of Stayne and the community are dealt with ahead of any failure. In this attitude to healing, we see another manifestation of dualism that is encountered elsewhere in the worldview of the group. Firstly, in the cosmic division of time between the provisional, and imminently ending, time of this world and coming Kingdom. Between God and Satan in the stark notions of spiritual struggle. In the division of intellectualism and purity of discipleship. Between the experience of the Rally and the day-to-day reality of charismatic life. Finally, between divine power and human frailty as the barrier to God in the world and the expression of His power in healing.

[60] Ibid. p.72-75.

Whether these aspects are essential to the nature of the CCR or simply phenomena limited to this group will be explored further in the following chapters but what does seem apparent is that the *Cor et lumen Christi* community, and the Rally, is something outside the 'ordinary' experience of most Catholic Charismatics. There is no apparent clash, though some aspects may be more extreme than encountered elsewhere. They can be legitimately seen as an expression of the UK CCR and not something radically other. Discovering what the common themes are will be one of the key aims of the following chapters which look at other expressions of charismatic life in the UK experience.

Chapter 5. Parish Prayer Groups.

5.1 Introducing the CCR to a parish – Life in the Spirit

Our Lady of Lourdes church is in a medium sized market town in southern England with one Catholic parish and a Catholic primary school.[1] The parish has been in something of a malaise over the last two years according to people attending the Life in the Spirit seminars that are being organised by a small group from within the parish. The parish priest is overstretched and has been ill, and the population of the parish is ageing, but, more importantly, they have "*lost their fire*". This is told to me by Sarah, one of the organising group, as we have coffee before the first session of the seminars. She has been involved in the CCR since the 1980s as has her husband, Jim, who is also there this evening and will be leading the music. They have seen the CCR renew parishes before and Sarah explains that she feels "*called*" to try it here as the parish needs some renewal and to be "*invigorated*".

> "It's amazing what the Holy Spirit can do in a parish once it has woken up. It isn't just about getting a prayer group going – that might happen but if it doesn't that's fine too. Sometimes Life in the Spirit is about a chance to look at your faith again. A lot of the people will go on and get involved in other activities in the parish, or perhaps outside, once they see the gifts they have." (Sarah)

So, this isn't about creating a new parish group? (KC)

> "It's about bringing people back to life. It's very easy to get into a rut with your faith, to take things for granted when there are so many great things, so many gifts,

[1] According to the 2011 census the town's population is approximately 30,000.

that are part of our faith every day. Also, I suppose, there is a little bit of taking responsibility for our own faith." (Sarah)

Taking responsibility? (KC)

"Not leaving it to others, especially the priest to do everything. I think the fact that Fr X has been ill has been an important lesson. We could easily find ourselves without a priest and what would we do then." (Sarah)

Sarah's point has some resonance with a talk given by Kristina Cooper, editor of *Good News* magazine, at the opening of another Life in the Spirit series in which she said:

"In being part of the Charismatic Renewal, you're not joining anything but just living what we have." (Kristina Cooper)

For both Sarah and Kristina, the CCR is not some separate group within the Church but something more akin to a form of spirituality and a way of living the Catholic faith on a daily basis.

Sarah explains that she will be giving each of the talks that form the core of the seminars but that it will not be her speaking, she will be a "*tool of the Holy Spirit*". She has never given talks like this before and although she appears a quiet and unassuming person she does not appear nervous in any way. This is an unusual way to deliver the Life in the Spirit seminars; in the other three seminar series I have participated in there have been a number of speakers, some from the national CCR, each delivering a different session. Organisers tend to deal with the introductions and practicalities during sessions. For Sarah to take on all elements is a considerable investment of time and energy.

The room where the seminars are to take place is a small comfortable room next to the main chapel, carpeted and with about thirty cushioned stacking chairs arranged in several rows with a central aisle. About half of the room is set aside for the speaker's lectern, projection equipment and the music group which consists of two electric guitars, amplifiers, a sound desk and four microphones. The small room has not limited the intention of volume for praise singing. As the first session begins I count twenty-five people in the room, including Sarah, Jim, another guitarist and four female singers. Another member of the organising group welcomes us, informs us about fire escapes, toilets and when coffee will be served. She notes that God has managed to bring us all here despite travel difficulties and gives thanks for this. She hands over to the music group.

The theme of overcoming travel difficulties is a theme almost universal in the Renewal with stories told of train, plane and car journeys that have been little short of miraculous in allowing the person to be there. It would seem that transport represents a place where we are required to abandon ourselves to providence and so provides an opportunity to see the hand of God acting in daily life. In one conversation, outside this seminar series, Andy recounted a tale:

> "I needed to be up in Cumbria and the tube was being a real pain so a sat there and said to God 'If you want me to get there in time I will'. I took my Rosary out on the tube and just started praying the joyful mysteries. When I got to Euston the train was delayed leaving and I just walked on…I didn't feel stressed about it at all." (Andy)

Praise and worship begins immediately at an unapologetic volume that is not reduced over the course of the six-meeting series. The praise singing is immediately recognisable as charismatic in nature with repetitive choruses building to crescendos

before moving to more intimate levels. The words are projected onto a screen with images of a dove and fire and are professionally produced with copyright acknowledgements. Themes of power and abandonment are central in the music as are petitions for God to come into our presence. The first song has the word "*come*" in every line and ends with it repeated five times with dying volume. The third song ends with the phrase "*have your way here*" also repeated five times at the end. There is no glossolalia as the songs die down and only after the third song do two members of the group at the front lift their hands up to shoulder height with palms facing upwards. The majority of attendees are ordinary parish members and there is a real sense of easing them into the symbolism and practice of the Renewal. This is no accident as Jim (Sarah's husband) tells me later:

> "Yes, no we don't come at it full on right from the start. I think it's really important for people to know what Charismatic Renewal is about before getting too worried about what you see. All that comes naturally once you receive the Spirit. You don't choose to do it. Not that you can't control it, just that you get to a point where you feel moved and it just feels right." (Jim)

Sarah's talk is highly scriptural in its nature. Apart from her, only one other person in the room has a bible but we are told that it is a "*great idea*" to bring bibles if we have one, they are also on sale in the foyer if we need one. It is acknowledged that this is a very unusual thing to do for a Catholic meeting. The theme for the session is love but the content centres on abandonment and matters of theodicy. The presence of God in difficult moments and "*bad things*" is asserted. Indeed, the role of bad things in finding God is considered at length. The tone of the talk is not one of an experienced preacher and does not contain the rhetorical devices common amongst most high profile charismatic speakers that I have heard. It is intimate and personal as Sarah talks from

personal experience; in particular the death of her mother which had brought her closer to God. "*After her death it felt like heaven had invaded Earth*" she says at one point and continues to present a sense of immanence of the Holy Spirit in her life and in the world more generally. Before closing she develops the theme into an eschatological context and sets personal struggles within the framework of a cosmic struggle between good and evil.

After coffee, we move into groups to discuss some questions based around the talk. Each group has a leader to guide us through. Our group is led by a middle-aged South African man, Gareth, who it turns out has been involved with the Renewal for over thirty years. He is keen to ensure we follow the set question pattern and tends to dominate conversations. In later conversation it is revealed that he is hoping for a little more "*fire*" and gives me a leaflet for the men's 'Harvester' group that meets in London and is a charismatic group that gathers regularly and has residential weekends where "*you can really feel the Spirit*" according to Gareth.

We close with more praise singing and prayer of intercession, there is no praying in tongues during the evening – even from Gareth. We check the book stall on the way out which has a selection of books from the Good News publishers and some evangelical Christian classics such as *The Cross and the Switchblade*, and then go home.

This is the format for the rest of the series of seminars, with the exception of session six which is a day long session on a Saturday with a focus on repentance and receiving the Holy Spirit through 'Baptism in the Spirit'. Below, after other introductory images

of the CCR in parishes, there will be some deeper consideration of the experiences of attendees and how the group understood its relationship to the rest of the parish.

5.2 The Established Prayer Group

A large town in southern England with seven Catholic parishes, the largest charismatic group in the town meets at the central parish. It is a Thursday evening in October and the prayer meeting will start shortly but for the moment people are standing or sitting, in conversation with people they seem to know well. Today the prayer group consists of about twenty-five people, but I am assured that it is often larger than this. I have experienced similar assurances with other groups all of which point to the particular meeting I am at being "*a quiet night*" or that there is an event elsewhere that has taken a number of regulars away. I attend this group quite a few more times over coming months but attendance never seems to exceed tonight's. I am given a brief history of the group and am informed that the group was at its largest in the 1990s and regularly exceeded fifty regular members and a youth fellowship. The group was established as a collaboration between some members of the parish, who had experienced Charismatic prayer meetings elsewhere, and a sympathetic priest. At the time the parish was seen as needing renewal and a way of bringing people more actively into the life of the Church. Today, there doesn't seem to be anyone under the age of forty and most are probably well over fifty. The group is made up of approximately sixty percent women. Some have been members since the beginning of the group and some joined later. There are a few members who have joined in the last

couple of years, but they had moved into the parish recently and had previous experience elsewhere.

Worship begins with praise singing interspersed with singing and praying in tongues. Everyone is clearly familiar with the format and the words of the songs. Hymn books are available, but I seem to be the only one reading words. Indeed, many people are singing with closed eyes or are looking heavenward, holding a book would inhibit the open-palmed hand gestures employed by all during such worship. Music is provided by a combination of guitar for most songs supplemented by a portable CD player playing flute music for quieter more meditative moments. We sit in a circle facing each other and, following the initial praise, there are a few moments of welcome, housekeeping and news, during which I am introduced to the group by the leader, to nods of welcome.

The leader, Gavin, reads some passages of Scripture that he has been led to by the Holy Spirit. The first passage is from 1 Timothy 6:11-16, the second from John 10:1-18. These seem a little incongruous at first, but Gavin goes on to explain the link between the King of Kings imagery of Timothy and the Good Shepherd of John. He talks confidently and draws out his themes of authority and service, applying them to home and workplace. At no point does he make reference to the Church as an institution, focussing solely on our personal encounter with Christ.

Following his talk there is a period in which prophecy is received from members of the group. Prophecy is received from two women. The first, Teresa, reads from a shorthand notebook "*I am yours and you are mine*" and explains that the words came to her the previous evening as she was praying. She feels the words were deeply personal and spoke to her due to some personal family issues at the moment. However, she also

felt that the Holy Spirit wanted her to share the prophecy with the group. The group nods and thanks her. The second woman is a little older than Teresa and has long grey hair. Her prophecy is more of a call to action "*Go out to all, tell them of my greatness*". She feels that society is slipping away from God and that we must all work tirelessly to evangelise an increasingly secular society. There is discernibly less enthusiasm and sympathy for this second prophecy as most members sit quietly, with many looking at the floor as the woman speaks. Gavin begins to talk again, this time exploring the prophecies. More accurately, he explores the prophecy given by Teresa and ignores that of the second woman. This is notable as the second prophecy touches on some of the apostolic themes mentioned in his earlier talk and could easily be drawn in. Later I discover that Teresa is part of the core group of the prayer group and as such has higher status than the other woman, Lynne, who is considered by at least one of the members to be "*a little out there*". Lynne's lower status clearly means that her prophecy is considered less credible.

The meeting continues with further praise and worship before ending with tea and coffee served by two women from the group. Over coffee there is a conversation about the future of the group and what can be done to recruit new members and help in the renewal of the parish. The themes of Lynne's prophecy come up in conversation, but no reference is made to it or to her. A discussion develops about the secularisation of culture and moral decline. The lack of enthusiasm amongst priests is seen as one issue and there is a brief excursus into the poor quality of preaching amongst Catholic priests.

> "Fr X isn't too bad compared to some. Some priests don't seem to take preaching seriously, they just download something from the internet and read it out. How can they do that?"

In response…

"We had a priest who had a set of homilies for the three years and when it came round to Year A again you started getting homilies that you recognised. I don't think it's that unusual. It's wrong though."

This is linked to a lack of love for the Scriptures by one person and the point is generally agreed by others present.

"I don't think they [priests] really burn for the Scriptures these days. It isn't alive for them so how can they make it come to life for others."

At one point a man blames the liberal media for the erosion of morals but the point is left hanging and not developed. By this point even I know that one of the group, Patricia, works for the BBC. The rest of the conversation tends to focus around family matters with enquiries being made about children and other relatives.

I help pack away chairs with Gavin at the end of the evening and ask him how long he has been a member of the prayer group.

"About twelve years I suppose" he answers, "but I was in another group before we moved here". (Gavin)

I ask how they compare.

"Very different. I don't think this one can last much longer." (Gavin)

I ask why.

"Most people are getting too old. There is no one to do anything and they just want to come along each week for a quiet meeting and then go home. I don't think that's what the Renewal is all about. We need young people who want things to

change. I don't know what happened." (Gavin)

I ask him what he means by the last statement.

"Thirty years ago we were on fire, things were going to change but here we are and if anything we have gone backwards." (Gavin)

"Do you think that is anyone's fault?" I probe.

"Not really. I don't know. I think there are just bigger things, you know?" (Gavin)

"Bigger things?" (KC)

"I don't think the Church has supported us very well and there are forces out there that want us to fail." (Gavin)

"Supernatural forces?" (KC)

"Yes" (Gavin)

"You mean the devil?" (KC)

"Yes, but you're not allowed to talk about the devil these days are you? But, he is real and if we forget about him it's dangerous, and just what he wants. Have you ever read the Screwtape Letters?" (Gavin)

"Yes" (KC)

"There's a bit in there where he says that that's exactly want the devil wants, for us to think he doesn't exist" (Gavin)

"Have you ever experienced evil forces?" I ask

> "Yes, and I know lots of other people who have. I knew a priest who was called out to a girl who was possessed. He had to drive about an hour to get there. He was perfectly well when he set off but before he could get there he was struck down with kidney stones and had to be rushed to hospital. The doctors couldn't explain how they had developed so quickly, but he knew." (Gavin)

Our conversation ends there but nearly a year later, at a charismatic conference, I hear a speaker recount almost exactly the same story about the priest being struck down with kidney stones.

5.3 The Small Prayer Groups

Following a series of Life in the Spirit seminars in the parish about four years prior to my visit the small parish of St Michael's had established a regular charismatic prayer group. St Michael's is one of four parishes in a large town in South East England and is situated in one of the more affluent suburbs. There is a large charismatic prayer group in one of the other parishes which is, or was, attended by some members of the parish. It was some of these established members of the CCR that had organised the seminars and that formed the core of the prayer group in St Michael's. During the course of the study it became apparent that one of the reasons for the establishment of the new group was dissatisfaction amongst some of the core members with the influx of overseas members to the original group, largely from the Philippines. These overseas members were seen as changing the nature of the group with more extrovert outwards signs and a conservative moral theology. They were seen as "*taking over*" the established group so a new place to worship was needed.

> "I don't know what it was. It didn't really feel like ours any more and it doesn't feel nice being an outsider in your own group. They kept wanting these speakers to come in who would get everyone fired up. A lot of them were African speakers who just saw things in a different way…You know, different expectations of what we should do and how we should behave. It felt like we were having something pushed down our throats" (Shirley).

I didn't get a feeling of any overt racism from Shirley when she talked about the changes, but she was clearly uncomfortable with the cultural shifts and perhaps most notably with the introduction of a more conservative social theology. The expectations she refers to above turned out to be regarding the roles of women in the group but also in the wider Church and the family. This was a major factor in the decision to move although the more enthusiastic style of worship was also something she felt didn't suit her or some of the other members.

When trying to organise a weekly charismatic prayer group they were unable to find a suitable time that did not clash with other regular events and groups in the parish, and so they reached a compromise. Once each month they meet as a prayer group in the parish centre on a Thursday evening. Approximately fifteen to eighteen people attend these monthly meetings. Each week two other smaller groups also meet. One group meets on Tuesday evenings in the house of two of the founder members, Shirley and Tom. These meetings are attended by six to eight people, middle aged and older with a roughly equal split between men and women. All are white and could be described as middle class. Most seem to have professional backgrounds or have left work to be primary caregivers to children. The other group meets on Friday mornings after mass in the side chapel of the parish church. This group is made up entirely of women over the age of fifty, except on the occasions when I attended. Again, all are white and fairly affluent but some of the members here could be considered working class. One

woman, for example, works as a part-time cleaner at the parish school and her husband is a carpenter.

The monthly prayer group is recognisable as following a fairly typical format for a prayer group with praise and worship, Scripture reading, talks, prophecy and intercession. In many ways reflecting the established prayer group described above. However, the two smaller groups are quite different in nature and, apart from a few tell-tale signs, are not immediately recognisable as charismatic in origin or ethos.

The meeting in Shirley and Tom's house seems to be made up of quite close friends who all appear to have significant histories together. Most have had children go through the local Catholic school together. One of them, Margaret, has taught at the school for over twenty-five years and two have been governors there. Nearly all seem to have been members of the Parish Pastoral Council or finance committee at some point. The meeting begins with coffee and general chat, largely around family and parish events. When the meeting begins there is no singing but there is some praise music played from a CD. As the music dies down a number of people begin praying in tongues. Some Scripture is read and some sharing takes place about interpretation, usually no one functions as the speaker on the material except once or twice during my time with the group. There then follows a period of general discussion in which some topic of interest to the group is analysed. Typically, these seem to revolve around the functioning of the parish or wider Church, education or matters relating to marriage and family life.

The nature of the conversations in Shirley and Tom's house suggest a similar point of view amongst the participants which could probably be classed most accurately as

liberal in the context of Catholic thought. Comments about the teaching of the Church on sexual morality suggest wide dissent from the official teaching of the Catholic Church and the argument for the ordination of women is affirmed on more than one occasion. There is also discontent with attempts to introduce more Latin into the liturgy.[2]

The meeting continues with some petitionary prayer, always with some prayers for family and sick members of the parish. There is some more worship music from the CD and prayer in tongues before ending with more coffee and, usually, cake baked by one of the women.

Mass on Friday morning in St Michael's is followed by coffee from about 10am in a small side room. At 10.30 a small group of women from the parish return to the Church and gather in the side chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. The chapel has blue walls and a statue of Our Lady Queen of Heaven. It is carpeted and has soft seating. The meeting begins quietly with no music or singing. There is a period of intense silent prayer interspersed with some extemporary prayer and some praying in tongues. Members take it in turns each week to prepare some Scripture readings and some reflections. Others listen quietly and thoughtfully whilst the speaker covers their subject. After the talk there is some discussion amongst the group on the subject matter. It is here that the most fundamental difference between the Friday group and the house group can be seen. Their views could not easily be classed a liberal, indeed many of the ills befalling the Church and the world are attributed to lack of fidelity to

[2] A nearby parish had recently introduced a Latin mass in the 'extraordinary' (Tridentine) rite and concern was raised that this might be expected in each parish.

Church teaching and lax morality. Some of the blame is attributed to liberal bishops, some to poor parenting or teaching, but the ultimate blame is attributed to malign forces attacking the Church. The primary function of this group is seen as praying as faithful Catholics, and mothers, for strength to overcome the forces that threaten Church and family.

Unlike the house group meeting there is prophecy offered. Sometimes these are words offered from one or more of the attendees but more frequently the prophecy offered comes from another source, typically the internet. The favourite offerings for prophecy are the regular visions from Medjugorje, particularly those of the second of the month aimed at unbelievers – although any of the messages from Our Lady of Medjugorje seemed acceptable and worthy of discussion. Other sources include the EWTN Catholic broadcasting service which all members watch through satellite or internet channels. All members of the group have visited Medjugorje, most more than once; one lady has been eight times. During my time with this group I am given a substantial amount of literature, directed to several web sites and encouraged to sign up for Our Lady of Medjugorje text alerts. I am also encouraged to join them on a trip to Medjugorje and whilst I do see them off at the railway station I am unable to go with them. The general theme of material from Medjugorje is apocalyptic and roots the present firmly in the end times. The real presence of dark forces is affirmed, and literature covers topics from the "rise of Islam" to black masses. One pamphlet I am given is highly recommended and has a picture on the cover of the twin towers of the World Trade Centre in flames following the attacks of September 11th 2001. Inside the cover the text explains that the face of the devil is clearly visible in the plume of smoke

and that there is independent verification that this is a genuine image.[3] This pamphlet is published by a group devoted to Our Lady of Medjugorje who is seen as a herald of the end of time.

At different times I have the opportunity to raise questions with both groups relating to issues that exercise many, if not all, Catholics at some point and are seen as challenging to the faith. The responses of the two groups were quite different, despite their shared background that included a common prayer meeting once each month. The first question I raised was the issue of the decline in attendance amongst young people in the Catholic Church. This is a problem for nearly all parishes and Church organisations and is widely seen as a "something must be done" issue throughout the Church.[4] For the house group the answer lay in failures on the part of the Church, especially clergy who had failed to update their attitudes on moral issues and had resisted the message of the Renewal. As Margaret stated:

> "I can see why people don't want to be a member of the Church, especially young people and couples with families. Constantly being told what to do and that you aren't doing things in the right way. I can remember when our kids were young, the priest [*checks with other members that they know who she is talking about*]…took me to one side one Sunday and said that I needed to keep them quieter during mass. Three kids, all under seven! He had no idea. That's one of the things I loved about the Charismatic Renewal, no one ever judged us. If the kids wanted to run about, that was fine. And, we used to put things on for children. I still think most priests could learn a lot from that". (Margaret) [*affirmation from rest of the group*]

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[3] *Why So Many Disasters?* by A Friend of Medjugorje. (Sterret, AL: Caritas of Birmingham, 2005). See Image 3, Appendix 1, for the cover image and explanation.

[4] The point regarding "something must be done" is somewhat anecdotal but the author spent a year working as a diocesan advisor for the Catholic Church and currently provides support for the Catholic Bishops Conference in England and Wales on matters of marriage and family. This issue is perhaps one of the most commonly raised subjects in both contexts and was a significant issue in the Listening 2004 survey of attitudes in the Catholic Church in England and Wales.

They also pointed to the large number of temptations and alternatives that existed in the world, ranging from the internet and video games to sport and other faith traditions:

> "It's difficult. So much going on. Loads of things on a Saturday and Sunday that young people want to do and the pressure that's on you to get them there and support them. We stopped going on Sunday morning for a few years because of football for the kids but fortunately there was the six-thirty [vigil] mass on Saturday. Not everywhere has that. I think they could try and think out of the box a little and give people options." (Tom)

> "Mine were fine until they got to St X's [secondary school]. It's supposed to be Catholic but there was nothing going on. The priest hardly went there. In my day he'd be in every day. The masses and other liturgies weren't regular, and they must have been so boring for the kids…I can remember [son] coming home one day on Ash Wednesday and they hadn't even had their ashes. I think the school was embarrassed about being Catholic." (Vanessa)

It was pointed out by more than one person that other Christian groups such as Pentecostals were growing despite the same pressures from the world. The decline in the Catholic Church was thus seen as a failure on the part of the hierarchy to renew. As one member of the group said:

> "They wouldn't listen to the Holy Spirit. They didn't want to let the spirit of Vatican II take hold and now we're all paying the price". (Jacob)

The Friday morning group also pointed to temptations as a reason for the decline in youth attendance but with one significant addition: the role of the devil in leading young people, and adults, away from the Church.

> "There's a real struggle going on, he's trying to grind the Church down bit by bit. He offers promises, temptations, and these are things that you can have now – cars, money, clothes, sex. Our Lady has warned us about this again and again at Fatima, Lourdes and all the time at Medjugorje. I think that rather than trying to compete,

we need to stand up and show that we are different – that we're not like the rest of the world." (Yvonne)

They saw the temptation provided by the sources mentioned by the house group as being manifestations of, or tools used by, the devil. When probed they didn't see computers or television as intrinsically evil but as something exploited by evil forces to tempt young people.[5] This subject initiated a broader discussion about the persecution of the Church in the world either due to secular forces, typically described as "*liberals*" or as the "*PC brigade*" by Ailish, or by other religions that sought to push out Catholicism. A particular target was Islam which was seen as a malign force in the world with a mission to restrict, or even eliminate, Christianity.

"We have more and more Muslims here [in this town] and they are getting more pushy all the time. We've had them in St Y's [primary school]. They come in then don't want to take part in our prayers or the mass. I reckon if you send your children to a Catholic school then they should have to do what all the other children do…They're just trying to change the way we do things in this country." (Ailish)

A belief held by all was the assertion that there had been more Christian martyrs in the last century than in the whole history of the Church.[6] This was asserted as a fact

[5] However, one individual did later send me an email with a link to an American evangelical organisation that did see television and the internet as creations of the devil. http://www.evangelicaloutreach.org/tvcartoon2.html

[6] This assertion regarding the level of martyrdom was encountered many times from various manifestations of the CCR in the UK and Ireland. Support is often provided using literature from the Catholic organisation Aid to the Church in Need which has a special mission to support the persecuted Church. Initially this was largely in the former Eastern Bloc countries but since the early 1990s its focus has moved increasingly to Muslim countries such as Pakistan, Syria, Egypt and Sudan (http://www.acnuk.org/persecuted-and-forgotten-our-religious-freedom-report). The notion of the high level of Christian martyrdom has gained increasing traction in some quarters of the Catholic Church in recent years with high profile figures such as Cardinal George Pell claiming up to 150,000 Christian martyrs each year (see Pell, George: *Religious Freedom*. Annual Lecture on Religious Freedom , University of Notre Dame Australia School of Law. 22 August 2013. http://sydneycatholic.org/pdf/UNDAReligiousFreedomLecture22Aug13-amended.pdf. (Accessed 12/07/14)). On the same theme see: Rupert Shortt, *Christianophobia: A Faith under Attack*. (Rider Books: London, 2012) and Massimo Introvigne, "Christian Martyrs, One Every Five Minutes: 'A Reliable

and evidence of some form of great struggle in the world between Christianity and the forces of evil. No overt criticism of Church hierarchy was offered but there was a sense of culpability amongst the wider Church for neglecting this area. Indeed, the women took blame on themselves and felt deep personal regret at the failure of several of their own children to continue practising the Catholic faith. One woman was deeply upset that her daughter had moved to practice in a Baptist Church whereas several expressed pain that grandchildren had not been baptised. All members had experienced one or more children leaving the Church and this exercised them deeply. As one member expressed it:

> "I pray every day that he [her son] will start going to mass again. I want the little ones to be baptised and take communion. But his wife won't have it." (Brenda)

The second challenging question that I was able to explore with both groups was that of child sexual abuse by clergy and other Church employees or representatives. In both groups this subject came up without my prompting and appeared as a topic all were keen to discuss at some level. The question is not an entirely abstract one as a priest in the town was convicted on child pornography charges a few years ago and there is a generally held belief amongst members of both groups that another priest engaged in sexual abuse of boys in the town during the 1980s, although there has not been a conviction nor charges brought. Again, both groups responded quite differently to this

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Estimate'". (http://www.cesnur.org/2011/mi-cri-en.html). The statistics used by these individuals and organisations has been subject to scrutiny recently and to a large extent discredited. See Ruth Alexander, Are there really 100,000 new Christian martyrs every year? (http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-24864587. Accessed 25/06/14) and Pew Research Centre: *Arab Spring Adds to Global Restrictions on Religion*; June 2013 available at http://www.pewforum.org/files/2013/06/RestrictionsIV-web.pdf (Accessed 12/07/14).

question and in ways that reflected their answers to the question of young people leaving the Church. Both groups were appalled by the revelations that have come out regarding sexual abuse in the UK and in other countries and both saw it as related to something of a current crisis in the Church. However, their considerations of cause and effect were almost diametrically opposed.

The house group again placed the blame on the clergy and especially the hierarchy. They saw the abuse as the result of the abuse of power by clergy and pointed to the worst offenses happening in places where the Church had greatest power; Ireland was cited as an example. There was a view that, whilst unacceptable at any level, the UK had been spared some of the worst excesses. Two key factors were highlighted for blame:

> "they shouldn't be celibate, it's not natural for anyone to live like that. They should be allowed to marry." (Shirley)

and,

> "Gays. Half of them are gay and they can get up to anything they like. Fr [local priest] has another priest 'friend' and everyone knows what they're up to. They go on holiday together every year. We had a seminarian here for a year and he left because he said the whole place was run by gays. You can't tell me that hasn't got something to do with it." (Vanessa)

The opinions of these group members were affirmed by the rest of the group through nods and verbal confirmation. When asked if the revelations about sexual abuse had challenged their faith the response was mixed. Some members were clear that whilst their faith in God had not been shaken they were now less deferential towards clergy. Priests were "*no longer on a pedestal like they were when I was growing up*" (Tom)

and this was universally acknowledged as a good thing. Others said their faith had been shaken but that family and parish members had helped them to see the actions of the abusers as separate from their belief in God. When asked where God was when these things were happening the answers were less thought through and the question was met with some initial hesitation:

> "I suppose God works through people and some people do bad things. These men have sinned, I don't think God wanted them to do it but he doesn't just step in every time something bad happens. He gave us free will and sometimes we use it to do bad things." (Tom)

This response by Tom seemed to encapsulate the view of the group as a whole, or at least provide an answer that avoided the necessity for others to articulate a response.

The Friday group were much more exercised by this question. Partly at least, they were concerned about this as a number of their children had cited the abuse scandal as one of their reasons for no longer attending Church. No mention was made here of celibacy or homosexuality, although one person did make an allusion to the "*wrong sort of men*" being recruited as priests but did not provide further explanation of what she meant by this. Again, the primary cause was seen as temptation and, in particular, temptations by forces actively hostile to the Church. This time, rather than other faiths, the blame was clearly seen to be evil forces seeking to destroy the Church. In common with the issue of young people leaving the Church, the media, especially the internet, was seen as instrumental in facilitating the evil forces. When I mentioned that many of the cases, including one of the local cases, pre-dated the internet the answer was that the internet didn't cause it but made it easier: "*the internet suits the devil very well*" one woman offered on a separate occasion. Another (Brenda) explained:

> "These men are weak. They're lonely, and the devil wants to get them so much because they do such important work. We have to pray so hard for them because we have lost so many priests recently. In a few years we won't have enough even to say mass on Sunday." (Brenda)

Brenda's response here echoes the concerns voiced by several participants at the Miracle Rally where lack of priests, and vocations, was seen as a significant crisis in the life of the Church. Similarly, Brenda also reflects the tone of Damian Stayne's comments about those who are doing important work, such as CCR members and priests, being special targets for evil forces.[7] In the context offered by Brenda there was something of an apologetic tone offered in defence of priests for any transgressions, including abuse. Their culpability was seen as reduced due to evil forces acting against them as prime targets, much as Stayne saw the participants of the Miracle Rally. Brenda didn't offer any consideration of God's power in resisting this or the sense of 'grace abounding' in the face of challenges as put forward in the Rally.

In another interpretation of the situation that was not countered in the group one of the members explained:

> "It's been exaggerated of course. Yes, bad things have happened but not as much as the papers want you to believe. Some of them want money, they say they have been abused so they can sue the Church – look at what's happened in America." (Ailish)

None of the group indicated any loss of faith in response to the scandal. When asked where God was when the abuse was happening two key themes appeared, in addition to forms of revisiting the point that the extent was exaggerated. The first theme was that

[7] See above. Chapter 4.2.

of a battle between the forces of good and evil in which God battled against the forces of evil in this world. God's grace and the action of the Holy Spirit were seen as very real and powerful forces in the world but in no way overwhelming to the forces of evil. The second theme is typified in the comment of one member:

> "God puts the good things in front of you, but the devil puts the bad things there too. You choose which you want but the devil can be very clever." (Ailish)

In this way they affirmed the role of free will in much the same way as the house group but saw it in the context of a more cosmic struggle. As with Brenda, the dissonance created by a group deemed special in God's eyes (priests) not receiving sufficient grace and protection to defend themselves was not really addressed beyond the simple issue of choice.

Having introduced these three forms of parish expression of the CCR in the Life in the Spirit seminars, the large prayer group and the two smaller prayer groups, we will now continue to look in more detail at some key themes arising from the groups and in relation to other expressions of the CCR.

5.5 Analysis of Parish Prayer Groups

Small parish groups of the types described here remain the backbone of the CCR in the UK and provide the primary experience of most members. Events such as the Miracle Rally, described above, or national and international conferences, discussed in the following chapter, are at most annual moments in the lives of the majority of Catholic Charismatics and are often experienced as part of a prayer group trip. As such, the groups considered here can be considered perhaps the most important expression of

what the UK CCR is. There is clearly a wide diversity in the nature of the groups from new establishments in a parish through to groups with decades of experience and history. They also range in size and activity from possibly a few dozen regular members with live music and experienced speakers to about half a dozen people meeting quietly in a side chapel or someone's home. The groups will be analysed together here, not despite their diversity but because of it. Complexity seems to define the very nature of the CCR, and perhaps any faith group, but it is only here that the essential elements that bind them together can be discerned.

5.5.1 Life in the Spirit

The first picture presented of parish groups, that of the parish seeking renewal, is to a large extent the story of Life in the Spirit seminars that are the primary mode of introduction of the CCR into the life of a community. I have considered the Life in the Spirit seminars elsewhere and it would seem that the mode of introduction witnessed in this parish is somewhat typical.[8] An individual or small group from within the parish, or perhaps on invitation from a parish priest, with experience of the CCR elsewhere organises a series of evenings or days for members of the parish as part of an introduction and initiation into the Charismatic Renewal. The seminars tend not to be explicitly marketed as charismatic in nature but follow a format similar to that seen for the group reported here as:

[8] Chappell, K.R. MTh thesis. University of Oxford, 2009.

"*A series of talks and discussions aimed at parish renewal. We will explore prayer, Scripture, our relationship with Christ and how each of us can use our gifts to serve God in His Church*"[9]

This marketing is, of course, in no way disingenuous but does skirt around the issues that may arouse suspicion amongst those with prejudice against the CCR. Perhaps most notable in this marketing is the absence of any mention of the Holy Spirit. The CCR is by no means the only place in the Catholic Church that mention of the Holy Spirit is found but it is one of the rare places where members will openly discuss the role of the Spirit in their lives and posit any notion of a personal relationship with the third person of the Trinity. Explicit mention of the Spirit does, then, alert many Catholics to the possibility of a Charismatic link and whilst this is generally met with a benign response there are those who are less tolerant or sympathetic, such as one priest encountered in a neighbouring parish to one of the prayer groups mentioned here who described the CCR as "*a bit happy clappy…not really Catholic*". [10]

Similarly, another priest:

"Yes, I had a Charismatic group in one of my parishes. I'm not sure really. I know that they are not prohibited but I still don't think I would encourage it".

What would you do if someone came and asked to set up a Charismatic prayer group in the parish? (KC)

"Hmm, I'm not sure. I think I would try to get them to do something else. Maybe *lectio* or something."

[9] From a notice about the upcoming seminars in the parish newsletter.

[10] See also the introduction above, Chapter 1.7, for some consideration of early concerns regarding the orthodoxy of the CCR.

It is clear from the careful marketing, and conversations with a number of CCR members, that they are aware of a somewhat marginal position within mainstream Catholicism, in the UK at least.

> "Even after forty-odd years some people are still suspicious of the Charismatic Renewal" (Kristina Cooper)

> "I know people think it's a bit odd and are a little scared but once they get a chance to see that we don't do anything against the Church they are normally OK." (Sarah)

This marginal status is perhaps an important factor in the mode of development of the Life in the Spirit seminars witnessed in the first parish group. Over the weeks of the seminars explicit reference to the Holy Spirit and to charisms, and the use of more explicit CCR modes of worship such as glossolalia and body postures, increased. The first week however, as described, has little to distinguish it from any other form of parish talk or discussion group and this would seem to be a conscious effort to enhance retention. For Gareth, the South African small group leader, this was clearly a source of frustration as he attempted to speed up the process of what can only be considered 'evangelisation' through attempting to sell the CCR both in its parish form and in the form of a men's group.

It would seem that two modes or worldviews are at play within these seminars, typified by Sarah the speaker and organiser on one hand and Gareth on the other. Sarah presents a model of the CCR quite resonant with Walker's R2 Restorationists. Her general position is one that is quite liberal and seeking integration within the mainstream of the parish in order to effect renewal through injecting a renewed sense of passion, mission and purpose. There is no mention by Sarah at any point during the

seminars that there should be a small group set apart within the parish as an outcome of the series and whilst she acknowledges the possibility in conversation she does not seek to push it as an outcome. I get the sense though that she would be happy to be involved should one emerge and, indeed, she and Jim do get involved as a group forms after the seminars, but its formation is led by a couple in their thirties. Sarah's tone is inclusive and, in the sense of maintaining a unity within the parish, it is ecumenical; there is no overt desire for sect formation as understood by Troeltsch or Niebuhr. Her choice of marketing represents sensitivity to the potentially divisive nature of prejudices or threatening forms of worship amongst a fairly 'middle of the road' parish community. It is notable that during the seminars she did not start to use typical Charismatic body language until session four and only began noticeably praying in tongues during the following session, and only after assurances had been given to attendees regarding its orthodoxy. At no point in the seminars were any of the more marked expressions such as barking, screaming, fainting or even shouting evident. Sarah's tone, and it would seem of most people leading the sessions, was focussed on building relationships with self, community and God. The deeply personal nature of her talks, linked with Scripture, made a clear demonstration of the immanence of God in her life and the message was one of the same potential for each individual and for the parish community. Here, the notion of 'mysticism' developed by Coakley from Troeltsch's church-sect typology provides some degree of nuanced insight. For Coakley, the notion of mysticism provides not a third type to the typology but, rather, as a 'woof' to lay over the 'warp' of the church-sect distinction.[11] She argues that some charismatic expressions are expressions of mysticism within an existing type, either Church or sect,

[11] Coakley, S. *God, Sexuality, and the Self*, p.160.

rather than representing a shift towards sect or church formation.[12] This may well provide some useful insight to the nature of parish prayer groups and their formation. Rather than representing something akin to a sect within the host church they are possibly a mystic 'woof' in the 'warp' of Catholic life. This would set them apart from groups such as *Cor et Lumen Christi* who appear to step much further than this and appear much closer to being sects within the Church.

Gareth represents something more akin to Walker's R1, although with limitations to the parallel. Gareth presents a more highly evangelistic position driven by a greater sense of urgency and certainty that the message of the CCR, as he sees it, will itself bring renewal to the parish. He also represents a more authoritarian model which is manifest in his strong control of the discussion group and in his evangelisation for the 'Harvester' men's group. I later attended one of their open sessions where the R1 model is much more obvious. During the Harvester meeting the authority and shepherding roles of men are asserted and the position of women whilst not demeaned is certainly side-lined; the notion of women in charge would not sit comfortably with the men I met at the Harvester group. Perhaps most revealing during this meeting was a conversation centred on the need for men to "*reclaim their spirituality as a masculine spirituality*" as one speaker had asserted. The consensus of the group appeared to be that spirituality had been in some way hijacked by women and that men were being expected to fit into a feminine mode of faith and worship. For one member this was central to one crisis of the Church:

> "No wonder boys leave, we expect them to be girls. You just need to look around the church: altar girls but no altar boys. You can't be surprised when there are no

[12] Ibid., pp.161-165.

priests." (James)

For this group at least, the need to explore the masculine side of the Spirit was extremely important. I was unable to explore this group in any greater depth, but it would certainly seem that further exploration of CCR men's groups could provide useful insights into the nature of the CCR and the role of gender in the Catholic Church.

In terms of eschatology the tone of the Life in the Spirit seminars remained dispensationalist and Adventist, as experienced during the Catholic Miracle Rally. Sarah took care to set many of the events she spoke of in an eschatological context, including personal bereavement:

"We can't really know what it all means in this life" (Sarah)

"God wants us for now and for all eternity, and for each one of us that eternity is coming soon" (Sarah)

"He has given us many signs that he is coming, and coming soon" (Sarah)

Her notion of "*heaven invading Earth*" when her mother died points not only to immanence but to the beginning of the end times, and the cosmic struggle of good and evil is played out in the moment of the seminars themselves. Later sessions, in line with other Life in the Spirit series, build up the sense of cosmic struggle and the role of Renewal members in this struggle. Whilst no prophecy is given during the seminars there are numerous mentions of the approaching end of time and this is compounded through the choice of hymns in which the immanence of Christ is asserted and the members are felt to have a role in precipitating his coming: "*Come, come, come…*".

Gareth certainly presents some characteristics that resemble those described by Ford as distinctive of Type I, i.e. authoritarian, a desire for paraecclesial structures and a strong certainty regarding teaching. Yet it must be said that neither he nor the other men in the Harvester group demonstrated any desire for any form of sect to be formed. On the contrary, they seemed to see the current position of the Church as representing an overtly feminine group and they wished to recapture a period in which masculinity was respected and given due place in the Church. Thus, despite Gareth's very strong emphasis on evangelising ministry which Ford sees as typical of Type I, there is also a discernible wish to recapture the solidifying ministries which Ford considers the sign of Type II.

The seminars were focussed on renewal of individuals and particularly on renewal of the parish. Current authority structures were recognised in that the blessing of the parish priest had been sought and received before the beginning of the seminars and at no point were efforts made to subvert the hierarchy. Sarah's efforts to build relationships and avoid sect development was also very much in line with Ford's vision of Type II. Little emphasis was placed on evangelisation. Rather, as seen in the conversation with Sarah above, renewal of the parish was seen to come through involvement in ministries such as catechesis and practical works ranging from enhancing the social life of the parish to getting involved in social action projects in the town. Additionally, towards the end of the seminars one of the sessions considered next steps during which Sarah affirmed:

> "You have received the Spirit in a special way through Baptism in the Spirit. Not for the first time but a new way. Each of us receives gifts, charisms, and we each have to use them in our own way. For some people that is through prayer, for some it is healing, some teaching, for others it is through practical acts of service to

> others. The point is, you have been given gifts to grow the Church and you must use them." (Sarah)

It is not possible to tell whether Sarah deliberately omitted a ministry of evangelisation when giving this talk or whether it was unintentional. Its omission is, however, notable considering the emphasis in the CCR as encountered elsewhere and Sarah's long membership.

As a moment of primary encounter with the CCR the overt lack of emphasis on evangelisation would perhaps seem strange but in the context of renewal, rather than "re-evangelisation" or 'New Evangelisation', it appears to make sense. It is presumed that the people have heard the Gospel, and have accepted it. What is seen as missing is a sense of vitality that is brought through a personal encounter with the Holy Spirit. As such, Sarah's aims for, and presentation of, the Life in the Spirit seminars is more educational and motivational. Sarah, and the CCR in a parish setting, function more in the teaching, prophetic and exhortation roles of the solidifying ministries than as evangelists.

If we are to consider the seminars in line with Hopewell's analysis, then the inherent diversity discussed above presents a problem with regard to whose story should be told. Of course, all stories are relevant and valuable but the focus here is on the seminars themselves and the parish within which they are set. In particular, the parish story as viewed through the lens of the Charismatic Renewal members who regarded themselves as part of that story, both its history and its future. The story of Gareth and the Harvester men is a different story and one that would provide insight into an important aspect of the UK CCR, but it is not possible to explore that here. The story is largely

told through Sarah but is affirmed through the progress of the seminars and supported by the numerous other people involved in their organisation and execution.

In his book *The Seven Basic Plots* Christopher Booker considers one of the key forms of story that we encounter from our earliest days in fairy tales to mature narratives in opera and political biography to be that of Rebirth.[13] Examples include Sleeping Beauty, Snow White, The Snow Queen, A Christmas Carol, Crime and Punishment, The Secret Garden and Peer Gynt.

The story told of the parish where the Life in the Spirit seminars were held, as told by the CCR members there, is one of a former life of energy, and even greatness, but a current 'loss of fire' and almost living death:

> "We used to have lots going on in the parish. A youth group, prayer groups, SVP, Legion[14], all sorts. They all just gradually stopped. Sometimes a person would step down and there would be no one else to lead the group. That happens so much. I think that is one of the things for Life in the Spirit, to get people to come forward and help in with things." (Jim)

The parish is portrayed as a moribund community called to greater things but unable to rescue itself and rise above its current state. No story of trauma is told, there is no blame put on the choices of the people of the parish for its current state.

The frequent allusions during the seminars to evil forces and the placing by Sarah of personal struggle in the context of cosmic forces of good and evil suggest a clear vision

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[13] Booker, C. *The Seven Basic Plots,* p.193 ff.

[14] SVP is the Society of St Vincent de Paul, a charity which on a parish level concerns itself with acts of mercy for the sick and housebound. The 'Legion' is The Legion of Mary, in some ways a sister organisation to the SVP which concerns itself with parish visits and evangelisation through door to door ministry.

that the current state of the parish is the product of the community falling under the influence of dark forces.

> "We need the Spirit and His grace to be with us, especially here. As Christians we are part of something bigger, something that has gone on since the beginning of time. Adam faced temptation and couldn't resist. We face the same temptations from the same forces and we can only resist with the help of Jesus and His Spirit." (Sarah, 3rd Session)

In terms of Hopewell's analysis, we see a community trapped in the cold Northern winter of a lacklustre empiric/ironic worldview that needs to be brought to new life through facing the warmth of the Southern sun and a romantic/charismatic view. The essentially romantic worldview put forward both by the organising group and others such as Gareth is quite clear and, again, predictable for a Charismatic group. Yet, there are those who seek to stop this happening.

It is in this last aspect that the tragic element of the story is made manifest. A tragedy is defined by notions of destiny, and fulfilment of that destiny through following the path set out. This path can be frustrated by personal choice or the intervention of others bent on preventing the hero from achieving his goal. Often the barrier is supernatural forces or monsters which must be overcome. The answer to this is the intervention, via the Life in the Spirit seminars, of a new relationship with the Holy Spirit to enable the parish to fulfil its destiny. The CCR as encountered in this moment, in this place, is thus presenting a story that is deeply romantic but also tragic. So, in contrast to the CCR at the Miracle Rally, it faces South West to the afternoon sun rather than the mid-morning of the South East. In Hopewell's system then, there is a clear diversity appearing in the UK CCR of the early 21st century that has some degree of correlation with the picture painted using Walker and Ford for classifying. Whether

this pattern is repeated in other parish groups will now be explored with a view to gaining a greater understanding both of the nature of this diversity and whether it indicates that more than one organisation or movement is being considered here.

5.5.2 Established Prayer Group

The meeting of the established prayer group described above is one of many similar events in the life of this group which I accompanied for several months. Their pattern was established and regular with few moments of overt drama. Most people knew each other quite well with some forming close friendship groups that met outside the context of the prayer group. The majority were members of the same parish community in a generally affluent town centre area and few seemed to face any significant social deprivation. During the course of my time with the group a number of personal and family issues were raised by members, sometimes in casual conversations but more usually in the context of petitionary prayers or prayers for healing. Matters of importance in this context included issues such as rejection of Catholicism by adult children, redundancy, infertility, illness of many sorts, and issues of conflict or decision in the parish. Prayer for the wider world was comparatively rarer and tended to focus on specific disasters or high-profile news events such as missing children.

The model for the group was certainly one of maintenance rather than one of mission. During my time with the group there were no significant plans at outreach or evangelisation beyond the decision to put a running notice in the parish newsletter, notifying readers of the time and place of the regular prayer meeting. The issue of group size and composition frequently came up, as it did at the meeting described, but

no individual or section of the group picked this up and attempted to address the problem. It seemed in some ways that they felt powerless despite frequent allusion to the power of the Holy Spirit in their lives; this disconnect was never fully reconciled during my time with the group.

Classification of this group using Ford's system is, in the first instance, quite straightforward. This group fits quite neatly into Ford's Type II and also into Walker's R2, if for no other reason than they don't appear to fit into Type I or R1. This, as noted, reveals one of the weaknesses of such classification systems as a way of understanding diverse groups and carrying out comparison between them; particularly if such systems are to be used in longitudinal studies.

The group is in no way sect-like or paraecclesial. At no time was there any evidence of dissent from Church teaching in favour of the group's own view. It would be hard to align this group in its current form with Coakley's mysticism but their nostalgia for their former selves and hopes for the future certainly seemed to suggest a desire for something closer for the group. The authority structures of the Church were recognised and reinforced on regular occasions with prayers being said for the bishop and the Pope in addition to prayers for the local parish. There was no evidence of non-Catholic membership in the group. Perhaps most notable was the absence of significant evangelical effort, or even intent, which appears to largely define both Type I and R1. Yet, despite what seems like a clear lack of correlation with the Type I and R1 models there are also a number of features absent that might be expected in Type II or R2.

In the established prayer group there appeared to be little social concern either formally or informally. The group itself engaged in little discussion of social issues in

terms of practical engagement although, as mentioned, there were regularly prayers said when disasters or social crises occurred. Informal discussions revealed little involvement of members in social outreach projects in the parish or the wider Church. Ford in particular regards social engagement a being one of the important characteristics of her Type II classification but this is not evident here.

Perhaps an even more marked divergence between this group and Ford's Type II and, more importantly, in comparison to most other expressions of the CCR encountered in this study, was their apparent lack of interest in renewal of the Church at either a local or universal level.

> "Do I see this group as a force for change in the parish? [laughs]. No, not really. That all sounds a bit grand. We're just a prayer group. I suppose we're a force for change in the sense that we pray for the parish, which is probably the most important way I suppose. But, I don't think we can make the parish behave differently. That's not down to us really. That's for Fr X to start and for the rest of us to help. Not that I see anything happening in a hurry. [laughs]." (Kelly)

> "Things haven't changed much here for years. We do fine. We keep going. I can't see much changing in the parish 'til we get a new priest. Fr X is a bit tired I think." (John)

Not only is there a lack of drive for renewal, despite what seems a sense from respondents that the parish in a malaise, but also there is a sense that any renewal is going to be clergy led. Whether this is the result of a sense of exhaustion, or complacency, due to failed efforts in the past is difficult to assert definitively. Although, Gavin's comments above and those of Helen below do seem to suggest a weariness:

> "I don't know. We tried things before. Some worked for a while but then dropped off again. Everyone around here is just so busy. In most families both parents work, and often that's a long way away. I've run out of ideas and there don't seem to be many others coming from elsewhere [points towards presbytery]. If someone else came up with things, I'd be happy to help but I've done my time leading things. Time for someone else." (Helen)

Part of the demotivation of members seems to be linked with their relationship with the parish priest who is seen by nearly all members as a block to developments and change in the parish, as well as to the prayer group itself. Their position was not generally anti-clerical but directed at the individual priest himself. This, combined with their own lack of willingness to take initiative, seems to have compounded the sense of malaise for the members.

This placed them in marked contrast with the Life in the Spirit group described above who exhibited a drive for renewal as a motivational factor for their existence and development. There were moments, such as those reported above, when conversations of the "something must be done" variety took place, but the issues didn't make it onto any sort of formal agenda for the group. Even Gavin as a leader seemed to feel disempowered to make any difference either in terms of building and developing the prayer group or for the group to be a force for renewal, both of which he recognised as important for the future of the group. Gavin seemed unwilling to blame the group or its members for the malaise, preferring only to mention external factors such as ageing or the actions of malign forces. Implicit in Gavin's belief that the prayer group couldn't last much longer, combined with the role of the devil in its decline, was an acknowledgement that evil had won a victory in this parish. There was never any explicit mention of feeling abandoned by God, or that the power of the Holy Spirit might be limited in the face of evil forces, but placing the decline of the group, and the

wider CCR, into the context of a cosmic struggle certainly raised a question that was studiously ignored.

The only real attempts to deal with decline came in the form of discussions around human failing, not least those of clergy and a lack of passion for the Scriptures. Unlike Gavin, the majority of the group tended, after their local clerical concerns, to focus on the secularisation of culture and the role of liberal political forces in institutions such as education and the media, rather than the devil, as the cause of perceived decline in the Church.

> "Yes, I do think the Church is generally going through a tough time. There are more things to compete with now than there have ever been. When I was young there was the telly and playing outside. Now there are things I couldn't have imagined. A world of exciting things out there – and I try to get my 15-year-old to come and sit for an hour and listen to an old man talk about stuff that probably doesn't seem relevant?" (Ian)

> "My son goes to St Xs [Catholic secondary school]. When he was 13 he still came to mass every Sunday, then he suddenly wanted to stop. He was getting teased by the other boys after he took communion at a school mass." (Ian)

> "Society today is anti-religious. Anti-Catholic especially. The press love it when a priest does something wrong or when they can have a go at the Church in some way. They are also always looking to chip away at things they know are important to us, like marriage and life issues. When you watch debates on TV they never give the person representing the religious view a fair say." (Kelly).

These concerns, then, ranged from the very personal, such as the bullying of a son, through to broader cultural concerns such as the nature of the media. They did not, however, suggest any controlling force or coordination, unlike the explanation presented by Gavin.

In common with Gavin, however, the sense of powerlessness in the face of such forces was also discernible. It is, of course, possible that the liberal secular forces were seen as the tools of the devil or that reference to them formed some form of code for evil forces in light of what Gavin highlighted as the social unacceptability of talking about the devil, but there was no evidence for this either during meetings or in interviews.

Other CCR groups and members, however, had shown little reticence in making explicit mention of the devil or dark forces when faced with difficulties ranging from travel problems or technical issues with sound systems through to serious illness and death. This is seen above in speakers such as Damian Stayne but was also encountered in a range of CCR members at all levels:

Andy from *Cor et Lumen Christi*:

> "The devil has cropped up many times in my life. Drawing me away from my faith, trying to stop me coming back, making me think the community wasn't where God was calling me." (Andy)

Elizabeth from the Miracle Rally:

> "Oh yes, there are demons out there, and sometimes in here [points to heart]. But there are angels too. I pray to my Guardian Angel every day and he keeps me safe." (Elizabeth)

What do you mean by 'in here'? (KC)

> "I mean that sometimes they get in and make you do things you know you shouldn't…my husband has a problem with drink. He knows it's bad for him but sometimes the devil gets the better of him. Hasn't drunk for over two years now, thanks be to God." (Elizabeth)

Jim from the Life in the Spirit seminars:

> "The devil is real. If you believe in God then you have to accept that there is a devil and he wants to undo everything that's good. That's why we need the Church – a fortress against him and his forces." (Jim)

As such, Gavin was not out of step with CCR members encountered in other manifestations in the UK, but he did seem to differ from the majority of the members in his own group and in doing so throws them into some relief.

Of the three groups of ministry defined by Ford there appears to be no explicit bias in favour of one group of ministries over the others in the large prayer group. Certainly, evangelising is not a high priority and neither is there evidence of the charism of healing despite many mentions and prayers for those who were sick. This said, three members of the group did attend the Catholic Miracle Rally in 2012. The only charism contained in Ford's evangelising ministries that was evident in the established prayer group was glossolalia which was an important part of each prayer meeting with both speaking and singing in tongues evident. I didn't encounter any interpretation of tongues during sessions with all prophecies being delivered in English.

The Pilot ministries also appeared to have little representation with no clergy involvement in the group and little reference being made to priests or the hierarchy other than to perhaps suggest that they lacked passion or failed to support charismatic groups. There were a number of widows in the group, but this did not seem to define their involvement in the prayer group or in the wider Church, and there was no explicit mention of their role within the group. Widows functioned as any other member of the group.

Of the three ministry groups it is perhaps the solidifying ministries that best define the established prayer group but even here this should not be overemphasised. Acts of mercy, as mentioned above, and exhortation have little place in the life of the group and there was no evidence of teaching being a priority beyond the presence of a couple of schoolteachers amongst the ranks of the members and the teaching offered by Gavin and other leaders during meetings. No educational initiatives were in place for group members or the wider parish under their leadership. Prophecy was, however, important and was an important characteristic of this prayer group and other established prayer groups visited during this study. A typical CCR prayer meeting contains the offering of prophecy by one or more members of the group which guides discussion and prayer during the session much as those offered by Teresa and Lynne during the meeting described above. The nature of the prophecy offered during meetings of this group tended to focus on matters relating to personal spirituality, the group or parish, and words of reassurance. In this sense the prophecy offered by Teresa was quite typical "*I am yours and you are mine*". Other typical prophecies or 'words' offered during meetings included:

"Come back to me. Do not be afraid. I am waiting eagerly for you"

"All my children are precious to me. Cherish them and I will be pleased with you."

"My love and grace are yours. Give your life to me."

Lynne's words of "*Go out to all, tell them of my greatness*" are indeed a little "*out there*" as far as the focus and concerns of the group are concerned. The initial analysis

of Lynne's junior status is probably not sufficient to explain why her prophecy was ignored by the group despite its apparent congruence with the themes of the evening. The function of prophecy in this group seems to be directed towards maintenance and reassurance of the group and its members rather than pointing to change or, indeed, seeking to disturb or make the members feel uncomfortable about their spirituality, ecclesiology or ethic. Lynne's prophecy contained exhortation and an imperative to evangelise and as such was dissonant with the ethos of the group. Thus, prophecy as encountered in this group had the function of reassurance that the group was doing well, and that God was pleased with them and provided a 'solidifying' function as Ford would consider it; not, however, with a view to a foundation for mission but as an end in itself. This aligns to some degree with the assessment of McGuire who sees prophecy is Catholic Charismatic prayer groups as having the functions of providing a level of teaching and instruction, of creating and air of expectancy, but above all of providing a means of control and authority by leaders.[15] As McGuire observes, the selection and emphasis given to particular prophecies enables a control over messages given to the group and ensures reinforcement of the group ethos.[16]

This group resists classification under Ford's or Walker's systems. There is little to suggest that the group as a whole could fit neatly into either R1/Type1 or R2/Type2. The group functions very much as a part of the host Church on both universal and local levels; very much Catholic and no sense of a desire to be sect like in any way. There are moments of seeming antagonism towards the clergy, mainly on a local level, but

[15] McGuire, M. (1977b) "The Social Context of Prophecy: Word Gifts of the Spirit among Catholic Pentecostals" *Review of Religious Research* 18:134-147.

[16] Ibid. pp. 138-142.

this is not systematic and is countered by the frequent inclusion of the hierarchy in petitionary prayers.

This group is a parish group, with a few members from nearby parishes. Its charismatic nature is almost incidental and, with the exception of glossolalia and prophecy, it would be hard to identify this group as a manifestation of the CCR. If we were to try to interpret the observed phenomena we would find ourselves with the problem posited by Geertz regarding coming to understand a cultural symbol such as a wink.[17] Speaking and singing in tongues have a function in this group but seem to point more to some form of heritage or badge of membership rather than as a direct manifestation of the Holy Spirit in the life of the group. Other charisms are similarly reduced or absent with prophecy being the only other charism regularly manifested or discussed and this in a very particular form in terms of content. The 'wink' of the charisms in the context of this group, and the function of the group as a whole, seem to differ radically from the manifestations of the CCR encountered up to this point. They seem to provide some form of cohesion within the group and reassurance, but it is perhaps in light of the interpretation provided by Hopewell's framework that we can begin to get a better grasp on the meaning of the charisms and other phenomena for this group.

The established prayer group presents a very different narrative to either the Miracle Rally or the Life in the Spirit seminar parish. Firstly, the established group has a longer history than the other two. Whilst the organisers of the Miracle Rally have a long history as an organisation the narrative presented at the Rally itself is an immediate one,

[17] Geertz, C. *The Interpretation of Cultures*, pp.6-7.

rooted in the event itself, with little reference to history and a strong focus on the future. The Life in the Spirit seminars are rooted in the history of the parish, but the narrative is focussed on renewal and change. The group delivering and building upon the Seminars themselves is new.

The narrative of the established prayer group is essentially a tragedy of unfulfilled expectation and a future marked by decline and death. In examining a range of tragic formats Booker identifies five general stages common to all tragedies.[18] The first stage is that of anticipation in which the unfulfilled hero looks forward in hope to a future fulfilment or gratification. This is given a focus through the presentation of a particular course of action or object of desire to be pursued that will bring fulfilment. For the established prayer group this stage was at its height in the late 1970s before the group was first established with a view to parish renewal. Renewal, it was hoped, would bring fulfilment and the Charismatic Renewal gave focus to this in a particular course of action. This too is the expectation witnessed in the Life in the Spirit group, suggesting that this is less bound to a particular time, in this case the 1970s, than it is to a stage in the development of the CCR group in question. Some longitudinal analysis of such groups would provide some interesting insight in this context.

The second stage Booker calls the 'Dream Stage' in which the hero is committed to the desired course of action, in this case the renewal of parish life through the establishment of a Charismatic group of some description which will bring the Holy Spirit in to the life of the community. For a period, things go well for the hero. There were many tales of how things used to be so much more dynamic and energetic in the

[18] Booker, C. *The Seven Basic Plots*, pp.154-157.

prayer group. Gavin's analysis of the group includes an allusion to how good things used to be, and it is echoed in many conversations with members of this group and other established groups, or indeed long-standing members of the CCR in many other contexts.

Typically, groups are reported as being larger, younger and with more energy and commitment:

> "When we started, it was all young families. We had young children and helped each other out a lot. Each week a couple of the mums would watch all the children, so the rest could take part in the prayer meeting. We used to go to days of renewal together, have picnics and parties. It was a big part of our lives." (Shirley)

> "Back in the 70s and 80s we had a huge group up in [Birmingham]. Sometimes we had more than a hundred people at a meeting. We had a separate youth fellowship and we formed a really strong community together. In those days there were some great speakers that you could get to come along, people like Ian Petit…Yes, I suppose it does feel different now." (Eileen)

Groups were engaged in evangelical and youth work, often being asked to come into new parishes. Support from clergy was widespread, although not necessarily universal as a narrative of resistance permeates their stories, as seen with the established prayer group here. In the 1970s and 1980s, and sometimes through to the 1990s, the CCR is described as being in some form of ascendency and almost universally successful in all of its endeavours.

> "We did so well that me and my husband were asked to come down here to help set up a new group in [neighbouring town] in 1982. That took off so fast we couldn't believe it and Fr B said that it was the most incredible thing he had ever seen. We went from nothing to over seventy people just by running one Life in the Spirit programme! After that he came to every meeting for years. Then we helped to get Celebrate going and worked on that for over ten years. People were so hungry for

it, especially young people and young families. It brought their faith to life and for the first time Jesus was something very real for them every day of the week." (Eileen)

"I don't know why but it all seemed to work so much better back then. Maybe we all had more energy [laughs], but you could put up a notice for an event and without trying fifty or sixty people would turn up. You never had any trouble getting a music group together, I used to get calls from people offering to play or sing and asking me to let them know the next time we were doing something." (Jim)

Next in Booker's analysis is the 'Frustration Stage' in which things begin to go wrong for the hero and he is often driven to engage in more and more desperate acts to retain the success initially enjoyed. At this point a dark figure may appear and pose a threat to the hero, albeit in an unclear way initially. After this comes the 'Nightmare Stage' where matters slip even more out of control and there is a growing sense of foreboding and despair in the hero as he realises the days of glory have slipped away. Outside forces of darkness and fate are coming closer and he is increasingly powerless to resist them. These two stages seem less distinct in Booker's description and the analysis of the established group does not present two distinct stages but does contain a very clear narrative of decline in the face of closing forces of opposition. For some the forces of opposition are clergy with a story being presented by several members of this group and others that the clergy who had initially opposed the CCR had begun to gain ascendency during the 1990s and had caused the decline of the group through reduced support. For this group in particular, a change in parish priest in 1996 meant that a previously supportive priest was moved on and a less supportive regime came into place in the parish. Nobody presented a story of active resistance or suppression on the part of the new priest but rather one of lack of active support:

"Fr J used to come to most meetings and was our chaplain. He even came with us to Celebrate one year and he loved it[19]. He was good with the young people and they loved him. He'd often suggest they came along to the prayer group. Fr D wasn't interested, he never came to any meetings. He was a bit shy I think." (Helen)

Other members spoke of clergy both in the UK and Rome seeking to suppress the CCR because it gave too much power to the laity. This was a common theme in many circumstances where the CCR was described as a means of empowering the laity which the clergy feared.

"We had a lot of trouble with Fr H. He didn't like the Renewal for some reason. When he arrived he basically sacked everyone from the things they were doing in the parish and took control himself. We had members of the group who ran first communion, confirmation, children's liturgy and RCIA. One of the members even ran the tea rota! He got rid of all of them, and the whole PPC. He didn't like lay people being in charge of anything." (Tom)

As Helen described:

"I've had priests look at me funny when I say I'm Charismatic. One said, 'I didn't think you were like that'" (Helen)

Did that feel like a positive thing? (KC)

"No, no. It was definitely a message that he disapproved, and I know he wouldn't want a group in his parish." (Helen)

Why? (KC)

"He likes to be in control." (Helen)

[19] Celebrate being the national conference as discussed in Chapter 1.

Here, then, the decline of the Prayer Group is linked with a form of tragic decline in which the fate of the laity is defined by the clergy.

For others, such as Gavin, the dark figure overseeing the tragic decline of the Prayer Group is on a more cosmic scale in the form of demonic forces who fear the CCR as an expression of the power of the Holy Spirit in the world. Fear of the empowerment of the laity does not come from the clergy but from the devil who sees this as being the way in which the full power of the Holy Spirit will be unleashed in the world. The mode of action, where described, is often unclear and doesn't tend to point to clergy as tools of the devil. It tends to suggest a more banal effort by the devil to present alternatives to people, grind them down and make them less enthusiastic. As a result, the group becomes less dynamic, less attractive to new people and ultimately no longer a force for renewal in the parish or wider Church. What remains is an inward-looking group that sustains itself but no longer has any function in relation to the initial anticipation and hope for renewal. Clearly, this has much in common with the model of movement from sect to church as outlined in the typology discussed above. The group, which has much in common with the sect type in its early incarnation, here becomes increasingly accommodated to the host society, the Catholic Church, and loses vigour.

This brings us to the final part of the story which Booker calls the 'Destruction or death wish Stage'. The group has clearly not died, nor does it seem set to die in the immediate future, but Gavin's analysis points to a sense of expectation that the prayer group is heading in that direction. Gavin sees the group as some form of rump that fails to live up to the dream of renewal and the conversation over stacking the chairs suggests a wish for it to die so that the pain can end. It seems unlikely that the group will ever seek to precipitate its own end, as such an act of euthanasia would run counter

to the underlying romantic narrative of all charismatics in which there remains a belief in rescue and intervention by the immanent God. They recognise that they cannot resist their decline but hope that God will in some way intervene.

It should be noted that there is some qualification in the classification of this story as a romantic tragedy in that some of the forces at work in this story are far more mundane than might be expected in a strongly romantic narrative. The presentation of clergy as resistant to the mission and style of the CCR suggests a somewhat more ironic/empiric worldview on behalf of at least some members. This is, of course, to be expected as no group is entirely homogeneous in its worldview and this can, and should, be reflected in aspects of the presentation of the narrative of the group. There is in this mixed narrative some suggestion of a move away from a purely charismatic/romantic interpretation amongst some elements of the group at least. Whether this is something that has always been the case or whether a shift towards a more tragic worldview brings with it such an ambiguity in relation to the romantic/ironic dimension of the model is unclear. Frye certainly indicates that deeply romantic tragedy is possible as is deeply ironic tragedy.[20] However, as a shift in worldview is typically rooted in experience and possibly the dissolution of ideals, it is also quite likely that a move to a more ironic view, by its nature based on empirical experience, is quite likely. The nature of shifts in world view will be discussed in more detail later as it would seem critical to understanding the nature of the CCR, and potentially other groups within the Roman Catholic Church and more broadly.

[20] Frye, N. *Anatomy of Criticism*, pp.206-223.

5.5.3 Small Prayer Groups

The analysis of the two small prayer groups from St Michael's will need to be done separately to some extent as they clearly function independently for the majority of their time and are differing manifestations of the CCR in the UK, but they also require consideration together as they do have something of a common history and ongoing future together.

The small house group represents a very particular expression of the CCR, certainly amongst those encountered in the course of this study. It is perhaps the most minimal expression of charismatic praxis observed here, with relatively few outward expressions of behaviour such as glossolalia, distinctive body posture etc. compared to those seen in all other CCR expressions. This is somewhat surprising as the parent parish group that meets on a monthly basis appeared to be fairly typical of most Catholic Charismatic groups seen during the study, and most members of the house group attended these meetings and demonstrated these outward signs during the larger group meetings.

The reasons for this dichotomy in behaviour are unclear but may include the appropriateness of behaviour considered acceptable in the more domestic setting of the house group. This would suggest that for the group the setting of the home was considered in some way less ecclesial and so governed by different rules. The house group meetings were certainly less intense in terms of their expression of charismatic behaviour but also differed in terms of the themes covered which were notably more domestic and day-to-day in nature. Where they did focus on Church matters the concern was primarily on local parish issues rather than on the global or cosmic scale

observed elsewhere. An alternative interpretation of the differing behaviour in the house group and the wider parish meeting is that of conformity. The house group behaviour is quite possibly the authentic level of expression that this group felt comfortable with, or that they felt moved to. In the larger meetings, they may have felt compelled to conform to certain expected behaviours 'normal' to CCR meetings. Such conformity was certainly experienced elsewhere, with respondents reporting that they engaged in certain outward expressions simply to fit in with the group. Such conforming to behaviours was particularly notable amongst participants of Life in the Spirit seminars.

> "No, I didn't raise my arms at the beginning; not until about three or four meetings in – but before the all day session. I don't know why I started really. Everyone else was doing it so it seemed the thing to do I suppose." (Tom, Life in the Spirit participant, 2008)

> "No, I don't raise my palms up in other prayer meetings. Just here. I don't know whether other people would see it as odd, but I would feel uncomfortable. Here it feels like the right thing, like I'm opening up a bit more." (Kelly)

Alternatively, for the house group members, it could simply have been only in the larger meetings that they felt free enough to fully express the movement of the Holy Spirit. Observation of events such as the Miracle Rally and various conferences seems to suggest that members are more willing to exhibit non-typical behaviours, including different body posture and vocal noises, when in larger groups. One occasion, for example, was that described above during the regional Charismatic conference in Larne when the prayer session broke out into a "Conga for Jesus" as everyone in the room formed a chain and danced through the building laughing and singing. Inhibitions were

notably reduced and all attendees took part, with only one or two (including me) needing ‘encouragement’.

The intricacies of this aspect certainly warrant further study but what is clear from the results of this study is that the same group of people can engage in differing levels of intensity of expression depending on the immediate context. This is perhaps not entirely surprising. The intensity of behaviour observed during the Catholic Miracle Rallies, for example, is not likely to be sustainable over a prolonged period for the vast majority of people, if anyone. Indeed, as many attendees at the rallies were members of parish prayer groups one can imagine a more sedate weekly expression of the CCR is their norm. This is confirmed by the fact that the members of the established prayer group considered above attended the rallies on several occasions. What is different in the case of the house group is that the dichotomy is the normal state of charismatic expression with differing behaviour being expressed seamlessly, based on context, without any obvious conscious negotiation taking place. This reality, in many ways, goes to the heart of the nature of CCR membership in which context dictates mode and level of expression for members. During regular Sunday masses in the parishes, members of CCR prayer groups in several parishes visited could be seen behaving in a manner indistinguishable from other parish members. Occasionally behaviour, such as holding hands palm up or holding hands with each other during the Our Father was observable amongst CCR members, but that was the extent of expression during normal parish worship and confirms the behaviour reported by interviewees in the previous chapter and above. None of the groups visited in the course of this study attempted to alter the shape of weekly parish worship, nor did they seek in any way to establish

themselves as a sub-group within the parish that had their own masses in a particular style.[21]

It would seem that the small house group have in some way come to a collective decision regarding what is the most essential and basic Catholic Charismatic praxis. Several of the members have quite long histories in the CCR so lack of outward expression is not likely to be due to not knowing or understanding gestures and behaviour, as might be surmised for a new group of people with no prior experience. Nonetheless, on several occasions the only discernible feature of the group that could be considered as charismatic in nature was glossolalia in small sections of the meeting. Such glossolalia was frequently subdued in volume and never extended into singing in tongues. This suggests that for this group the perceived minimum expression of being a Catholic Charismatic was praying in tongues and that in order to consider the house group as part of the movement they must at least include this element within their weekly ritual. The role of glossolalia within Charismatic groups, and the wider Pentecostal movement, has been widely studied and many studies appear to confirm the observation that speaking in tongues is a fundamental aspect of membership and praxis[22]. This phenomenon will be discussed in its broader context later, but it would seem that glossolalia presents one essential element of CCR membership.

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[21] The establishment of specialist group masses within parishes was certainly not without precedent in the parishes visited. Specialist groups included those based on particular liturgical styles (Latin Mass Society, Ordinariate of Our Lady of Walsingham, Society of St Peter), national or language specific masses (Polish, French, Philippines, Sierra Leone, Kerulen), or particular interest or age groups e.g. University Chaplaincy or youth masses.

[22]Bord, R.J. and Faulkner, J.E. *The Catholic Charismatics: The Anatomy of a Modern Religious Movement*. (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1983), pp.79-88; Csordas, T.J. *Language, Charisma, & Creativity*, pp.47-58; McGuire, M.B. *Pentecostal Catholics: Power, Charisma, and Order in a Religious Movement*, pp.61-69.

Analysis of the House Group using the schemes presented by both Walker and by Ford is quite difficult as the group defies easy classification within the R1/R2 and Type I/Type II polar models. Partly this is due to the small size of the group. These classification systems were developed with much larger groups in mind, albeit in Walker's case that the primary expression of the ecclesiologies he was examining were through small house groups. It is clear that the house group does not fit in any way into the R1 or Type I grouping as it is in no way a highly defined and highly organised paraecclesial structure. If we take Walker's own analysis of his system, then on one level it is fine to define the House Group as R2 as this group is simply those ecclesial communities that do not fall into R1. They are certainly less set apart and more liberal than other expressions of the CCR, such as *Cor et Lumen Christi*. They do not seem particularly concerned, however, with social issues; which is something both Walker and Ford see as important for their R2 and Type II groups. Rather, the small house group members are focussed principally on domestic and personal issues with some concern for parish events. Wider Church reform is something of a concern and as such could be considered within the desire for renewal that Ford considers central to Type II. Their response to the question of Church decline saw the failure of renewal following Vatican II as central to declining church attendance, especially amongst young people. In placing the blame on conservative forces amongst the clergy, they manifested aspects of the more radical agenda of Type I which Ford presents as seeking to bypass or minimise clerical control. Their liberal position on many issues does, however, place them in opposition to Type I.

The use of Ford's ministry groupings breaks down with this group as whilst there is little, if any, emphasis on evangelisation either within or without the Church, there is

also little emphasis on any of the other ministries. They may have perceived themselves as something of a prophetic voice in their expression of opposition to certain Church teaching such as those on contraception, celibate clergy and women priests but I did not see any evidence of these voices being expressed beyond the group.

This group thus illustrates some of the limitations of the use of Walker's and Ford's classification systems, and also of the use of such systems more generally. The use of such linear scales that assume polar opposites places differing phenomena in opposition to each other rather than considering that they may be components in multidimensional systems that allow these phenomena to complement each other.

The Friday Prayer Group both looks, and is, quite different to its sister group that meets in the homes of members. The homogeneous nature of its membership is quite clear; defined by being female, middle aged, white and mothers it is hard to see how anyone outside this classification could fit into the group. This said, they were extremely welcoming to me during my period with them and even invited me deeper into their activities with the trip to Medjugorje. I felt for much of the time, however, that I was being 'mothered' by the group members with advice and acts of service, such as being made tea, despite being only about ten years younger than the average age of the group. I also saw this attitude with the parish priest who was essentially treated as a child one moment, a role he seemed to accept gladly, and then seen as a figure of authority the next as 'Father X', a role he seemed equally comfortable with. This dichotomy and paradox proved an illuminating feature of this group which yielded a clear delineation of authority and deference in the worldview of the members and also the priest. It would seem that both the prayer group members and the priest recognised and exerted authority in differing spheres. In what might be considered strictly

'ecclesial' matters such as the celebration of sacraments and parish administration the priest was without doubt seen as the figure of authority and unquestioned by members of the group. He himself clearly assumed this authority. In other, perhaps more worldly, matters this authority passed towards the women of the group. For example, on several occasions plans were discussed regarding his meals, with him present but not contributing. This included a rebuke: "*Father, I took a look in your cupboards and the stuff you have in there is just rubbish. You can't live like that*." On another occasion the priest asked one of the women what he should do about a faulty light switch: "*Don't worry, I'll get my John over here this afternoon. It'll all be sorted. Just leave your key round the back if you're not in*." There was never any open questioning of the priest or assertion of right to authority in such matters by the women but there was a much more passive acknowledgement by both parties of their sphere of authority. As mentioned previously, when considering the Catholic Miracle Rally, transactional dynamics proposed by Bearne are important in the context of authority in this group.[23] Unlike the case of Stayne, who assumes a parent type role in his interaction with Miracle Rally attendees, there are dynamic shifts in which both priest and group members show their changing states of authority by moving between parent and child types. An interesting phenomenon within the group was that whilst adult-adult interactions prevailed amongst members there were few moments of adult roles assumed by either priest or members in their interactions with each other. This stood in stark contrast to the attitude proposed by the house group members who asserted they no longer felt clergy

[23] Bearne, E. *Games People Play: The Psychology of Human Relationships*.

to "*be on a pedestal*", suggesting that they regarded such adult-child interaction as a feature of the past.

This dynamic may go some way towards explaining the different attitudes of the Friday group towards the questions raised regarding clerical abuse of children. This is essentially a group of mothers who regard their priest to be amongst their children, at least in terms of non-ecclesial matters. To accept fault on the part of clergy must, then, cause some significant dissonance in their worldview and provide a clear rationale for the explanations offered for the behaviours considered. The parallels between the reasons given for young people leaving the Church, including their own children, and the behaviour of abusive priests provides support for viewing the transactional dynamic as being important in making sense of world events.

Again, in terms of the Walker and Ford classifications it is difficult to place this group, which is essentially a fragment of a larger parish group that itself has fragmented from a larger and older CCR group. Such fragmentation is important in the broader analysis of the UK CCR and perhaps defines the nature of the movement as it exists today. There are few features of the Friday prayer group that can be comfortably placed in the R1/R2 or Type I/Type II in terms of group functioning and leadership. The conservative social outlook and particularly the apocalyptic eschatology do resonate with R1 and Type I in a way that cannot be claimed of the house group. Perhaps as much as any group encountered in this study the Friday group were defined by their eschatology which entered into their making sense of all situations that faced them from natural disasters and family problems to ecclesial crises. Each of these was placed within the context of a cosmic struggle between an immanent God and a devil that was real and active in time and space.

Perhaps the other parallel with R1 and Type I comes with regard to leadership. At first glance there appears to be no leadership in operation within this small group of women who share roles and accept equal degrees of input and interpretation. However, their deference towards the parish priest is critical in defining this particular expression of the CCR. It is entirely conceivable, indeed likely, that if the parish priest expressed a dislike for this form of devotion then the Friday group would cease to exist. This cannot be said of the house group. The Friday group is an entirely Catholicised form of Charismatic spirituality in which the notion of the CCR as a movement has almost entirely been subsumed within the normal parish structure of the Church, and control handed over to clergy who do not necessarily have any link with the CCR. As such it represents something of an antithesis to Type I as described by Ford and an extreme form of her Type II classification. Many of the features that have been ascribed to the CCR up to this point are absent in this group and have been replaced by traditionally Catholic forms of devotion and formulations of belief. Perhaps most clearly seen here is the place of Marian devotion which, whilst seen in other parts of the CCR, finds its clearest expression here. Both eschatology and prophecy are almost exclusively expressed through Marian means, most notably the devotion to Our Lady of Medjugorje. With the exception that each member of the group has been through 'Baptism in the Spirit' and they are comfortable with prayer in tongues, this prayer group is almost indiscernible from many other Catholic prayer groups in terms of outward phenomena. Here then, we can observe what Congar observes as being the Catholic tendency to substitute other phenomena for devotion to the Holy Spirit.[24] In Congar's consideration he focusses on the substitution of the Holy Spirit by devotion to

[24] Congar, Y. *I Believe in the Holy Spirit: Volume 1*. (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1983), pp.160-164

the Blessed Sacrament, devotion to the papacy and apostolic hierarchy, and through Marian devotion. In the Friday group there is clear devotion to the Virgin Mary and also clerical devotion of a type. The fact that the meeting takes place just after mass is quite possibly not simply a matter of convenience as other venues could be used and the specific time does not appear uniquely convenient to members. Participation in the Eucharist is thus a functional norm for members of the group. It may be the case, then, that the catholicising of Charismatic spirituality and worship is essentially defined by this tendency to substitute traditional Catholic devotions and practices for the devotion to the Holy Spirit that is seen in a more direct way within Pentecostalism. This will be considered in greater depth in the final discussion in Chapter 7 in light of observations from other expressions of the CCR and Congar's own consideration of the position of the Holy Spirit in Catholic thought and practice.

The primary common element of the history of these two groups is that of departure from a place in which religious devotion and practice has been corrupted in search of a place where a purer expression of worship may exist. In leaving the original parish due to concerns over the direction the original prayer group was taking, the new group became something of a faithful remnant and a diaspora in which the true meaning of the CCR are to be preserved. This, of course, suggests something akin to an internal sect within the CCR itself. How much the decision to leave the original group is due to theological and spiritual differences, or the product of low level xenophobia or even racism is not clear but as there is no evidence for the latter beyond a few casual comments by a few members it will be assumed that theology and churchmanship are the key factors at play in this defining event in the life of these groups.

The story of the small prayer groups is essentially a tragedy in which a hostile and failed world exists, and salvation can be achieved only by following the correct and defined path. This path is a narrow one and the direction of the original prayer group is leading away from this path. As with all forms of quest or need to overcome adversity there is a form of calling or a sign that something must be done. As Booker describes, however, whilst the call to heroic quests such as slaying a dragon are unambiguously the call the do the right thing, the signs for the hero in a tragic tale are less clear and might even be called temptation rather than calling.[25] Rather than being sacrificially heroic there is a risk that the hero in such tales follows a path for selfish reasons, even if they may consider themselves pioneers that challenge stale or redundant modes of thinking or practice.

Considering the fundamental notion of renewal within the conscious narrative of the CCR it is significant that the group did not report efforts to reform or renew the older prayer group but, instead, chose to leave. Departure seems to have been an early, if not the first, option for this group as they set out to form their new community in the neighbouring parish. I could not find any evidence in my time with either group of a sense of animosity between the old and new prayer groups. Rather, the newer group considered themselves more as a missionary community spreading charismatic spirituality. When faced with their next crisis of an unsuitable time slot for regular weekly prayer group meetings, however, the new community dealt with the issue by immediately fracturing again. This was a deeply pragmatic solution but not one that it could be argued was aimed at any form of renewal or missionary activity within the

[25] Booker, C. *The Seven Basic Plots*, pp.173-175.

new parish or beyond. In terms of Hopewell's classification system this is a highly ironic/empiric negotiation in which the driving forces are those of accommodation to practical needs and a desire to avoid upsetting the *status quo* within the new parish.[26] This is not something that might typically be expected in renewal which is rooted in the notion of challenge to the *status quo*. This empiric/ironic negotiation falls as the opposite form of worldview to the romantic/charismatic that typically defines the charismatic worldview and has prevailed amongst the other UK CCR groups encountered in this study.[27] As such, the common story of these two small groups presents a very different expression of the CCR in terms of the Hopewell system.

This form of tragedy follows to a significant extent the type described by Booker as the "Divided Self".[28] Such tales of division typically result in decay or failure as a result of internal division in which one or more players succumb to temptation to move beyond the normal bounds of their existence in the belief that they can transcend them. As Jesus warns in Luke 11:17:

"Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and a house divided against itself falleth."[29]

The story of these groups is defined less by missionary endeavour and more by fracturing. Both small groups show no signs of outreach either in terms of social engagement or the more typical activity of evangelisation, even within the parish. For a

[26] Hopewell, J.F. *Congregation: Stories and Structures*, pp.81-83

[27] Ibid., pp.67-86

[28] Booker, C. *The Seven Basic Plots*, p.173.

[29] *King James* Version

parish member to enter either group would require deliberate and concerted effort and the chances of anyone outside the parish encountering these groups are very slim. When asked about new people joining the house group there was a consensus that the house couldn't hold any more people for meetings, there was no option offered to move to a larger venue to allow new members as they were "*comfortable*" the way things were. Rather, what was offered was essentially more fracturing:

> "If anyone in the prayer group wanted to form another house group we could show them how we do it and help get them started. I'd be very happy to do that." (Tom).

The Friday group unanimously asserted that they would be very happy for anyone else to join them but that they hadn't thought about going out and asking. Neither group advertised its activities in the parish newsletter independently of the main prayer group. It is hard to imagine these groups expanding; decline and eventual dissolution would seem to be the most obvious path due to the age of members and lack of recruitment. As such, these groups have become more of a final refuge in which these members of the CCR can live out their final days in some degree of comfort without the pressures of renewal.

In their answers to the crisis themes, such as lack of young people and clerical abuse of children, the two groups reveal fundamentally different worldviews. The House Group does indeed present a negotiation in which the administrative failures, or corruption, of those in power are seen to be the primary cause for failure and malaise in the Church. Remedying such poor management and putting in place appropriate structures is seen as going a long way towards helping renewal in the Church. For the Friday Group, however, the issue is more on the cosmic level and involves the struggle

between good and evil forces in which group members are participants in the struggle through their prayer and worship. They present an apocalyptic imagery that is similar to that seen in places such as the Miracle Rally and revealed in larger prayer groups that operate more within the CCR mainstream. The division between the two groups is not simply one of practicality but is also one of differing worldview and eschatology. Both face tragic decline but one sees the answer in human systems, an ironic tragedy, and the other in struggle and divine immanence, a romantic tragedy. For the house group, the answer to decline lies within human agency, acting with help from God in the form of graces received through prayer and sacrament. For the Friday group is it only through handing over the crises to God, acting in the person of the Holy Spirit and approachable through the mediation of the Virgin Mary, that change can be brought about because the fundamental nature of the decline is cosmic and eschatological in nature. Thus, for the House group the tragedy is lived out in *chronos* time whilst for the Friday group the nature of time that relates to the crises is *chiros*.

In this final example of prayer group manifestations of the CCR we find one of the extreme expressions of the movement encountered in this study. The level of fracturing encountered in these small groups is reminiscent in many ways of the phenomenon of new church development in Protestant traditions or of the House Church movement. As such, there are definite echoes of the descriptions of Restorationism given by Walker in terms of practical ecclesial models in these groups, but the underlying theology is markedly different. The sense of diaspora and setting apart is, however, significant and appears to be shared between the groups and Walker's description of

Restorationism.[30] This raises an important question considered by both Ford and by Suenens regarding whether the development of sects or denominations is either an inevitability or at least a risk inherent in Pentecostal or Charismatic thought.[31] This is clearly important in the context of the development of covenant communities such as *Cor et lumen Christi* where paraecclesial structures are put in place and clear leaders can be identified but the experience of these small prayer groups would suggest that something similar is taking place, albeit through a different route and with differing underlying theologies. The establishment of the break-away group, and the two smaller expressions in the House Group and the Friday Group, does indeed represent something of a move towards seeking greater purity for the movement in the parish context. The older group is regarded as somehow impure and moving away from the true nature of the CCR. Here, the House Group is key as it is the views of its members that reflect those of the members who moved away from the original parish. The sect that is formed in St. Michael's is essentially a liberal sect which seeks to preserve a purity of thought and praxis that stems from the hopes of Vatican II, in which laity are empowered to take leadership. Their need to form a sect-like group is brought about through the rise in conservative forces in the wider Church and, more specifically, in the incoming members of the prayer group in the original parish. The view of the House Group is perhaps typified in the comments of Jacob:

[30] Walker, A. *Restoring the Kingdom*, pp.160-180.

[31] Ford, J.M. *Which Way for Catholic Pentecostals?*, pp.55-62; Suenens, L.J. *A New Pentecost?*, pp.136-158; Fichter, J.H. *The Catholic Cult of the Paraclete*, pp.39-57.

"They wouldn't listen to the Holy Spirit. They didn't want to let the spirit of Vatican II take hold and now we're all paying the price". (Jacob)[32]

In contrast to the level of fracturing observed here the final group of CCR expressions to be explored are those that represent coming together within the CCR through the numerous conferences that occur now and have always been a feature of the functioning of the CCR. Gatherings of one form or another happen at local, regional, national and international levels. During this study I attended gatherings that ranged from 'Days of Renewal' on a local level through to week long residential conferences held in holiday camps or sites of pilgrimage. Each professes a particular focus, with family and youth being common, but the structure and themes of these gatherings are remarkably consistent and, I believe, captured in the following accounts. I do not include the Miracle Rally within this grouping as it represents a very particular expression of the CCR that has more to do with the organising community than the bringing together of CCR members.

[32] See section 5.3 above.

Chapter 6. Charismatic Conferences.

6.1 Travelling to Athlone

A pleasant Friday morning in June, waiting outside a parish hall in central Belfast; a fortified police station across the road and a mural of King William III on rampant horse visible on a gable end down the road. A gaggle of people are chatting eagerly, with a pile of luggage on the pavement next to them. Joe, the group leader, is on his mobile phone trying to get in touch with the coach company. "*Is it coming Joe, or should we start walking now?*" a lady in her 70s teases the leader to the amusement of the rest of the group. A few minutes later a luxury coach appears around the corner to cheers and laughter. Joe explains that the coach company had messed up the booking but by some form of miracle they had this one coach in the depot that should have been travelling to Dublin, but was cancelled at the last minute. It is a much higher specification than paid for, but God has looked after us despite the attempts of "*other forces*" to prevent us getting to Athlone. Joe is noticeably relieved. He is a member of the National Steering Committee for the CCR in Ireland and it would have been a disaster if he hadn't been able to get to the national conference. Once again, transportation has provided another insight into providence and God's willingness to intervene for his faithful in the view of the CCR.

We pray and sing our way from Belfast to Athlone, a journey that takes nearly four hours, plus a one hour break for lunch. The majority of the praise is typically charismatic with upbeat tunes and words that everyone knows. Towards the back of the

bus someone is playing a guitar. There are long periods of prayer in tongues and Joe makes frequent use of the microphone used by tour guides to read passages of Scripture and seek "*words*" from anyone.[1] Amidst this is a very strong Marian theme. In addition to the typically charismatic praise, we say twenty decades of the Rosary, covering all of the mysteries, and seek the intercession of 'Our Lady' during several periods of prayer. In Athlone the strong Marian theme will continue with one speaker referring to Mary as "*the first Charismatic*" due to her Fiat in the reception of the Holy Spirit at the Annunciation and her presence at Pentecost. The stage of the hall has three focus points at the front. In the middle is an enthroned Bible with candles in front, on its right is an image of a dove and on the left an icon of the Blessed Virgin.[2] Throughout the weekend Our Lady of Knock will be referred to in the context of national identity and apocalyptic visions. We are invited at one point during the conference to pray for Ireland and its conversion by holding out our hands and successively facing the compass points, we are told that the conference is being held here because it is "*the heart of Ireland*".[3] Our tour of the compass begins, however, not at North or one of the other cardinal points but, rather, the North West so that we can invoke the prayers of Our Lady of Knock. Mary is also linked repeatedly over the weekend with the Second Coming of her Son. One of the prophecies brought forward during the conference is "*I am the alpha and the omega and I am coming soon*", this is interpreted from the stage as linked with Our Lady of Knock and the imperative of the conversion of Ireland which is drifting away from the Church; a banner next to the Icon

[1] "words" in this context refer to prophecies that have been received.

[2] See Appendix 1, Image 2.3

[3] See Appendix 1, Image 2.4

of Mary declares "Come Back to Me with All Your Heart".[4] We are also encouraged to have ten thousand masses said, devoted to Our Lady of Knock, for the conversion of Ireland. Back on the bus, just before stopping for lunch about half of the way to Athlone, we pray the Angelus.

During lunch on the journey to Athlone, I chat with Joe and his wife. He has been instrumental in organising the conference and developing its theme: "What is the kingdom of God like?". Joe explains that this is a big year for the CCR in Ireland as next year will be their 40th anniversary. He explains the significance of the number forty, relating it to the nation of Israel after forty years in the desert, "*God has been faithful to us, just as he was to the people of Israel*" (Joe). He goes on to explain that the first generation of the CCR in Ireland is coming to an end and that it is time to pass on to a new generation, the next few years will bring a "*new beginning*". He then began to talk about the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948. This he saw as significant for the end times which are imminent:

> "We know that before the Lord returns the people of Israel will return to their land and will come to accept Him as the messiah. The formation of the nation of Israel is an important part of fulfilling this prophecy." (Joe)

Joe's belief is confirmed by several people around the table as we eat, there is common assent that we are drawing close to the end time and that we are in the "*last days*":

[4] See Appendix 1, Image 2.3

"There are so many signs that all the prophecies are being fulfilled. The Middle East, Africa, terrorism, abortion, pollution. One way or another it's going to end. The world can't keep going on like this." (Lorna)

"No, I agree. I remember back in 1980 in Dublin. A prophecy asking, 'Will you be waiting for me when all have turned against each other". That's what's happening, the whole world turning on each other." (Orla)

This theme develops throughout the weekend during a number of encounters, not least with a group of Christian Zionists at the conference who I first spot as they each wear a prominent Star of David pendant.[5] When I ask them the significance of the star a woman from Dublin, Rita, explains that the conversion of the nation of Israel is a prelude to the second coming of Christ and that it is our duty as Catholics to seek that conversion and precipitate the Parousia. She continues:

"These are the last days, the signs are all around us. Society is moving towards the devil and they are doing everything they can to destroy the Church, you can see it in the whole sex abuse hysteria. There are priests too scared to walk down the street in their clerical collars…scared of abuse, being spat at or even hit…"

adding later: "You should read the prophecies of St Malachy".[6] (Rita)

Later I do read St Malachy's prophecies on a website and find they have the theme of predictions about successive popes and are highly apocalyptic in tone, not least in

[5] The Star of David has very different connotations in Northern Ireland as the sectarian divide has seen Protestant Unionists identify with the nation of Israel whilst Catholic Republicans identify with Palestinians. This is often reflected in the Palestinian flag being flown alongside the Irish tricolour and the Israeli flag alongside the Union Flag or the Ulster Flag in respective areas. This alignment does not carry into the Republic of Ireland. The Star of David is thus related to political and national identity in the North rather than any theological narrative.

[6] St Malachy was Archbishop of Armagh in the 12th Century and there is a widely held belief that he made prophecies about the papacy following a visit to Rome. These are not regarded as authentic private revelations by the Catholic Church and are generally regarded as 16th Century creations.

suggesting the pope to follow Benedict XVI will be the last one before the great tribulation and the judgement.[7]

Back over lunch on our journey down, Joe and several other members of the Belfast group explain further the parallel between the CCR in Ireland and the nation of Israel in the wilderness over the last forty years. In the 1970s and 1980s the CCR in Northern Ireland began with a large group that met several times each week and was based at Shirley Hall in Belfast. This group acted as a hub with many hundreds regularly attending from all over the city and beyond. Partly due to internal concerns, and partly due to clerical worries of a community developing beyond the control of diocesan structures, they chose to "*die into the Church*" in the early 1990s.[8] This 'death into the Church' consisted of disbanding the regular large gatherings at Shirley Hall and establishing smaller charismatic prayer groups in each parish with a view to bringing charismatic spirituality to all and transforming parishes through prayer and action.

"We were sent out into the wilderness, just like the Jews" contributes a member of the group (Orla).

Another offers: "We were sent to create small groups, to show the Holy Spirit. It was like we had to go into a strange land".

"Like a diaspora?" I ask.

"Yes, a diaspora. Small at first but we would grow." (Niamh)

[7] Since this event Pope Benedict XVI has resigned and been succeeded by Francis. Activity on the internet concerning the prophecies of St Malachy appears to have increased significantly since his election and a number of books on the subject have appeared.

[8] This story has been reported by several sources, but no exact date seems clear.

I ask how many groups were set up and the reply is that nearly every parish had a group at one time but that now there were only a few left. The diocese of Down and Connor lists approximately 35 of its 88 parishes as being within the greater Belfast area so this would seem to suggest something in excess of twenty prayer groups during the initial phase.[9] During my visit I could find evidence of only eight or nine prayer groups still active in the city. No comment is made about the failure to grow and reduction of the diaspora and it was clear from the participants that the Charismatic Renewal was still seen as a significant force in the city.

Participants on the coach trip came from a number of prayer groups and several attended more than one group during the course of any given week. In terms of Ford's classification system, the Northern Ireland groups fell very much within the Type II grouping. The model of membership was generally in the context of the parish, although one community, the "Lamb of God Community" in North Belfast was also attended during this study and was represented on the trip to Athlone. This group, however, was markedly different from *Cor et Lumen Christi* in its structure and functioning with no clear individual leader in the mode of Damian Stayne and a different worldview which will be considered below. A more detailed picture of the Lamb of God Community than can be presented here is given by Liam Murphy in his excellent comparison on this community with a similar Protestant group in the city.[10] Murphy presents a community focussed on peace and social justice from its very beginnings, but which has transformed itself in many ways to accommodate changing

[9] http://www.downandconnor.org/parishes-ministries/

[10] Murphy, L.D. *Believing in Belfast: Charismatic Christianity After the Troubles*. (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2010).

political conditions. My own, much shorter, engagement with the community is published elsewhere but confirms an ongoing commitment to justice and support of marginalised groups.[11]

None of Ford's key Type I descriptors can be applied with any rigour to the Irish groups encountered here. In fact, their decision to 'die into the Church' in the early 1990s runs completely counter to the Type I ethos and shows a self-conscious desire to avoid the risk of sect formation. There is no evidence of specifically male authority structures, several core group members of each group encountered were women and the national committee of the Irish CCR was approximately fifty percent female, and more recently appears to have become largely female.[12] There were close links between all groups and local clergy, with parish priests acting as chaplains to most groups and regularly attending meetings. Little tension with ecclesial structures was discernible and there was no sense in which paraecclesial structures were being put in place. There were hints that the decision to develop the CCR in Northern Ireland through parish groups was due to concerns amongst both CCR members and local clergy that the original Shirley Hall group was developing in the form described by Ford as Type I.

> "I think the old Shirley Hall meeting was just getting too big. Too big for the hall if nothing else! We would get hundreds of people from all over. The Spirit was mighty at those meetings. But then, the Lord showed us the need to take this out to everyone. The reason we had grown so big was just so we could go out… I think the bishop was also getting a wee bit nervous [laughs]. We were getting more people at Shirley Hall than they were at St Peters [cathedral]…It was a good thing though, the right thing - to go out into the parishes I mean." (Joe)

[11] Chappell, K. "Catholic Charismatics and Social Justice". *Good News Magazine*, Feb 2012.

[12] See Image 2.1 and 2.2 Appendix 1 from the 2014 conference (taken from the Irish CCR website) which shows the leadership group on stage. A balance in favour of female membership of the leadership team is evident.

The group was large, larger in attendance than many parishes and perhaps most importantly it exhibited a good deal of ecumenical involvement with some non-Catholic membership. In the context of Northern Ireland at this time this is remarkable and for many, both Catholic and non-Catholic, would also be considered unacceptable. However, this ecumenical dimension was not completely lost on 'dying into the Church' as the Lamb of God Community appears to have continued considerable ecumenical efforts with members from the community, and many other parish groups, regularly attending ecumenical services and hosting ecumenical prayer meetings.[13]

The role of ecumenism in Northern Ireland is quite different to the role reported by Ford in the context of North America where she indicated that ecumenism indicated tendencies towards heterodoxy, sect formation, the development of non-clerical leadership and lack of purity in the Catholic aspects of the movement.[14] In contrast, ecumenism is closely linked in Northern Ireland with efforts towards peace and reconciliation, not simply in ecumenical matters but in concrete matters of conflict resolution and social justice. At points in the history of the CCR in Northern Ireland members have put themselves at personal risk by working with Protestant groups and entering Protestant areas of the city for common worship. The Lamb of God community continues to engage in significant social outreach work and has charity shops, a crèche supporting single mothers, educational services to support adult literacy and numeracy, and considerable pastoral visiting activities for the sick and housebound.[15] Social outreach also featured strongly at the national conference with

[13] Murphy, L.D. *Believing in Belfast: Charismatic Christianity After the Troubles*. (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2010). pp.8-9.

[14] Ford, J.M. *Which Way for Catholic Pentecostals?*, pp.4-8.

[15] Chappell, K. "Catholic Charismatics and Social Justice". *Good News Magazine*, Feb 2012.

one of the main speakers being the Jesuit priest Peter McVerry who spoke on the need for social action in the call of the Gospel.[16] His message appeared well received and he was surrounded by a considerable number of people after his session who appeared to be asking questions or seeking further contact (the exchange of business cards was observed). The role of social action was thus much greater than in other expressions of the CCR observed during this study, and whilst the specific circumstances of Northern Ireland may explain much of what was observed it does not completely explain the acceptance of social action observed in Athlone at the conference itself.

In terms of Ford's classification system this would suggest that the CCR encountered in Northern Ireland, and to some extent at the national conference, are significantly engaged in what she terms solidifying ministries such as teaching, prophecy, exhortation and acts of mercy. This places them firmly within her Type II category where such ministries are considered an important defining feature.[17]

In the context of Northern Ireland another feature important in Ford's definitions, that of evangelisation, was almost completely absent from conversation and observed activity. This is perhaps not surprising as in Northern Ireland attempts to seek conversion to the Catholic Church from outside the community would at best be seen as insensitive and could possibly be dangerous in certain circumstances.[18] Renewal of the

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[16] The talk reflected closely the message of McVerry's book that he was also promoting at the conference: McVerry, P. *Jesus: Social Revolutionary?* (Dublin: Veritas, 2008)

[17] Ford, J.M. *Which Way for Catholic Pentecostals?* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), pp.65-70.

[18] In 2011, nearly 15 years after the Good Friday Agreement that eased many tensions in Northern Ireland the number of adults received into the Catholic Church in the diocese of Down and Connor (that which covers Belfast and many of the outlying areas) was 20 (see Bishop's Pentecost letter for that year: http://www.downandconnor.org/blog/2011/06/12/12-june-2011-homily-bishop-treanor-feast-pentecost/). In contrast, in England, the comparable but slightly smaller diocese of Portsmouth (which covered the area for a number of the other groups visited in this study and the Celebrate conference considered below) received into the Church approximately 275 adults

Church was a far more important feature than evangelisation and reflected the desire expressed at the conference for the rebirth of Catholicism throughout Ireland. An important point to consider here is whether this very practical reason for the absence of evangelisation in both practice and worldview of the CCR in Northern Ireland is instrumental in its development as an expression of the CCR which is quite distinct from those encountered in England. Reading Ford's description of the role of evangelisation in the Type I charismatics it appears that the emphasis on evangelisation is a product of a theology and worldview held by this type of CCR group.[19]

The evidence from Northern Ireland, however, leaves open the possibility that the development and imperative of evangelisation is in fact causative of the worldview which drives other elements to be expressed. Thus, features such as paraecclesial structures, magisterial authority of leaders, and divergence from Catholic orthodoxy may all be developments from the imperative to evangelise. This, of course, is speculative at this stage but warrants further investigation. As a possible point of contact with Pentecostal theology and practice, the imperative to evangelise does perhaps provide just such an incentive to move outside traditional Catholic structures.

The Northern Ireland experience, however, does not seem to apply throughout Ireland as much of the rhetoric at the conference in Athlone was not simply about renewal of the Church but about conversion and thus, it would seem, carried an evangelical imperative with it. In addition to the message of the speakers, as

(http://www.portsmouthdiocese.org.uk/bishop/homilies/RiteofElection-2011.pdf). Even allowing for an unusual group of approximately 60 former Anglicans this still represents an order of magnitude difference in the initiation of adults from other traditions and does not appear atypical of levels elsewhere in the UK (e.g. http://www.catholic-ew.org.uk/Home/News/Rite-of-Election where Birmingham diocese reports reception of 250 adults in 2015).

[19] Ford, J.M. *Which Way for Catholic Pentecostals?* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), p.61.

mentioned above, the dialogue amongst many attendees was concerned very much with conversion:

> "Here in Ireland we have a real crisis, especially among the young people. Hardly any of them go to Church anymore and a lot of parents don't take their children to mass at all…I don't think we can call Ireland a Catholic country anymore." (Lorna)

> "If you ask a young person today about going to mass they'll laugh at you and tell you to catch yourself on – that it's for old people. I don't know how we change that, how we get the young back." (Niamh)

Talk of conversion was particularly focussed on the conversion, or re-conversion, of the nation of Ireland rather than seeking to evangelise individuals in the sense of primary evangelisation. The biggest preoccupation by far was with the young, which appears to mean not only youth but also younger adults with families, and bringing the young of Ireland back to the Church. This is perhaps unsurprising given the intimate link between Catholicism and Irish national identity.[20] This does raise the question of what conversion of the country means and whether the primary concern is one of faith or one of politics. In truth, it is impossible to disentangle the two and not simply for matters relating to Irish nationalism in the traditional sense of independence from the UK.

The decision to hold the conference "at the heart" of Ireland is itself highly symbolic but ambiguous in its meaning. Athlone is at the geographical centre of Ireland but does not lay claim to be an historical or current 'heart' to the country in terms of spirituality or politics in the way that places such as Armagh, Tara or Dublin might. Indeed,

[20] For example, see: McCaffrey, L.J. (1973). Irish Nationalism and Irish Catholicism: A Study in Cultural Identity. *Church History*, 42, pp 524-534.

Dublin was regarded by some as the source of many of the current ills of the country due to the political decisions relating to matters such as contraception, homosexuality, abortion and the increase in the immigrant population from Europe and beyond. The presence of a significant Muslim population in Ireland was seen by several delegates as a sign of loss of national identity and as an attack on the Church, with one woman saying of Muslims:

> "They have mosques now in Dublin. That's not right. We're a Christian country... They'll take over."[21]

To be at the 'heart' of the country is then, in the context of the conference, a physical fact and appears linked to the concept of the Holy Spirit radiating out from this point to achieve the conversion of the country, and in so doing reaffirming national identity. The CCR thus appear to see themselves as a conduit or antenna through which true faith can be broadcast. This is seen at its most developed in the 360-degree rotation of delegates and leaders as the Holy Spirit is called upon to win back Ireland. Central to this moment is Our Lady of Knock whose intervention is sought in this matter and to whom the CCR quite literally turn to first in their desire for national conversion.[22] Also at play here are apocalyptic notions which are closely associated with the message of the apparitions at Knock and the ongoing narrative relating to the shrine. It would seem that the current state of the Church in Ireland is seen in apocalyptic terms and the

[21] The 2011 Census for the Republic of Ireland returned a figure of 49,204 Muslims in the Republic (1.07% of the population), up from 32,539 in 2006. (see:http://www.cso.ie/en/media/csoie/census/documents/census2011profile7). For Northern Ireland the figure was 1,943 from a population of nearly 1.9 million (approximately 0.1% of the population).

[22] See also Image 2.5 of the Monaghan CCR group and their link with Knock in Appendix 1.

urgency for the re-conversion of the country expressed in terms of approaching end times.

> "If it wasn't for Ireland in the middle-ages there wouldn't be a Church. I don't know what would happen if Ireland became a secular country, I know who it would suit." (Rita)

Who? (KC)

> "The devil. Ireland has always been a stronghold against the devil and that's what he's doing now, attacking us while we're down so we won't be able to help again." (Rita)

The signs of the times, which herald the end are met with a mixed reception; it is a fulfilment of prophecy but a prophecy with a scary outcome:

> "I do worry for the whole Church sometimes. If this can happen here in Ireland it can happen anywhere. The Church won't end, it can't because it's the Body of Christ, but it will be very different being a Christian. It will be a struggle, and I don't just mean a bit of hard work – it will be a daily battle until it all ends. Part of me thinks 'Yes, this is grand! He will be coming soon'. Part of me is terrified because I don't know what happens before that and I'm worried for the young ones who are being kept away from the Church." (Orla)

For Orla there seems to be a sense that unless the Church rises anew and brings people in again then people, especially the young, will be lost; not just as individuals but on an apocalyptic scale.

The decline of the Church is not simply a matter of mundane national or even international significance, the state of the Church in Ireland is of cosmic significance and it is the role of the CCR to bring this chosen nation back to God before it is too late.

Salvation is a corporate matter in this model of conversion, not a matter of personal faith or relationship with God. This is congruent with Catholic teaching and stands in contrast to the individualistic models seen elsewhere in expressions of the CCR in England. It also presents a group that is far from the notion of sect and comfortably part of a church type structure. This would seem to suggest a highly Catholicised version of Pentecostalism, but also one that is intimately associated with a particular national identity. Both of these aspects, Catholic and nationalistic, appear to be crystallised in the Marian imagery of Knock and are placed in an eschatological context, in which both the fate of the Church and the nation state are infused with cosmic significance. Perhaps the only expression of the CCR described so far in this study with a similar outlook is the Friday Prayer Group in which the nation state is replaced by notions of family but in which Marian and apocalyptic themes also come to the fore.

It is perhaps unsurprising that in application of the Hopewell/Frye analysis of the experience of Athlone that there are similarities to the small prayer groups described above. The dominant theme is again that of the tragedy of the divided self, this time on the scale of the nation itself that has broken from its Catholic heritage and, as such, entered into a decline on a mundane and cosmic scale. Amongst the groups in this study, the story is most closely allied to the Friday group who also place their narrative in eschatological terms. A key difference exists, however, in that the division of the nation does not precipitate a moving away by the CCR but efforts at conversion and re-evangelisation of the whole nation.

The division of the nation into the faithful who remain true to the Catholic Church and those, seen as predominantly the young, who move away from faith towards a more

secular life, and who actively reject the traditional faith of the country, is perceived by members of the CCR as a phenomenon of the last two decades, if not of this millennium. Most recognise a correlation between the move away from the Church and the growing wealth of Ireland during the 'Celtic Tiger' years; seeing a link between wealth and pride. As Mairead suggested, somewhat sarcastically: "*Who needs God when you have money?"*. Thus, those who have moved away from Catholicism are portrayed as fallen in quite a primal sense and having excluded themselves from the spiritual Eden of Ireland in its golden age as a bastion of Catholicism. When questioned why there continued to be a drift away from the Church during the significant financial downturn following 2008 there was less of a consensus. Some recognised a role for disillusionment with the Church following child abuse scandals and issues such as revelations surrounding the 'Magdalene Laundries' but most did not suggest these as reasons.[23] More likely reasons given were along the lines of "*you can't get the toothpaste back in the tube*" which was offered by one man or, perhaps more commonly, that there were forces active in the country aimed at undermining the Church. The nature of these forces varied but typically involved homosexuality, feminism, Islam, the Internet or left-wing politicians. As mentioned, these were frequently seen as tools of dark forces and so the fall narrative would seem complete.

[23] During the first decade of the twenty-first century a number of high profile sex abuse cases in Ireland came to light and investigations revealed considerable failings on the part of the Church hierarchy in dealing with these cases. In March 2010 Pope Benedict XVI wrote to the people of Ireland apologising: *Pastoral Letter Of The Holy Father Pope Benedict XVI To The Catholics Of Ireland* (http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/letters/2010/documents/hf_ben-xvi_let_20100319_church-ireland.html) . The scandal surrounding the 'Magdalene Laundries' and cases of forced adoption facilitated by the Catholic Church in Ireland also came to the fore at about the same time and were dramatized in the film *The Magdalene Sisters* in 2002. On 19th February 2013 the Taoiseach, Enda Kenny, offered a formal apology in the Dáil in which he referred to the Magdalene Laundries as "a dark chapter in Ireland's history" (http://oireachtasdebates.oireachtas.ie/debates%20authoring/debateswebpack.nsf/takes/dail2013021900034?opendocument)

"The Government has no interest in working with the Church. They just want to humiliate Catholics and pander to gays and feminists." (Niamh)

Or on a less mundane note:

"They [the Irish Government] aren't really working for the best of Ireland." (Mairead)

How do you mean? (KC)

"I don't think even they know it, but they don't really run things. There are others who control things through big business, Europe and the United Nations. They promote abortion and want to take the Church out of the picture." (Mairead)

A fall from original grace brings with it many consequences, some of which may be regarded as positive by certain members of society and some which may be seen as negative. The first consequence is the loss of innocence that for Adam and Eve resulted in shame and the desire to cover their nakedness. There has clearly been a loss of innocence amongst members of the Irish Church due to the realisation that members of the clergy and religious orders had abused their power and done things in the name of the Church that, had members known about in their state of innocence, they would have resisted and objected to. Also, perhaps, there has been a loss of economic innocence with globalisation, economic development and a move towards a more urban culture which has brought the nation out of a land based economy and harmony with nature. This move away from harmony with nature is another feature of the Fall story of Genesis. The notion of shame in the loss of innocence is echoed in stories from members of the Irish CCR in which they tell of clergy scared to go out in public in clerical dress for fear of assault. Such covering up, and other acts such as not feeling

able to speak up in the public square clearly reflect Adam and Eve's desire to cover their 'shameful parts'.[24]

The loss of unity with nature due to the fall is not quite as straightforward as simply a move away from the rural idyll of a pastoral Ireland, although the decision to move away from the major urban conurbations to Athlone, which is a relatively small town in a rural area, does seem to suggest that an attempt to recapture a sense of the 'true Ireland' is taking place. The separation from nature in this fall story is more closely associated with the separation of Church and State that is taking place in Ireland and the sense that Ireland is losing its true identity in its move away from its Catholic heritage. The notion of Ireland as some form of Christian ideal, or Eden, following independence from Britain is a strong one and several stories were told to me during conferences and meetings that recounted tales of the evangelisation of Europe by Irish monks, the story of St Brendan who is reputed to have sailed the Atlantic in a small boat and discovered America in the sixth century, the belief that Ireland became the last bastion of Orthodoxy during periods of strife in the Dark Ages, modern tales of Irish missionaries to Africa and England, and the proud identity of Ireland as "the land of saints and scholars". In many ways the newly independent Ireland can be regarded as a theocracy with considerable influence over the constitution and governance from the local Church and also from the Vatican. If this is regarded as the heritage and nature of what Ireland is then recent developments in Irish society do indeed represent a considerable break

[24] In a referendum in May 2015 regarding the legalisation of same-sex marriage the Irish Catholic Church kept a conspicuously low profile during the debate prior to the vote as it was seen by many as being counterproductive to invoke the Church's position in favour of a no vote. This was widely reported but is represented clearly in an article by Danny Hakim in the New York Times on 24th May 2015: *Catholic Church Ponders Future After Same-Sex Marriage Vote in Ireland.*

http://www.nytimes.com/2015/05/25/world/europe/church-faces-murky-future-as-irish-support-same-sex-marriage.html?_r=0

with that 'nature'. As Frye suggests, the image of paradise in Genesis and the separation from it through the Fall is a fundamentally apocalyptic image that defines not only the nature of humanity's state in the world but its eschatological destiny.[25] It is of little surprise that the response of the CCR to this crisis is itself apocalyptic, drawing together that disunity of the nation and Church and seeing within it the eschatological consequences for the Irish, the Church and the world.

One of the key outcomes of the Fall in Genesis, and the receipt by humanity of knowledge of good and evil, is the first realisation by Adam and Eve that they are going to die. A sense of mortality is also something that underpins the identity of the CCR in Ireland and appears to guide the urgency of renewal, and principally the conversion of the nation of Ireland. Renewal and conversion through evangelisation are the best hope for the survival of the CCR itself and of the Church in a broader sense in Ireland. Such awareness of mortality places the activities of the CCR in an eschatological context, both individually and corporately. Again, this resonates with the apocalyptic tone in some speakers and the focus on the apocalyptic imagery of Knock. In a narrative of a fall this is necessary in order to bring a final resolution to the story, and the inevitable final destination of the group and the bigger story of the Church. As such, it epitomises the tragic motif of the myth presented by the CCR encountered in Athlone. As with all Charismatic groups, except perhaps the house group, this tragedy is a romantic tragedy in which God walks closely with his people and is immanent throughout their trials.

As Booker suggests, at the heart of fall narratives whether from Genesis or other traditions, is the receipt of knowledge that brings with it the emergence of the human

[25] Frye, N. *Anatomy of Criticism*, pp.141-146.

ego.[26] Now, it cannot be suggested that somehow members of the Church in Ireland were somehow devoid of ego prior to developments over the past few decades but as a group the CCR do present a different level of self-consciousness for laity in the Church. Recent rejection of the authority of the Church in Ireland by many lay people represents a very clear expression of ego in relation to the perceived paternalistic structures of earlier times. As with the earlier discussions of the Miracle Rally and the Friday Group, this presents an opportunity to understand the dynamic of the relationship with the Church through reference to transactional analysis. In the development of ego, the nature of transaction between people and the Church moves from a parent-child dynamic towards something resembling an adult-adult relationship.[27] It is in light of this, and similar shifts in dynamic witnessed in other CCR groups, that it can be suggested that the increasing role of Marian imagery and devotions has developed within the CCR as a sign of Catholicism in the group, emphasising not only orthodoxy but obedience to Church hierarchy. It is a well-established element of Catholic ecclesiology that Mary herself represents the Church in perfection, both temporally and eschatologically.[28] She is thus a maternal figure, a figure of authority and also an apocalyptic figure who already shares in the eternal existence sought by the faithful through fidelity to God in His Church. Clear devotion to Mary within the CCR not only establishes their orthodoxy within the Church, something which Suenens was keen to emphasise from very early in the development of the movement, but also sets them

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[26] Booker, C. *The Seven Basic Plots*, p.546-548.

[27] Bearne, E. *Games People Play: The Psychology of Human Relationships*, pp.28-32

[28] Vatican II, *Dogmatic Constitution on the Church* (*Lumen Gentium*), paragraphs 60-65. See Flannery, A. *Vatican II: The Conciliar and Postconciliar Documents* (Northport, NY: Costello, 1988), pp.418-421.

apart from those that have established a different transactional dynamic with the Church.[29]

The story underpinning the experience of the Athlone Conference is, then, a romantic tragedy of a fall in which a nation has left paradise and lost its innocence. The people of the CCR themselves have, however, stayed close to home, close to their mother, and still enjoy her protection. Their mission is to bring back the lost children who mistakenly believe they have grown-up but who instead have only a shadow of the truth. The cause of the loss of the nation is one of many factors assaulting the Church from outside but little or no fault is presented as existing within the Church.

This last element provides an interesting dilemma for the CCR in Ireland. The consensus amongst members seemed to be that the move away from the Church, the loss of the nation, had happened within the last two or three decades and was linked with numerous social developments such as the rise of liberalism, feminism and economic growth. The CCR regard the message that they bring as central to the re-conversion of the nation. The period over which they recognise a move away from the Church, however, also corresponds quite closely with the existence of the CCR itself. The message which they have been presenting for approximately forty years appears, at the very least, to have done little to stem the flow of people away from the Church and the timing leaves open the question of whether it may have been instrumental in bringing it about. Clearly, correlation does not indicate causation, but it should raise questions as to whether such a link exists. This was not something that was considered by any members of the CCR encountered in Ireland. More importantly, perhaps, was

[29] Suenens, L.J. *A New Pentecost?*, pp.196-211.

the discontinuity between the message of the CCR since the early 1970s in which the 'New Pentecost' expressed in the CCR and other movements would bring about a renewal and growth in the Church, and the reality of the large changes in the fortunes of the Church in Ireland.

This discontinuity presents ideal conditions for the phenomenon of cognitive dissonance to have significant influence on the dynamics of the movement and the myth patterns presented by members and the wider group. Cognitive dissonance as a theory in social psychology first found expression in the work of Festinger, Riecken and Schachter in their study of an apocalyptic UFO cult in the United States during the 1950s.[30] The theory itself was developed more fully, following further research, by Festinger and subsequently by other workers; becoming a widely accepted theory in social psychology in relation to belief systems of all forms.[31] Of particular importance in the context of the CCR in Ireland, and throughout all expressions encountered during this study, are the phenomena of adjustment of prophecy and heightened evangelisation in the face of dissonance following specific expectations, often brought about through religious prophecy. In the case of Festinger's original study the group studied prophesied a global catastrophe due to a massive flood but that they would be rescued before the flood by a superior alien intelligence, the Guardians. A specific date, 21st December, was given for the expected events and the group went public in the media to warn people and seek converts. As the date came and went the leaders did not retract the prophesies but simply provided a revised date that was explained as being due to

[30] Festinger, L, Riecken, H.W and Schachter, S. *When Prophecy Fails*. (New York: Harper & Row, 1964)

[31] Festinger, L. *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985); Cooper, J. *Cognitive Dissonance: Fifty Years of a Classic Theory*. (London: SAGE, 2007); Harmon-Jones, E. & Mills, J. (eds.) *Cognitive Dissonance: Progress on a Pivotal Theory in Social Psychology*. (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 1999)

interpretive errors. They also continued to evangelise despite the failed prophecy, even after the second date passed; doing so with increased vigour. Some disillusioned members left the group and returned to normal life but those who had invested most in terms of personal reputation, time and finances continued to argue for their cause for a considerable time after the failure of the prophecy. Festinger *et.al* propose five necessary conditions for increased proselytising following disconfirmation of prophecy.[32] The first condition is that the conviction must be deeply held and have some implication for the behaviour of the subject. The second is that the believer must have made some form of commitment to the belief that is difficult to undo. This might include going public with the belief, or investing financially or personally in the belief. Examples from the UFO cult included members who had given up jobs and homes to devote themselves to the work of the group. Thirdly, the belief needs to have a degree of specificity and be concerned with temporal matters so that they might be refuted in a definitive way. The fourth condition is that such disconfirmation should occur. In these four conditions the first two give reasons to resist change and the second pair give reasons to abandon the belief. An individual faced with unequivocal evidence of disconfirmation is likely to abandon belief, so the fifth condition is the role of social support through membership of the group which provides encouragement, reinterpretation and an incentive for further proselytising.

Specific prophecy of renewal in the Catholic Church has been a strong theme throughout the CCR from its beginnings, and the Charismatic Renewal in the UK and Ireland show no evidence of divergence from this. Perhaps the most important single

[32] Festinger, L, Riecken, H.W and Schachter, S. *When Prophecy Fails*, pp 3-5.

event of prophecy in the history of the CCR took place in St Peter's basilica in front of Pope Paul VI on Pentecost Monday 1975 in which a series of lay people gave prophetic messages about the future of the Church and the world.[33] Core themes within these prophecies include predictions of renewal in the Church, including amongst the hierarchy, the notion of spiritual warfare in a world entering a period of darkness, tribulation, apocalypse and the need for preparation. These prophecies are frequently referred to in CCR literature and are presented as an important point in the development of the movement both for their prophetic agenda and because they were spoken in front of the pope and seemed to be given at least tacit authority by him in his acceptance of them.[34] Perhaps more significantly, in the context of this study and the notion of cognitive dissonance, they seem to fit with the tone and expectation of the movement generally and do not seem to conflict with the expectations at that time. Indeed, several of the respondents, as stated above, made reference to expectations and prophecies which align with those given in St Peter's in 1975.

In relation to the five conditions set out by Festinger, Riecken and Schachter it would seem appropriate to assume that membership of the CCR for a significant period and commitment to its ethos fulfils the first two conditions. This applies most significantly to members of covenant communities such as *Cor et Lumen Christi* or the Lamb of God Community in Belfast but also to those whose involvement is through parish prayer groups, days of renewal and conferences such as Athlone and Celebrate, the latter of which will be discussed in the following section. For communities, the

[33] See Appendix 2 for text of prophecies given at St Peter's on Pentecost Monday 1975.

[34] O'Connor, E.D. *Pope Paul and the Spirit*. (Notre Dame: Ave Maria Press, 1978)

investment in the belief may include financial sacrifice and the giving of a whole way of life to the ethos of the community. For members in parishes the investment is typically at least one evening each week, but also frequently includes additional days or longer conferences and some significant financial cost. Members in parishes make their primary investment in the beliefs of the movement through their slight degree of marginalisation in their parish where many members reported feeling aware of a long-term degree of curiosity or suspicion about their activities: "*I know most people see us as odd-balls*" as one woman in an English prayer group commented. Others, in this study affirmed this sense of marginalisation as noted previously:

> "In some ways it isn't as bad now, simply because most people don't really know much about the Charismatic Renewal but back in the eighties there was always a group that were suspicious. I guess they thought we weren't really Catholic, or perhaps not English enough with all the enthusiasm and that [laughs]" (Eileen)

> "It was a bit of a split back at the beginning. Some priests were all on board and joined in. Even a couple of bishops were keen and encouraged their priests to take part. We weren't too bad here. Some of the priests were definitely a wee bit wary though, I don't think they got it really. What's really interesting is that now it seems to be the younger lads coming out of the seminaries who are more suspicious, I worry that will make things more difficult in the future" (Joe)

As their activities were frequently carried out over several decades, as well as at some reputational risk, it is fair to define their investment as significant. This is particularly true for the numerous members who invested a lot of family time, and hopes for their children's future engagement with the Church, in the Charismatic Renewal. The second generation the Renewal certainly appears sparse with only one of the respondents in this study identifying themselves as from a CCR family (Francis).

The tone of prophecy in the early development of the CCR, as exemplified in the prophecies at St Peter's in 1975, has a degree of specificity but is not in any way as specific as those seen from the UFO cult in *When Prophecy Fails*. Their tone is, however, urgent and implies that some of the outcomes are imminent. They do not raise expectation of outcomes by a set date, but it is clear that the process has begun and is moving at a pace:

"Open your eyes, open your hearts to prepare yourselves for me and for the day that I have now begun" (Prophecy attributed to Bruce Yocum)[35]

Similarly, it is not clear whether conclusive disconfirmation can be claimed for the prophecies given. This is clearly related to the lack of specificity, and particularly the absence of any date limiting components, within the prophecies. It is apparent from the prophecies themselves, and the reception of them in literature of the time and following, that there was heightened expectation in this period that existed prior to the prophecies but also was brought into sharper focus by the events at St. Peter's.[36] Indeed, on at least two occasions during this study direct reference was made by speakers to these prophecies nearly forty years after they were given, suggesting their continuing relevance in the consciousness of the CCR.[37] Subsequent research in the field of Cognitive Dissonance following the original work has demonstrated that the feeling of dissonance is much more subtle and nuanced than initially presumed and results not only from conclusive disconfirmation but also occurs when any contrary information is

[35] See Appendix 2,

[36] O'Connor, E.D. *Pope Paul and the Spirit*, pp.44-46.

[37] One reference was made at a regional conference of the CCR in Larne, Northern Ireland in July 2010, the other is a workshop during the Celebrate conference in Southampton in September 2011.

presented or, over time, as a result of a lack of confirmation of predictions or expectations.[38]

It would be naïve to limit the understanding of prophecy simply to a notion of predication about future event. Indeed, as Gill asserts:

> *"it is no longer possible to understand Christian prophecy, in its primary sense at least, as involving prediction of events yet to happen."*[39]

The role of the prophet, understood sociologically, is less about prediction and more about acting disruptively within the church and society. In the context of church/sect typology, the accommodation of the church with society means it is constrained in its ability to challenge society as a whole; being shaped by it rather than a shaper of it.[40] The prophet, and prophecy, is more closely associated with the sect and attempts to reform the church by drawing it back towards its doctrinal origins and away from compromise with society. For Weber, the priest typifies the church and is rooted in tradition and maintenance of the accommodation with society, taking their authority from structures and norms.[41] The prophet, and their prophecy, claim authority through personal revelation and charisma which challenges the complacency of the church.[42] The priest, then, is conservative and the prophet an agent of social change both within the church and in wider society. The function of the prophet is not to predict change

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[38] Festinger, L. *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*; Cooper, J. *Cognitive Dissonance: Fifty Years of a Classic Theory*. (London: SAGE, 2007); Harmon-Jones, E. & Mills, J. (eds.) *Cognitive Dissonance: Progress on a Pivotal Theory in Social Psychology*. (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 1999).

[39] Gill, R. *Prophecy and Praxis*. (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1981), p.13.

[40] Ibid., p.20. See also. Thung, M. *The Precarious Organisation*.(Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 1976) p.17.

[41] Weber, M. *The Sociology of Religion*, p.46.

[42] Ibid.

but to warn of what might happen if change does not take place; in doing so the prophecy offered creates expectation in those who receive it, either for change or for consequences if change does not occur. The 1975 prophecies should, thus, be understood less as predictions and more as efforts to challenge and disrupt ecclesial and hierarchical authorities, and to create expectation in the laity.

This raises the question of whether the expectations raised in the early 1970s, and held on to by the CCR, have been sufficiently fulfilled to maintain a level of comfort or whether a lack of fulfilment, over a period of forty years is sufficient time for the first generation of CCR members to seek alternative explanations and greater consonance. In addition to lack of fulfilment, some ecclesial developments since the 1970s appear to conflict directly with the expectations of the CCR, not least the increased centralisation of power within the clergy, resistance to reform expected as a result of Vatican II, numerous scandals and, perhaps most importantly, the decline in the size of the CCR since the 1980s. Also important, in this context, is the age profile of the CCR, not only in Ireland but as observed in nearly all expressions of the CCR encountered in this study. Members appear to average well into middle-age and many leaders are beyond retirement age. The first generation of the CCR is, to say the least, mature and in truth many are entering the final stages of life, having entered the CCR perhaps in their late twenties or early thirties. Expectation of fulfilment of the early prophecies and hopes within the lifetime of this first generation of members seems unlikely. There is also little reason to expect a large membership of the movement beyond this generation as there are few young members observable at public events, and recruitment of new members through parish events such as Life in the Spirit seminars seemed to consist mainly of middle aged members of the community. It would seem, then, that high

initial expectations combined with what is essentially an existential crisis for the movement, and a sense of individuals not living to see fulfilment, provides more than sufficient conditions for a high degree of cognitive dissonance within the CCR. This applies not only in the Irish context but in all manifestations observed in this study and suggests that the CCR are in a phase of their existence in which they are attempting to deal with this dissonance through the development and proselytising of an alternative interpretation of their early expectations.

It is in the context of the unfulfilled expectations of the CCR over forty years after the heightened expectations of the 1970s that the work of the Hebrew scholar Robert Carrol becomes highly significant. In his consideration of the relationship between prophecy and apocalyptic in the Old Testament he concludes that for Israel the emergence of apocalyptic thought and writing is the product of unfulfilled prophecy.[43] More specifically he concludes:

> *"With its roots in prophecy apocalyptic became the resolution of the dissonance caused by the lack of fulfilment of prophecy in the early post-exilic period"*[44]

For Carroll the move from prophecy to apocalyptic was not simply the product of cognitive dissonance, although this was an essential element, it was also a consequence of timing in the sense of its location within the political struggles of Israel following the return from exile. Drawing on the work of Paul Hanson, Carroll argues that the cognitive dissonance brought about through lack of prophetic fulfilment leads to a shift

[43] Carroll, R. *When Prophecy Failed*. (London: SCM, 1979).

[44] Ibid., p.205.

in eschatology.[45] Hanson argues that there appears to be a fundamental disconnect between the eschatology of prophets and that of the apocalyptic visionaries; expressed through differing visions of the world and the temporal sphere. For prophets the ordinary time of *chronos* is a place of restoration for the nation of Israel, whilst for the apocalyptic visionaries restoration will come about only in the cosmic sphere of *chiros* time.

This suggests a common aim but differing concepts of how and why this will come about. Hanson draws on the thought of sociologists such as Weber and Mannheim to consider the ideological and political dynamics of prophetic and apocalyptic groups.[46] He sees the critical dynamic as being between the ruling class and the disenfranchised poor.[47] The ruling classes, epitomised by royalty, nobility and the priesthood are essentially conservative in nature whilst those who are alienated or less privileged are, understandably, seeking change. Using Mannheim's terminology of 'ideology' and 'utopia', Hanson argues that the conservative elements support an ideological position in which religion supports their political structure as unchanging and absolute; whilst the alienated seek a utopian world which contrasts starkly with the *status quo.*[48] Prophecy provides such a utopian vision and with its expectation of fulfilment in this world it presents a dangerous threat to conservative elements. It is thus in the interests

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[45] See Hanson, P.D. *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology.* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979).

[46] Ibid., pp.211-220.

[47]. Ibid., pp.211-215.

[48] See Mannheim, K. *Ideology and Utopia, an Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*, trans. L. Wirth and E. Shils (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1936); Hanson, P.D. *The Dawn of Apocalyptic,* p.213.

of the ruling classes to seek to move the utopian expectations away from political and social change. As Hanson puts it, it is:

> *"understandable why representatives of the given order try to render the utopian notions socially innocuous by confining them to a realm beyond history and society, where they are unable to disturb the status quo."*[49]

This suggests that apocalyptic eschatology is a form of control over the already marginalised, a promise of 'jam tomorrow' that dissipates political expectations. Hanson does not indicate whether he believes this to be a conscious form of control or simply an eschatology that feels more comfortable with the ruling classes, but in either case it is apparent that eschatological hope is something that suits those seeking to maintain existing political structures.[50] Carroll presents a valid criticism of Hanson's use of Mannheim's sociological perspective, pointing out that there is no reason to assume that those with utopian visions did not themselves possess an ideology and thus seek to establish a political structure, albeit with a differing agenda.[51] This criticism notwithstanding, it does raise an important question regarding the development of apocalyptic eschatology in the CCR and its relationship with previous prophecy and with the host Church hierarchy. The initial hopes of the movement as seen in Ford's description of Type I charismatics, the prophecies at St. Peter's in 1975 and numerous early texts indicate hopes for fundamental change in power structures in the Church; specifically, greater power for the laity. A transference of expectation outside mundane

[49] Hanson, P.D. *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, p.213.

[50] As such this correlates with a Marxist analysis of religion as the 'opium of the people'.

[51] Carroll, R. *When Prophecy Failed*, p.210.

time, in line with Mannheim's view, would certainly ease such pressure on Church hierarchy.

In his consideration of Weber, Hanson identifies a similar correlation between the attraction of prophecy to lower socio-economic groups and the threat it poses to the established social order which the privileged classes seek to maintain. There is no suggestion here of the elite attempting to transfer prophetic worldly hopes into eschatological hopes, but Weber's position does confirm the notion that such a transference would suit those seeking to maintain the *status quo*. In line with Carroll's assertion that apocalyptic eschatology is the product of cognitive dissonance following unfulfilled prophecy Weber states:

> *"it was inevitable that consolation should be sought in genuine otherworldly hopes"*[52]

The third sociologist that Hanson draws upon in his consideration of the apocalyptic tradition in Israel is Ernst Troeltsch who examines the role of eschatology in the context of types of religious organisation.[53] Here, the Church is presented as an essentially conservative structure in which the priesthood and secular powers accommodate and support each other in the maintenance of social structures in the Church and society. The Church is presented as having identity with the Kingdom of God, resulting in minimal eschatological teaching beyond the destiny of the individual following death. In contrast, the sect draws its membership from the marginalised and from idealistic

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[52] Weber, M. *The Sociology of Religion*, p.140.

[53] Hanson, P.D. *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, p.215; Troeltsch, E. *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, 2 Vols. Trans. O. Wyon. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992; first German edition, 1912).

groups. Sects reject the compromises made with the world by the Church. This leads to an impotence in any ability to bring about real change, meaning that sect members:

> *"felt obliged to consider the Church as degenerate, and they did not believe that the world could be conquered by human power and effort; that is why they were always forced to adopt eschatological views"*[54]

Unfulfilled hope that reform would bring the Church towards the idealist position results in a move towards eschatological hope and a time of waiting for the end time. In drawing on Troeltsch, Hanson thus presents a model of the move to apocalyptic eschatology that once again suggests that it is the product of unfulfilled expectation coupled with a sense of disempowerment.

The works of Carroll and Hanson, open up important questions regarding the developments in eschatology observed in the CCR in the UK and Ireland, and also provide valuable insights to aid in the interpretation of these observations. The notion of cognitive dissonance as an explanation of social psychological processes taking place in the development of apocalyptic eschatology is certainly attractive. The conditions set out by Hanson for the move from prophetic worldly hope to eschatological hope are also compelling. Lack of fulfilment of hopes for reform in the Church certainly seems to be in place for the CCR.

The question of whether those in the CCR can be considered, or consider themselves, as a politically or socially marginalised group is important. There is certainly a tension with the Church hierarchy and a desire for reform, including greater

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[54] Troeltsch, E. *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches: Volume 1*, p.337; Hanson, P.D. *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, p.216. (Hanson cites this quotation from Troeltsch incorrectly as being on p.380 of the Wyon translation used here. See note 29 on p.216 of Hanson).

lay leadership and empowerment. Little evidence exists from this study that membership of the CCR is drawn in any significant way from poor or socially marginalised groups and so it must be assumed that in this context marginalisation comes from impotence in the face of clerical power and is thus an ecclesial margin, rather than a social one. This may be sufficient to set up the necessary power struggle for lack of fulfilment of prophetic hope to lead to hope in an eschatological context.

In terms of the development of religious worldviews it is possible to speculate that not only is apocalyptic the product of unfulfilled prophecy, but that romance is the product of unrealised empiric/ironic expectations. This would seem to be counterintuitive as one might expect scepticism resulting from unfulfilled romantic expectations to produce a more ironic worldview. The evidence from studies on cognitive dissonance, however, indicate that where significant investment is in place it is common to move to enhanced forms of belief in the face of unfulfilled expectation rather than towards a more cynical position.[55] How this functions in a detailed way is something worthy of further exploration but falls beyond the immediate scope of this study; the observation does, however, have a bearing on the understanding on the worldview characteristics of the CCR.

[55] Cooper, J. *Cognitive Dissonance: Fifty Years of a Classic Theory*, pp.62-89; Aronson, J., Cohen, G. and Nail, P.R. "Self-Affirmation Theory: An Update and Appraisal." In: Harmon-Jones, E. & Mills, J. (Eds) *Cognitive Dissonance: Progress on a Pivotal Theory in Social Psychology*., pp.127-148; Cooper, J. "Unwanted Consequences and the Self: In Search of the Motivation for Dissonance Reduction." In: Harmon-Jones, E. & Mills, J. (Eds) *Cognitive Dissonance: Progress on a Pivotal Theory in Social Psychology*., pp.19-174.

The development of apocalyptic is, then, closely correlated with a view of history as a romantic tragedy, much like the worldview seen in nearly all expressions of the CCR. This worldview does not appear to be a starting point but, rather, the product of disappointment in the face of unfulfilled hopes in this world. In this way, the use of the Hopewell/Frye approach allows us to not only classify the movement in terms of certain parameters but also opens up the potential for insights into the process by which the current position has come about.

The above analysis works in the context of the experience of the Athlone conference, the broader glimpses in the CCR in the Republic of Ireland, and also the majority of expressions of the CCR experienced in England with the possible exception of the Life in the Spirit sessions described earlier and elements of the Catholic Miracle Rally. The experience of the CCR in Northern Ireland is, however, quite different in many ways. Most notably the lack of evangelisation activity, even within the Catholic Church, and the absence of a prevailing apocalyptic imagery. These things are present, particularly amongst invited speakers from overseas, and certainly are not rejected outright.[56] The prevailing preoccupations amongst Northern Ireland members appeared to be with family, ecumenism, peace and social action; which sets them apart from not only the rest of Ireland as experienced in this study but also from the English expressions encountered. I explored the importance of family, ecumenism and social action in an

[56] At the Charismatic conference attended in Larne, Northern Ireland, the main invited speaker was Marino Restrepo a Columbian charismatic who presented a message deeply rooted in an evangelistic and apocalyptic message. He was well received and did not appear to cause any dissonance amongst members. Restrepo has established a community called the Pilgrims of Love in Columbia (http://www.marinorestrepo.com/en) and has written several books in which he presents a message of the devil having undue influence on the Church, e.g. *Catholics Awake!* (London: Pilgrims of Love Missions, 2000).

article published in Good News magazine in February 2012.[57] When I discussed this article with members of the group concerned they felt that it captured their priorities and was a fair representation of their aims.[58]

This difference in the Northern Ireland experience would, at first appearances, seem to contradict the hypothesis put forward above that cognitive dissonance and failed prophecy are key factors in the ethos and worldview of the CCR. It is quite possible that, on the contrary, this seeming outlier actually lends added credence to this explanation. From its earliest times the CCR globally had an interest in ecumenism and this was a very strong and highly pertinent concern for the Northern Ireland CCR. Predictions of increased unity and cooperation have to a large extent gone unfulfilled for most Catholics, but not so in Northern Ireland.[59] This expression of the CCR has witnessed Christian division move from physical separation, bigotry and murder to an increasingly harmonious, if imperfect, coexistence and tolerance. Added to this, the lot of Catholics in Northern Ireland in terms of economic and social justice has increased enormously in forty years. Similarly, education prospects and futures for children have improved and, compared to the Republic of Ireland, there is relatively little migration or immigration.[60] The Catholic Church in Northern Ireland has not been left untouched by

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[57] Chappell, K. "Catholic Charismatics and Social Justice", 2012.

[58] This article was shared with, and discussed by, several members of the Lamb of God community, which is the subject of the article, and also with members of two Belfast prayer groups who felt their groups shared the same ethos (a point confirmed by their financial support for the community and attendance at community prayer meetings).

[59] See: Murphy, L.D. *Believing in Belfast: Charismatic Christianity After the Troubles*. (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2010).

[60] Migration from Northern Ireland has remained at a level of hundreds or a few thousand per year over the period being considered. In the last decade net migration has seen a net inward migration of between 200 and 2000 per annum, with most inward migration being from The Republic of Ireland, Poland or Lithuania (all of which result in an increase in the Catholic population compared to Protestants). http://www.ninis2.nisra.gov.uk/InteractiveMaps/DataVis/Migration.pdf . The Republic of Ireland has seen emigration of Irish nationals range between 20,000 and 90,000 per annum since 1987.

various scandals, particularly those relating to child abuse, but it is not seen as part of the establishment in the way that the Church in the Republic of Ireland has been and consequently has maintained, to some degree, a sense of being a champion of the marginalised. Hopes that could be expected in the prophetic eschatology are thus fulfilled in Northern Ireland, at least partially. Conditions for cognitive dissonance are consequently reduced and the need to renegotiate prophetic expectations into eschatological hopes is not present to the same degree.

The story of the CCR in Northern Ireland presents as a romantic tragedy, in terms of Hopewell and Frye, in which they 'die into the Church' for the common good but, despite reduced numbers in the CCR itself, it seems that this has borne fruit through a more peaceful and just land. In this way, their actions are justified and, perhaps, their role fulfilled. As an exception that proves a rule the CCR in Northern Ireland are not a perfect fit, but their different experiences and outcomes do lend an important level of support for the theory that the current worldview of the CCR outside Northern Ireland is the product of forty or more years of unfulfilled hope and prophecy.

We move now to the final expression of the CCR considered explicitly in this study: another conference, but this time in an English context.

http://cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/er/pme/populationandmigrationestimatesapril2014/#.VapNgkbiCFo. The current population of Northern Ireland is approximately 40% of the Republic's.

6.2 Celebrate

The Celebrate conferences have been running in England since 1994 and, along with the New Dawn conference in Walsingham, which has taken place since 1987, represents the primary expression of the CCR on a national scale that brings together members on a regular basis.[61] Large national conferences now typically take place biennially at Ilfracombe in Devon but each year a number of smaller regional conferences take place to allow attendance without the need for overnight accommodation and long-distance travel. This is considered family friendly and the major emphasis of Celebrate is the family. In practice it may also be more accommodating to the older members of the CCR who make up a significant proportion of the attendees. In addition to up to twelve regional conferences covering a geographical range from Torquay to Tyne-and-Wear there is also a separate youth conference called Joel's Bar that also takes place each year.

The following account is from one of the smaller regional conferences in Southampton and reflects the general tone of the Celebrate conferences which are strongly influenced by Charles Whitehead who has been perhaps the most significant figure in the UK CCR since its beginnings and has also been highly significant in the international CCR as a former chair of the ICCR. He founded Celebrate with his wife,

[61] The New Dawn conference typically takes place on an annual or biennial basis and is organised by the Prince of Peace charismatic community based in Liverpool. In a similar way to the *Cor et lumen Christi* community that is based around the leadership of one person, Damian Stayne, the Prince of Peace Community has a clear leader in its founder Myles Dempsey who founded the community and New Dawn following a visionary experience in Ars, France.

Sue, and remains chair of the leadership team and editor of the associated magazine. Both Charles and Sue Whitehead are also a presence at most of the conferences.

The Southampton Celebrate conference takes place in October in a hall associated with a Catholic secondary school. The hall is a large 1960s structure with an asbestos roof and a plain, slightly shabby, feel to the interior. Chairs are arranged facing a stage that has music equipment for a small group including guitars, percussion and several microphones. There is a central lectern, a screen and a digital projector. At the front of the stage are four banners, two either side of the lectern. On the left are two banners presenting eschatological images. The first is an image of the Virgin Mary resembling that of the Queen of Heaven with a large 'M' at the top. Next to the Marian banner is one of the Lamb of God, with the typical Lamb and flag image. On the other side of the lectern are banners presenting sacramental images. One is a banner with Eucharistic imagery of bread and a chalice. Finally, on the extreme right, is a baptismal image of water and a shell. Above all of this in a central position the projector casts an animated image of running water overlaid with a dove facing downwards inside a ring of fire; providing clear allusions to "baptism in the Spirit". Other banners on the side walls contain text and declare "You have heard everything I teach in public" and "Hand it on to reliable people so that they in turn will be able to teach others".

In the room are over two hundred people and there is a wide range of ages. These include families with young children, older couples and individuals. There is a slight bias towards women and the median age is probably around fifty even when children are taken into account. The children will soon leave the main room for sessions aimed at their age groups (pre-school, primary age and teens) held in classrooms in the school. In the school chapel there is exposition of the Blessed Sacrament throughout the two

days of the conference and people are encouraged in literature and from the platform to take time to spend some moments in adoration. There are also a number of displays from various organisations and retailers in the school library which attendees are also pointed towards. Throughout the weekend a number of classrooms will be used for smaller sessions and workshops away from the main hall.

The first session opens with praise and worship in the style common to nearly all CCR meetings. The music group take the lead and use a mixture of high and low tempo music to lift up and calm down the mood in the room. Participants join in enthusiastically from the beginning and most seem to know the songs, although words are projected onto the screen. The majority of people raise their arms during songs, most with their palms raised upwards but some with palms facing forwards towards the stage. At several points the singing dies down into praying in tongues and ejaculatory prayer in English from the participants.

After a final extended period of prayer in tongues, that includes spontaneous singing in tongues, a speaker stands up at the lectern; a white man who appears in early middle age. The screen returns to the animation of flowing water and the dove in a ring of fire. He begins to speak and within a very short period uses the theme of wetness repeatedly. First, he holds up a copy of the bible and talks of it "*dripping with the wisdom of God*" and that "*there is not a dry page*". He continues to exhort the people to immerse themselves in the Scriptures and opens the Bible saying, "*let's get wet straight away*". He reads the story of Jairus' daughter (Luke 8:41-56) and seeks affirmation from the participants that it is "*a beautiful story that speaks of the power of Jesus and his compassion for us*". The audience audibly affirms his point. There is no further analysis of the text but, rather, a mime artist called Steve is introduced who proceeds to

interpret the passage with background music. The theme of the mime is "*Gotta tell somebody*" and presents the Scripture passage through Jairus' eyes and the imperative to spread the news about Jesus in light of the miracles he has witnessed. During the mime a number of couples hold hands, put arms around each other or sit closer to maximise physical contact. This romantic contact is observable throughout the weekend with many couples holding hands, sitting on laps, kissing and stroking buttocks at various points. This is most noticeable during the healing and prayer ministry later in the day.

The first speaker of the day is Charles Whitehead who opens his talk by reading from 2 Timothy 2:2; the passage contained in the banners around the side of the room. This he explains is about concern for the next generation and should be our focus. He goes on to explain that 2 Timothy has a fourfold structure: Protect the Gospel (Chapter 1), Do not be afraid to suffer for the Gospel (Chapter 2), Persist in the Gospel "*there is always more*" (Chapter 3), and Proclaim the Gospel "*tell someone*" (Chapter 4). This message, we are told, still applies today. Whitehead then moves on to the Letter to the Ephesians which he calls the "*queen of epistles…possibly Paul's greatest*". This epistle, he explains, reveals a threefold posture that we must have as Christians: to sit, to walk, and to stand. Our posture towards Christ must be one of sitting; taking time to know Him and ourselves better. This is the posture of prayer and listening and begins in the heart: "*Jesus says 'come' before he ever says 'go'*". Our posture towards the world is that of walking, we must "*walk the Gospel*". This is the stance of evangelisation and is an imperative to us all, we are called to "*take the Gospel out to the world*". Our position of standing is appropriate with regard to our enemies.

"*We are in a spiritual battle*" Whitehead explains: "*the more involved you are the more of a problem you are, you are more of a target – the devil is against us*".

"*We do not only have foes in this world, there is a battle in the heavens*" but "*don't let it put you off that there is a spiritual battle – the battle is already won*". (Charles Whitehead)

During this explanation of postures, and especially the third, the talk is highly interactive with Whitehead seeking affirmation from the audience and receiving numerous solicited and unsolicited responses including loud cries of "*yes!*" and "*alleluia!*" as well as his own words repeated back, e.g. "*already won!*".

Whitehead continues to talk of all Christians as adopted sons and daughters of God and that this adoption means a new creation in which the past is wiped away. He then turns to Jeremiah 29:11 "*I know the plans I have for you…*". It is explained that God has a plan for each of us individually and that he intends us to prosper. The final scriptural image Whitehead uses is from Exodus 17:8-15 where he invokes imagery reminiscent of that observed during the Catholic Miracle Rally where he recalls Moses holding his arms up in order that Israel might stand against Amalek. We must work together and support each other in prayer: "…*we win because of prayer… The Lord is our banner and we must lift our hands to the throne of the Lord*". In prayer (sitting) we are able to defeat our enemies (standing).

Following a break there is a period of prayer ministry in which eight pairs of people are standing around the room with a third 'helper'. People go up to be 'prayed with', either individually or in couples. In fact, it seems that most couples go up together. The role of the helper was soon apparent as a significant proportion of people being prayed with were 'slain in the Spirit'. This involved collapsing to the ground either

through knees buckling or, more frequently, a backwards fall with the body rigid. In a similar way to that witnessed at the Miracle Rally helpers caught people as they fell and laid them down on mats nearby where they "*rested in the Spirit*" for some time. Some people appeared to simply lower themselves to the ground and rest in the Spirit. On one occasion a helper failed to catch someone slain in the Spirit and the person landed with full impact to gasps from people sitting nearby; they initially lay there, seemingly immobile, and then moved after a few minutes with no apparent harm. Prayer ministry involved a great deal of physical contact between ministers and those they were praying for, with hands placed on heads, shoulders, necks and backs; including some elements of stroking. Slaying in the Spirit seemed always to be preceded by hands being placed either on the back of the neck or on the upper spine between the shoulder blades.

A notable feature of Celebrate is the number of couples who attend prayer ministry together. They usually attend holding hands or with arms around each other. On a number of occasions, the woman in the couple was slain in the Spirit and the man lay with her during the 'resting' phase. This was usually quite intimate in nature and typically involved arms being placed around her and foreheads pressed together. One couple 'spooned' during this period. The men sometimes stroked their partners back or hair whilst resting and the final recovery was normally completed with a kiss between the couple and prolonged eye contact. Such intimacy is, as mentioned, a common feature of the whole weekend.

Later in the weekend I attend a seminar given by Sue Whitehead, the wife of Charles, who is also well known throughout the movement, not least as the author of a regular column "The Other Half" in Good News magazine. Sue is not a Catholic but from a non-conformist background and it is clear that neither she nor Charles see any

difference in their faith which is mediated immanently through the Holy Spirit. Sue's seminar is on the gifts of the Holy Spirit. This is provided in a very family focussed account of the immanence of the Holy Spirit with anecdotes about miraculous house purchases, their ability to raise funds to feed the poor, and healing of their son's hearing and heart problems as a child. The rest of the seminar consists of a cosy round table chat amongst the participants in which stories about the action of the Holy Spirit in attendees' lives are shared and praise given. This is clearly affirming to all present, despite one mildly awkward moment in which attention turns to me in the cycle around the room and I have nothing to offer. As we leave the room a woman comes over to me, places her hand on my shoulder and assures me "*God has great plans for you*".

6.2.1 Celebrate Analysis

A number of the themes discernible in the Celebrate conference are common to many of the other expressions of the CCR considered here and yet there were some notable elements in the tone of the conference, and the recurring themes, that provide some further insights into the movement in the UK.

In relation to Walker's typology there is little to suggest a structure that reflects that of R1 Restorationism in a formal sense but there are some echoes. There is a strong evangelistic message throughout the conference and some elements of authority being held by 'charismatic' individuals, in this case Charles Whitehead in particular. This said, it is not formalised into a structure that could be recognised as parallel to R1 and as such is much closer to that of R2. It is worthy of note that Whitehead draws heavily on the letter to the Ephesians, and that he emphasises its pre-eminence in the Pauline

canon, as Walker reports a similar regard for this epistle amongst both Restorationist types and its basis for their ecclesiology, particularly Ephesians chapter four.[62] Whitehead's message is one of call and response in individual lives lived within the structure of the Church in the world whereas the interpretation of R1 is closer to that of a theocracy seeking separation from the world.[63] Again, this places the CCR seen at Celebrate as closer to Walker's R2 type. This is supported by the ecumenical dimension, seen in aspects such as Sue Whitehead's contribution; and a sense of engagement with the world, although there was little evidence of any concern with social action apart from one reference by Sue Whitehead to the miraculous raising of funds for the poor.

Informal conversations with other participants revealed a mixed picture regarding social action. Some were highly active in social action groups including Cafod, who had a stand at the conference, and other Catholic social agencies and charities. Some were involved in broader social activity such as prison visiting, Samaritans and environmental work. I did not encounter any open hostility to Cafod or other similar organisations in the way that I did during the Miracle Rally. Two important themes emerged from the reasons given for social action by attendees. The first was that of witness and evangelisation:

> "I think it's important that people see you do this and know that it's a big part of being a Christian. In the same way, I'm not shy about letting people at work know that I'm a Catholic. If they ever want to know more I want them to know that they can come and ask me. I think that's also important for me, it keeps me on my toes

[62] Walker, A. *Restoring the Kingdom*, p.160ff.

[63] Ibid.

a bit more – thinking if I react badly then people will see me as a Catholic behaving badly." (Oscar)

The second imperative for social engagement that emerged was about creating an appropriate society, particularly for children and grandchildren:

"We're involved with Cafod in our local parish. We sell Fairtrade after mass and get the kids involved. We are trying to make the parish into a sustainable parish with getting our energy from renewables and things like that…Last year a group of us helped the first communion children to make a wildlife garden." (Natalie)

"I go into prisons with PACT and visit with the young men in there. We're especially concerned about helping them to keep connected with their families. It helps them to not re-offend and hopefully means that less children will live without their daddies after they come out" (Philomena)[64]

Celebrate presents a quite different picture to that of Athlone, despite what might appear quite similar functions for the two conferences. They both certainly have a function of reinforcement for CCR members in groups dispersed throughout parishes or small communities and also to prevent isolation in ideas and practice, and so reduce risks of sect formation within the wider movement:

"*Good to see you here for your annual boost at Celebrate!*" (Presenter at beginning giving housekeeping information)

"This is my fourth Celebrate. It's important to us because we're just in a small prayer group and it does you good to get along and see other people and hear different speakers. Now the children are a bit older, I think we'll give the big one in Devon a go." (Natalie)

[64] PACT is the Prisoner's Advice and Care Trust.

Such a cross-fertilisation function is important, in a movement with little by way of hierarchy or governance structures, if there is to be any meaningful sense of a single movement. As such, this function does have parallels with Ford's description of Type I charismatics where social cohesion within the movement is presented as an imperative.[65] It differs, however, in the sense that for Type I this is achieved through strong hierarchical authority structures controlled almost exclusively by men and, despite the obvious influence of characters such as Whitehead and the subordinate role of his wife, the "other half", there is no evidence of such male dominated structures. On the contrary, current senior leadership includes several women such as Michelle Moran who is evident on a national and international level.

There was no sense of national identity as being critical in the role and hopes of the CCR as seen in Celebrate. It should be noted that this was not a national conference but a regional one. Celebrate is, however, part of a national expression of the CCR and so would provide a good opportunity for such an agenda to be put forward. In common with Athlone, there was a strong emphasis on evangelisation but this had a somewhat different focus and imperative. There was less of an emphasis on recapturing a nation for Christ or even on renewal of the Church than seen expressed at Athlone. There was certainly a recognition of the value of evangelisation amongst everyone I spoke with and if the subject was brought up the need to evangelise was affirmed. In many ways, the need to evangelise was taken as read. Interestingly, when participants did speak of evangelisation they generally expressed it in terms of the young and maintaining their membership of the Church. What was considered 'evangelisation' could more

[65] Ford, J.M. *Which Way for Catholic Pentecostals?*, pp.5-20.

accurately be considered ‘retention’ or ‘maintenance’. Thus, the social action efforts mentioned above. Also:

> “We have to evangelise, that’s part of being a Christian.” (Oscar)
>
> You’ve always felt like that? (KC)
>
> “No, not really. For a long time I just went to mass – or didn’t sometimes - then came home and did my own thing. I was definitely one of those Sunday Catholics.” (Oscar)
>
> Was it still an important part of your life at that time? (KC)
>
> “Yeah, important but not as important as now. I’m a cradle Catholic and it would have been weird not to go to mass, but I don’t think I would’ve gone to anything else and I wasn’t involved in anything else in the parish.” (Oscar)
>
> What changed? (KC)
>
> “We had children I suppose. All of a sudden, it seemed more important and I wanted them to be Catholics. It’s an important part of me and I wanted them to have that too.” (Oscar)

Although renewal was certainly an important part in Celebrate, it was apparent that the particular focus was on the evangelisation of, and passing on of the CCR baton to, the next generation. Thus, rather than the territorial emphasis of the Irish experience or what might be seen as the numerical emphasis of the Miracle Rally, the key for the form of evangelisation seen at Celebrate was a temporal one aimed at subsequent generations and the continued survival of the movement. This is typified in Whitehead’s use of 2 Timothy 2:2 and the banners in the room carrying quotations from this passage:

"Pass on to reliable people what you have heard from me through many witnesses so that they in turn will be able to teach others"[66]

The need to pass on the Good News is not, then, aimed at mission as much as it is aimed at maintenance of the existing movement. The presence of children and young people at celebrate and the effort put into activities for them is a matter of investment for the future rather than simply childcare provision for the adults in the main sessions. This was made explicit by one of the session organisers who asserted:

"No, this isn't just about giving the grown-ups space. If I thought I was just a baby sitter I wouldn't be doing this – its hard work! This is a big part of what we do at Celebrate. Teaching the children is a big thing and we've always seen it as important" (Children's session organiser)

Indeed, it raises an important question as to whether the main sessions can be seen more as entertainment for the adults whilst the real work of the conference is done with the young people. This is, of course, something of an exaggeration but it does seem that an important function of the main elements of the conference is in forming the adults in their role in passing on the message of the CCR to their children and grandchildren rather than reaching out to other adults. This was particularly evident in the session with Sue Whitehead in which the family focus was both on learning from the family experience but also on getting tips from each other in passing on the faith to children and grandchildren.

There is, then, an evangelistic emphasis as described by Ford in Type I charismatics and also seen in the Irish experience in Athlone, but it differs in nature and motivation

[66] New Jerusalem Bible translation.

from both of these. With regard to Ford's types, she presents evangelising ministries as typifying Type I charismatics and indicative of a less mature or stable expression of charismatic spirituality. What presents here, at Celebrate, as a call to evangelisation is more akin to the group of ministries that Ford describes as 'solidifying' ministries such as teaching, prophecy, exhortation and acts of mercy.[67] It is, in fact, a ministry of teaching that is being asserted by Whitehead and others rather than evangelisation. The methods of proclamation and the way it is framed are very much those that typify a call to evangelisation, and the term is used frequently. This may be the product of habit and comfort with the format, or a desire to still be an evangelistic force, but this expression of the CCR seems to have shifted its focus onto consolidation of the movement and maintenance for the future.

The mode of 'evangelisation' seen in Celebrate is very much internal and so contrasts with the more outward and nationalistic perspective seen in Athlone. It also points to a different eschatology in the national UK CCR compared to its Irish neighbour. There were undoubtedly apocalyptic elements encountered during the conference, such as Whitehead's assertion that there is spiritual warfare taking place on a personal and cosmic scale and his belief that "*the battle is already won*". The provision for the future of the movement through the imperative towards formation and catechesis of the young members suggests a belief that the 'end times' are more personal than cosmic. The sense is of an ageing membership aware that their time is coming to an end but that there is still a future for the CCR. This notion of time, and the focus on forming future generations, clearly lifts the CCR seen here out of any

[67] Ford, J.M. *Which Way for Catholic Pentecostals?*, pp.93-95.

notion of sect as described by either Weber or Troeltsch and towards the model of a Church that expects to persist beyond this generation. This would suggest that expectations of renewal or change found in the movement during the early years, whilst not fulfilled, have not been adapted into apocalyptic expectations in the same way as observed in Ireland and other expressions of the CCR in England, such as the small prayer groups. This may indicate that on a national scale in England, as in Northern Ireland, there may be at least partial fulfilment of expectations. Quite probably at least as important, is the role of the Catholic Church in the two nations and the differing expectations and traumas experienced over the last forty years.

As discussed in the previous section, the last few decades have proved traumatic for the Catholic Church in Ireland in terms of membership and cultural influence, as well as moral authority. The Catholic Church in England has also seen a decrease in membership, but this has been mitigated to some extent by immigration of Catholics from eastern parts of the European Union, and even continuing Irish immigration into England. There have also been significant and ongoing scandals regarding child sexual abuse by Catholic clergy in England but the Church's limited role outside parish and school structures has resulted in cases comparable to those of the "Magdalen Laundries" being avoided. The sense of betrayal, whilst significant, has less potential to pervade all aspects of Catholic's lives.

> "It's very sad, shocking. You trust priests, or you used to. Fortunately, I haven't come across any of it in my life, but you do get people asking how you can still be a member of the Church." (Philomena)

> "My mum's from Ireland and her family over there say it's awful. Not just the priests but the nuns as well. Some of the things they did! I went to school with nuns and I know that they can be strict, but we never had anything like that." (Natalie)

Indeed, in the responses received to questions about abuse it seemed that respondents preferred to distance themselves from the experience or talk about it happening elsewhere. One person simply refused to "*go there*".

Recent decades have also seen a number of significant developments in terms of lay empowerment generally and also quite significant roles for the CCR in England. The success of enterprises such as Catholic Faith Exploration (CaFE) led by David Payne, The Catholic Bible School, the influence of Catholic Charismatics in the Maryvale Institute and the Catholic Bishops Conference of England and Wales, and numerous smaller endeavours, have achieved significant impacts for the CCR within English Catholicism. Similarly, the broader impacts of figures such as Charles Whitehead, who is considered to have had significant influence on Pope John-Paul II, and Michelle Moran who continues to lead the worldwide CCR, give good reason for a degree of confidence in the English CCR.[68] This has the potential to mitigate any sense of dissonance caused by lack of fulfilment of initial expectation, which reduces the incentive to move from a prophetic vision of hope in this world towards an apocalyptic eschatology in which hope is shifted beyond notions of time as considered for the Athlone experience.

An additional factor that should be considered is the degree to which English Catholics regard themselves as a marginalised or oppressed group. As discussed above, both Carroll and Hanson argue that the sociological conditions that appear to facilitate a move towards an apocalyptic view include not only cognitive dissonance but also a

[68] Whitehead frequently refers to his relationship with John Paul II when speaking publicly, including stories of praying charismatically with him. He repeats some of these stories at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=vwwb5Lwanr0 (from 18 minutes).

sense of being part of an oppressed group with no significant hope of prophetic fulfilment within this world. Catholic clergy have no real secular or civil power and membership of the Catholic Church is by no means an expectation of society in England, if anything quite the contrary. Those seeking change in the Church have a much wider scope and freedom than those in Ireland and, combined with a higher level of material wealth, would suggest a lower chance of self-identifying as oppressed or marginalised. It should be noted that many English Catholics do identify with persecution or marginalisation to some extent, either through general discrimination against Catholics in England since the Reformation or as a result of being part of a minority immigrant community. The main focus, as discussed earlier, for general persecution is the 'liberal media', although there is no real mention of this at Celebrate.

Most significant amongst the immigrant communities are the Irish. Narratives of the Irish community in England frequently present themselves as discriminated against by the host community, partly for their nationality and partly for their faith.[69] The accuracy and reality of this cannot be explored here but the self-identity as marginalised, which is confirmed by conversations with Irish members of the CCR living in England as part of this study, is important.

> "We came across to England in 1974. I came across to work as a nurse in the new hospital. Bobby didn't have a job at first, but we soon met some other Irish people and they got him a job working on the roads. It wasn't his thing, but you took what you could get." (Eileen)

[69] See Murray, T. *London Irish Fictions* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010). Murray presents numerous narratives provided by Irish immigrants which provide stories of discrimination, for example "Rotten: No Irish, No Blacks, No Dogs" by John Lydon, p.158 ff. See also Coogan, T.P. *Wherever Green is Worn* (London: Arrow, 2002), p.109ff, who presents an Irish nationalist narrative of significant discrimination against the Irish in the Britain.

Did it take long to settle in? (KC)

"In one way, no. I was straight into the job and the girls there were great. Bobby was fine too." (Eileen)

What about outside work? (KC)

"Well the parish was fine, we had an Irish priest, Fr S, who was a great help, but at that time the English still didn't like the Irish very much. The bombing didn't help I suppose. We didn't get anything direct like, none of the abuse you hear of, but there were a few times that other people got served in the shop before me or you could see them watching you." (Eileen)

So, you felt like an outsider? (KC)

"Yes." (Eileen)

How were things for Bobby? (KC)

"The worst thing was for jobs. He tried for loads of jobs in offices - he didn't really like the road work – but didn't get any, even though some of them were below him. He ended up moving through [the construction company] and after a few years became a manager and we did OK." (Eileen)

Critical to this is the sense that the Catholic Church was a source of support and emancipation for these groups in England rather than of oppression in the home country. In his study of narratives produced by the Irish diaspora in England, Murray identifies the Church as important in social cohesion for the Irish as well as providing material support and routes to employment through contacts; a feature he sees as important even in later immigrants that he terms the "*Ryanair Generation*".[70] This thus presents another possible reason for reduced dissonance amongst English CCR

[70] Murray, T. *London Irish Fictions, passim*.

members as expectations of the Church were different and, to some extent at least, fulfilled.

Of all the expressions of the CCR encountered during this study the Celebrate conference presented not only the closest parallel to Ford's Type II charismatics but also the fullest development towards what might be considered a church structure rather than a sect. For Weber, the Church contrasts with the sect by being essentially a socially and religiously conservative structure rather than the potentially revolutionary force for change seen in the sect.[71] Troeltsch largely agrees with this description of the distinction between church and sect but adds the important consideration that in accepting the world the Church maintains a distinction in identifying herself with the Kingdom of God; redemption is a complete work and so eschatological teaching is minimised.[72] This describes well the identity of the CCR seen at Celebrate and, in particular, the message proclaimed by Charles Whitehead that whilst there is a spiritual battle on the cosmic scale "*the battle is already won*". It is not only this eschatological perspective that sets the CCR in Celebrate apart as an ecclesial structure rather than a sect. Sacramentality is heavily emphasised both through liturgy in the mass and through the opportunity for confession during the conference, and in the perpetual exposition of the Blessed Sacrament throughout the weekend. The symbolism of Marian imagery also affirmed the ecclesial and, in particular, the Catholic nature of the organisation. Thus, whilst there is a distinct move towards Church formation there is no attempt to form a denomination. The CCR here is clearly and explicitly being

[71] Weber, M. *The Sociology of Religion*, p.45, 65-67, 106.

[72] Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, p.995. See also Hanson, P.D. *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, p.215.

incorporated within the mainstream of the Roman Catholic Church and in the process becoming a spiritual movement focussed on personal piety rather than one of reform or renewal in the sense of power structures, governance or ecclesiology. Whilst this model does not necessarily reflect the reality of CCR groups around the country it seems to indicate the aspirations of the movement's leadership on the national scale and is entirely congruent with the desire, discussed above, to create a sustainable future for the movement as part of the Catholic Church with a new generation of charismatics formed from the younger members.

6.2.2 The Story of the People of Celebrate

In Celebrate two narrative themes stand out which have been apparent in most of the expressions of the CCR encountered in this study; those of romance and tragedy. Yet, the story as presented by Celebrate is different in that it is more personal and individual in both aspects. This may represent a more mature expression of the romantic tragedy which has been evident throughout this study. The only possible exception to the model of romantic tragedy being the Catholic Miracle Rally which, whilst being highly romantic in narrative, does contain elements of comedic narrative. The CCR in Celebrate certainly appears to have integrated most fully within the Roman Catholic Church, amongst the larger expressions encountered, and in doing so presents a story of the movement itself and the members who have devoted much of their lives to its growth and development.

The romantic elements of the narrative seen in Celebrate resonate with those seen elsewhere in that the immanence of God pervades the whole identity of the CCR and

for Hopewell defines the nature of what it is to be Charismatic.[73] This is seen in many of the ways described in other expressions such as glossolalia, prophecy, miraculous intervention, protection, and a sense of real presence in the lives of members. What was outstanding in the romantic expression seen at Celebrate was what can be described as the erotic dimension of this romance. The role of couples in the conference was extremely important both in its organisation but also in participation. Physical contact, including stroking and kissing, was common and most marked during episodes of slaying and resting in the Spirit with couples lying together in an embrace. This manifestation of erotic intimacy was preceded by the first speaker who in introducing the event and speaking about the Bible made multiple allusions to 'wetness' and 'dripping', launching into the first session saying, "let's get wet straight away". This corresponds well with the experience of Percy in his study of the Toronto Airport Church where he describes highly erotic language and activities in a Pentecostal setting with similar use of wetness imagery and intimate touching.[74] In some ways, the imagery of water and strong passions echo those seen in the Catholic Miracle Rally, but the intimacy of couples was not seen at the Miracle Rally where resting in the Spirit was done individually. There was, however, considerable physical contact at the Miracle Rally with people hugging and holding hands with strangers seen as perfectly acceptable. The immanence of the Spirit is thus deeply personal at Celebrate but also expressed through relationships, especially the most intimate relationships.

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[73] Hopewell, J.F. *Congregation: Stories and Structures*, pp.75-78.

[74] Percy, M. "Adventure and Atrophy in a Charismatic Movement: Returning to the 'Toronto Blessing'" *Journal of Contemporary Religion.* 20, (1) (2005): 71-90; Percy, M. *The Toronto Blessing.* (Oxford: Latimer House, 1996).

If the romantic aspects of the narrative are deeply personal, then so too are the elements of tragedy in the story. As mentioned, the narrative of Celebrate is one of end times on a personal level rather than the cosmic. There is an expectation that the movement can persist beyond the current generation but that it needs new, younger, people to take up the mantle. There is no sense of an imminent end to the world or the Church but there is a very real sense that failure to build a sustainable structure will see the CCR come to an end.

In order to secure a legacy, the CCR in Celebrate feel the need to have their successors secured before their own passing. This, of course, may not be for them to determine. Behind these efforts is the fear of oblivion, both personal and corporate, that would be their legacy if the CCR were to simply be a movement of a few decades that touched only one generation.

In the romantic tragedy narratives of the CCR expressions encountered during this study, and perhaps most clearly in the people of Celebrate, there is a coming together of tragedy set against a romantic horizon of divine immanence. As the movement ages, and matures, there is a clear sense that for groups at all levels of the CCR, whether parish groups, communities or national gatherings there is an approaching end. Whether this is perceived as a true end or simply as inevitable change, this much is almost universal amongst all groups encountered. The one possible exception to this was at the Catholic Miracle Rally where the sense was still of something new and growing, despite some evidence to the contrary such as the age profile of attendees. In each case the story was essentially one of low mimetic tragedy, personal endings. This was seen in the breaking up and decline of parish groups, the decline of national structures, and national loss of faith. Above all, however, it is epitomised at Celebrate

with the end of a generation, the first generation of the CCR, and their struggle to create a legacy. On an individual and corporate level, the hopes and dreams of the first wave of the CCR are ending. This does not imply failure, nor assume that the movement is facing collapse, but that the deeply personal tragedy of the end of the founders is approaching. In the face of this, and the many unfulfilled expectations of the early CCR, pathos is an extremely appropriate response as the movement stands powerless in the face of time which has overtaken this first generation.

The demise of the CCR would be, if not prevented through new growth of the movement, a tragedy beyond the personal and beyond the movement itself. The CCR is presented as an important outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the life of the Roman Catholic Church, its ending would be the end of something greater than just a group. As such, the loss of the CCR would be a tragedy of the highest order. Frye describes 'the root idea of pathos' as being the exclusion of a person from a group to which they seek to belong.[75] The struggle for acceptance by the host Church has been a key element of the history and self-identity of the CCR as they seek to be seen as truly Catholic. Their ideas and practices have frequently placed them outside mainstream Catholicism and with the onus on them to prove their credentials within a society with clear rules of membership and orthodoxy. The tragedy, and the pathos, of the CCR is one of a generation seeking renewal of, and acceptance by, the host church and yet not living to see either fully realised in the way they initially hoped. The conviction of their ideas appears to remain, at least in those leading, and their mission now has become one of creating a longer-term expression of the CCR that can take this forward.

[75] Frye, N. *Anatomy of Criticism*, p.39.

Chapter 7. Conclusion.

At the outset of this study the aim was established as answering two questions. The first question was a methodological one and asked about the value of the classification of religious groups and movements into defined units in order to allow deeper understanding of the nature of the community in question. In particular, the tendency of previous sociological and anthropological studies to classify groups in two-dimensional ways on a scale between polar opposites was brought into question. Whilst such systems were seen as useful the question was also raised about whether their greatest strength: their simplicity, was also their great weakness as they reduced complex systems to a few simple parameters. Perhaps the most significant flaw in such an approach being the potential to set views, beliefs and practices in opposition to each other when they might, in fact, be on a more complex continuum with much in common rather than simply in opposition.

The second question was about the Catholic Charismatic Renewal itself, and particularly as experienced in its manifestations within the British Isles. The question was whether the CCR could be considered a single movement or a collection of movements with some similar phenomena in common. If they could be considered a single movement then what binds them together? Could what is 'essential' to the movement be determined? Do they function as some form of 'sect' within, or possibly in opposition to, the host Roman Catholic Church?

In attempting to summarise the answers to these questions there will need to be something of a dynamic relationship as the answer to the first part is somewhat

dependent upon the degree of success encountered in answering the second. Nonetheless, I will attempt to separate them as much as possible.

7.1 The Value of Classifying

As mentioned in Chapter 2, there is something fundamental in our need to classify things. The simplicity offered by compartmentalisation provides a focus for understanding and avoids the risk of being overwhelmed by too many parameters. This has found its strongest expression in the scientific method as summarised by Popper in the principle of falsification.[76] The creation of a null hypothesis that can only be disproved or not yet disproved gives a binary division to knowledge that allows exploration of knowledge to finer and finer levels. The risk is, of course, reductionism where the full nature of the thing being studied is lost in the pursuit of such resolution and precision. This is a potential risk of the binary systems proposed by Walker and by Ford as considered here. Walker recognises this himself very early when he acknowledges that his system allows only for distinction between R1 Restorationists and those not in R1, which he terms R2. The reason he gives for this limitation is precisely that mentioned here: to do otherwise risks "*infinite regress*", as he puts it, of "*R3 to Rn*".[77]

The experience in this study of using the systems proposed by Walker and Ford is that they have value, up to a point. Beyond this they cease to provide any greater

[76] Popper, K. *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*, translation of *Logik der Forschung*, (London: Hutchinson, 1959)

[77] Walker, A. *Restoring the Kingdom*, p.25.

definition and begin to oversimplify. The reasons for the limitations are certainly rooted in their binomial nature, but not entirely. It was found that on several occasions a particular manifestation of the CCR could find itself in both groupings being proposed by Walker or Ford. For example, the Celebrate conference contained elements of Walkers R1 or Ford's Type I in the charismatic leadership of Charles Whitehead, and in a superficial understanding of the call to evangelise, but in all other aspects the conference demonstrated a clearer relationship to R2 and Type II. Similarly, the Northern Irish CCR showed characteristics such as ecumenical engagement which Ford's system posits is highly indicative of Type I charismatics. Closer examination, however, suggested that the same phenomenon of ecumenical working had quite different implications here than in her original study groups in the United States. This suggests that context is vitally important and is something that is intrinsic to both of these classification systems. As noted in the methodology section of this study, neither of these systems was being applied in their original context. Walker's system was being applied to a Catholic group having been developed in a Protestant context and Ford's was being applied in the United Kingdom having been developed in North America. These factors explain some of the limitations of the attempt here to apply the systems to the UK CCR, but the issue of context is something that is much more fundamental in any study of this sort. In order to provide comparative studies in any typological approach, a system is needed that has the potential to be applied in a broad range of social and cultural contexts. The binomial systems of Walker and Ford not only had limited applicability beyond their original contexts but also failed to distinguish between phenomena that presented similarly but had quite different meanings in the different expressions of the UK CCR. If Geertz is taken as our reference here and we seek a 'thick description' of the expressions of the

movement and to understand what each means when it metaphorically 'winks', then these systems do not allow us to do so.

The above criticism of the systems proposed by Walker and Ford, and by implication many other systems rooted in linear and binomial classification, is by no means a dismissal of their value entirely. Their simplicity is itself a strength and allows for relatively rapid and meaningful initial classification, provided allowances are made for context. Depth of understanding is more difficult to achieve and calls for a more complex and nuanced analysis.

It was in recognition of the potential need for a more nuanced analysis that the third system of classification, that put forward by James Hopewell and developed from Northrop Frye, was included in this study. On the face of it, Frye's extensive system of classification of myth types provides many advantages. Myth, as understood by Frye, presents stories that consider and try to make sense of the full range of human experiences and beliefs. A system that can reflect this universality has the potential to avoid the problems of context highlighted above. The question is whether such a system of literary classification and analysis can meaningfully be applied to the understanding of real world human experiences, behaviours and beliefs expressed not through direct storytelling but through day to day phenomena. Hopewell certainly believed so, and having spent time with a number of Protestant congregations in the United States put forward his system rooted in the recognition of the underlying story of the community through numerous expressions of experience and emphasis of phenomena.[78] He managed to achieve an impressive and convincing level of definition

[78] Hopewell, J.F. *Congregation: Stories and Structures*, pp.119ff.

in his classification system that allowed seemingly closely aligned congregations to be differentiated based on their group narratives. Clearly, if context was a barrier then the application of Hopewell's system was more likely to meet with problems than either Walker's or Ford's. Percy has demonstrated its application outside the initial context of congregational studies in his study of the Toronto Airport Church where he successfully considered worldview characteristics of this Pentecostal phenomenon.[79] Hopewell was not alone in his application of Frye's system beyond literary analysis of myth. Hayden White has successfully applied Frye's system to the analysis of historical texts and Schaefer has applied the method in psychoanalysis.[80] In White's consideration of nineteenth-century historical texts he demonstrates the considerable impact of worldview, as classified using Frye's system, on 'realist' thinkers. Thus, events and phenomena are interpreted as having significantly different implications based on worldview characteristics.[81] Frye's system of analysis has thus demonstrated potential for application in diverse circumstances so there was some rationale for testing its application to the question of a Catholic movement in the UK and the question of whether what was being considered was a single movement.

In order to draw any final conclusion on the value of the Hopewell/Frye approach in the context of seeking a deeper understanding of the UK CCR it is worth summarising the key aspects of the movement in its individual manifestations and as a whole.

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[79] Percy, M. "Adventure and Atrophy in a Charismatic Movement: Returning to the 'Toronto Blessing'", 71-90

[80] White, H. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1973); White, H. *The Fiction of Narrative*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010); Schaefer, R. *A New Language for Psychoanalysis*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976).

[81] White, H. *Metahistory*, pp.18-24.

Perhaps the two most important words that run as a thread through the application of the Hopewell/Frye method are 'Romance' and 'Tragedy'. As noted in the consideration of the Miracle Rally it would have been a considerable surprise had the notion of a romantic worldview not pervaded this encounter with the CCR. Hopewell uses the terms charismatic and romantic to define this particular worldview.[82] The fact that the stories presented by the Catholic Charismatic groups encountered here align with this provides an important reference point for calibration of this method. Prior to this study a charismatic/romantic worldview could be predicted with such confidence that had it not manifested it would have been valid to dismiss the system. This alone does not, however, provide conclusive vindication for the method as a whole; for this further evidence is required.

The second key word, 'tragedy', was far less predictable in light of the mixed heritage of this group. Hopewell did not provide any study or analysis of what might be expected from a Roman Catholic perspective in his worldview system, but his canonic/tragic negotiation does appear to align quite clearly with Catholic ecclesiology. Allowance is required for the fact that in Hopewell's study he considered only Protestant groups and thus within his description of cognitive features he considers the focus of integrity to be Scripture; whereas in a Catholic context this should be replaced by, or at least supplemented with, sacramentality and Tradition. Once this is done a strong correlation with Catholic worldviews in narrative is evident. The CCR are not simply a Catholic movement, however. As the consideration of the origin myths in section 1.3 suggests, the movement is in something of a struggle to locate itself within

[82] Hopewell, J.F. *Congregation: Stories and Structures*, pp.67-79.

the dynamic interaction of Catholicism and Pentecostalism from which it derives elements of its identity, theology and praxis. A Pentecostal worldview would not immediately suggest a tragic negotiation but is just as likely to present as a gnostic/comedic worldview. A romantic comedy is just as likely as a romantic tragedy in Hopewell's system. Yet, for the CCR encountered in this study, the story was essentially the latter genre. Only one expression of the UK CCR presented with traits of Romantic Comedy and this was the Catholic Miracle Rally considered in Chapter 4.

The Catholic Miracle Rally, or perhaps more accurately the leadership of *Cor et lumen Christi*, stands out from the rest of the CCR in the UK as encountered in this study in a number of ways both in terms of the phenomena observed and the underlying beliefs and worldviews they revealed. One feature that was perhaps not unique to the Miracle Rally but was certainly seen more strongly expressed there than elsewhere was anti-intellectualism. This was observed in several speakers such as Michelle Moran, John Vaughan-Neil and Damian Stayne and was also evident in the tone of some interviews and informal conversations that took place during breaks. It was never clear whether the speakers were playing to the expectations of the audience or whether the audience were responding to the tone set by speakers. What was clear was that all appeared entirely comfortable with the notion of playing down the value of intellectual endeavour in the realm of faith. This was presented as placing a barrier between oneself and the Holy Spirit; the Spirit being seen as belonging to the 'heart' rather than the 'head'. This dualism, in itself, is interesting and warrants further exploration that was beyond the scope of this study. In terms of the analysis here there do appear to be two important themes that illuminate the romantic/comedic negotiation outlined above. Firstly, 'heart' over 'head' is clearly deeply romantic in nature and thus closely aligned

with the romantic view seen throughout the CCR. Immanence is central to this view and 'heart' is functioning here as an expression of unmediated engagement with the Spirit. This is, of course, despite the strong Catholic tradition of catechesis on the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit that include wisdom, understanding, counsel and knowledge and are seen to make the Christian "*docile in following the promptings of the Holy Spirit*".[83] This teaching would seem to suggest that the intellect is a route to openness to the Holy Spirit rather than a barrier but does not seem to find expression in the Miracle Rally. The second theme is that in directing away from the value of the notion of the intellect in faith, and towards a simpler 'heart' based belief, guardianship of knowledge is maintained with those in authority. This may explain why anti-intellectualism is more pronounced at the Miracle Rally than elsewhere in the CCR as the other component of the Miracle Rally worldview which is apparent is the comedic element. In Frye's terms the comedic worldview is essentially gnostic in nature where coming to knowledge, that is unknown to most, is the key to salvation.[84] Control of knowledge is vital to the leadership of such organisations in order to prevent fracturing and the formation of sects. It would seem that, to some extent, the leadership of *Cor et lumen Christi*, whilst not priests in the Catholic ecclesial sense, do function similarly in their possession of knowledge. This differentiates this expression of the CCR from others with their more tragic view in which knowledge of the path is known and is to be followed.

[83] See *Catechism of The Catholic Church*, paragraphs 1830 and 1831. The other three gifts listed are fortitude, piety and fear of the Lord.

[84] Frye, N. *Anatomy of Criticism*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), p.163-186.

Evangelisation in the Miracle Rally was also quite different to that seen elsewhere in this study with a more obvious exterior focus. Evangelisation as observed here was much more akin to the typical notions of evangelisation as a primary expression of the Gospel message, typically to those who have not heard the message before. Other expressions of the CCR tended to concentrate their 'evangelisation' on Catholic groups, seeking recruitment to the movement rather than any notion of primary conversion. Again, this is congruent with the more comedic worldview and also reflects more strongly the Pentecostal heritage of the CCR as seen in the Miracle Rally than that seen in the expressions with a more tragic view.

The most significant divergence in terms of worldview between the Miracle Rally and the rest of the CCR encountered in this study became evident in the notion of healing which, as discussed, is presented in essentially comedic/gnostic terms. Seeking and granting forgiveness are presented as key requirements in the reception of healing, both spiritual and physical. This is not linked with sacramental penance and forgiveness but with acceptance of the knowledge that this is the key to what can be considered the 'heart' level as considered above.

The Miracle Rally may then be the expression of the CCR that most closely holds on to its Pentecostal heritage, as seen in its comedic worldview elements and also in its closer alignment with Ford's Type I charismatics, but this description does not by any means fully capture its nature. Along with the other expressions of the CCR it shows elements of being significantly catholicised and having a number of characteristics in common with the other forms of the movement. This raises the important question of what might be considered common elements of the diverse expressions of the CCR in the UK.

Glossolalia is perhaps the obvious target. It is one of the most distinctive features of many Catholic Charismatic expressions and is one of the few phenomena that many people encountered during this study referred to when asked about the CCR. There were several occasions, however, when glossolalia was not a key part of an expression observed or was completely absent. The small prayer groups were perhaps the most obvious example, as was the earlier parts of my experience with the Life in the Spirit group. These were undoubtedly still Catholic Charismatic groups despite their lack of speaking in tongues. Also, it must be noted that many participants in all aspects encountered here also reported not speaking in tongues or rarely doing so. Csordas similarly reports significant numbers of CCR participants not speaking in tongues in his study of groups in the United States.[85] Drawing on the work of Westley who studied charismatic groups in the 1970s, Csordas suggests that what is more important is the experience of "sharing" life experiences, something which he identifies as a form of ritual language.[86] The results of this study would not lead one to argue with this conclusion as sharing was intrinsic to all expressions of the CCR from sharing of healing stories at the Miracle Rally, through the intimate family stories of the Life in the Spirit seminar and the small prayer groups, to the use of intimate sharing of speakers at conferences. This intimacy was indeed universal and would seem to reflect closely the intimacy of the romantic narrative each expression displayed. There is, however, a difficulty with simply using intimate sharing as a defining characteristic of the CCR and that is that such sharing is by no means unique to the CCR or charismatic spirituality in general. Hopewell presents quite intimate levels of sharing of personal

[85] Csordas, T. *Language, Charisma, & Creativity.* (New York: Palgrave, 1997), pp.49-51.

[86] Ibid., p.50; Westley, F.R. Searching for Surrender: A Catholic Charismatic Renewal Group's Attempt to Become Glossolalic. *American Behavioural Scientist*. 20: 925-940.

and group narratives within congregations that are not charismatic in nature and indeed show a strong empiric dimension to their worldview.[87] Sharing is without a doubt important, indeed essential, in the CCR and perhaps all religious groups of diverse worldviews but in itself it does not define the group. What appears to be more important is the nature of the story that is shared and the manner in which it is told. If we are to accept the Hopewell/Frye system then it would seem that the manner of telling is that of romance, and typically a romantic tragedy with a few small exceptions. There do also seem to be some common themes within the narratives which allow the CCR to be distinguished from non-Catholic charismatic groups and as a specific movement within the host Roman Catholic Church.

In his consideration of the essence of Pentecostal theology, and baptism in the Spirit in particular, Macchia concludes that the primary theological distinctive of Pentecostalism is eschatology.[88] He is by no means the first to emphasise the importance of eschatology in Pentecostal theology. Some twenty years before Macchia, Dayton pointed to the centrality of eschatology in the development, appeal and spread of Pentecostalism, stating that eschatology:

> "*appears even in the Catholic Charismatic Movement where the themes of classical Pentecostalism have been most transformed by a new theological context"*[89]

Whilst maintaining that a central role exists for Baptism in the Spirit and other aspects of Pentecostal praxis, Macchia concludes that all other theological emphases

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[87] Hopewell, J.F. *Congregation: Stories and Structures*. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), pp.119-138.

[88] Macchia, F. D. *Baptized in the Spirit: A Global Pentecostal Theology*. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2006), p.38.

[89] Dayton, D.W. *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988), p.143.

and features of Pentecostalism are at the service of the single eschatological focus of Pentecostalism.[90] The outcomes of this current study of the CCR in the UK would seem to support his conclusions. There are many aspects of the CCR observed during this study that point to highly experiential and emotional features of the movement, including individualistic and nationalistic concerns. It would be wrong, however, to suggest that these are the primary concerns of those in the movement. As Damian Stayne suggested in his call for people to commit to social action during the Miracle Rally it would be easy to dismiss the CCR as concerned with personal experience and spirituality but as was seen elsewhere, such as in Belfast, the CCR does also manifest significant social concern. The universal thread that was observable in each of the narratives seen during this study was the notion of the immanence of God and the imminence of the end times. Features of Pentecostalism such as Baptism in the Spirit, glossolalia, emotionalism and evangelisation are certainly found in the CCR but there are certain expressions where one or more of these characteristics are absent. Eschatology in an Adventist and dispensationalist form was, however, observable in all manifestations.

In some manifestations the eschatology was obvious and explicit with speakers asserting the imminent end of time and the urgency of both spiritual warfare and evangelisation. In other manifestations the eschatological focus was more cryptic and was revealed through conversational topics and the subject matter of prayer. The primary and most widespread expression of the eschatology that links the CCR with its Pentecostal roots is to be found in Marian devotion. As Balaban suggests, devotion to

[90] Macchia, F. D. *Baptized in the Spirit*, pp.39-49.

Mary is fundamentally apocalyptic and frequently millenarian in nature.[91] The history of devotion to Mary in the Catholic Church is long and intimately linked with eschatology. Through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries devotions to particular apparitions of Mary such as at Rue de Bac and Lourdes in France, Fatima in Portugal and Medjugorje in Bosnia have had deeply apocalyptic overtones associated with their pronouncements. Marian devotion has been associated with highly conservative aspects of traditional Catholicism and more than one person encountered during this study expressed surprise at devotion to the Blessed Virgin being part of Charismatic spirituality. It is perhaps of little surprise, however, that a group such as the CCR defined by an apocalyptic eschatology should assimilate such an eschatologically focussed devotion already existing within the host Church. Marian devotion provides a clear outlet for the Pentecostal eschatology that is central to the CCR whilst also providing evidence of orthodoxy and belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. Thus, nearly all expressions of the CCR encountered here demonstrated routine Marian devotion in the form of the Marian iconography, the Rosary, the Angelus and petitionary prayer. Many showed more particular expressions such as devotion to Our Lady of Medjugorje or Our Lady of Knock which both have strong apocalyptic messages associated with the apparitions reported at these sites. It is possible on the evidence gathered here to assert that the primary method by which Pentecostalism has been incorporated into a Catholic context is through such Marian devotion. This accounts to some extent why, over the past few decades, charismatic spirituality has become somewhat concealed with the Church. It has not gone but has been transformed into more familiar expressions, particularly those associated with the

[91] Balaban, V. "Marianism" in: *Encyclopedia of Millennialism and Millennial Movements*. R. Landes (Ed). (Routledge: New York, 2000)

Blessed Virgin but also some others with similar messages such as the Divine Mercy devotions, as seen in the Friday Group in Chapter 5.3.

It is the context of this eschatological focus of the CCR, that the defining characteristic of the movement becomes clear. Whilst not all members of the CCR offer prophecy, or claim to receive direct prophetic revelations, it was clear in this study that all felt empowered to engage in the interpretation of prophecy at some level. There was certainly evidence of significant efforts by some leaders to control prophecy and to provide some degree of official interpretation, but both in formal and informal settings it was clear that all members had little hesitation in providing their own view on prophecies given during meetings, those shared between members informally or those received from outside sources such as national and international CCR communications, or from apparitions of the Virgin Mary. Prophecy, more than any other charism, is the one most closely associated with eschatology; both are concerned with time and making sense of the past, the present and the future of the movement and the individuals within it. As discussed in the context of the thought of Carroll, Hanson, Troeltsch and Weber, the ease with which prophecy moves to apocalyptic in the face of cognitive dissonance suggests their intimate link in making sense of time. Indeed, I would argue that the transition from one to the other is essentially the product of the passage of time in the context of specific expectations which do not need to be proved false but simply not fulfilled within a period of time that feels acceptable. The acceptable time period here appears to be the lifespan of a generation moving from early adulthood to old age and seeing no significant new generation to take over from them. The potential for corporate and individual annihilation would seem more than enough to provide the conditions for dissonance.

Time also has an important influence on a movement such as the CCR due to the significant social and ecclesial changes that have taken place in the five decades since its recognised beginnings within the Catholic Church. The CCR in the UK, and in Ireland as encountered in this study, sits within the context of the development of Catholicism and wider Christian developments on a national and local scale. Since the emergence of the movement in the late 1960s there have been considerable social shifts politically, economically and in terms of moral acceptability of many issues that would be considered important in a Catholic worldview. Whilst not explored deeply here it was clear from numerous encounters that such issues were important for many members. The focus on family in the prayers and talks given, with intercession being sought in areas such as adult children cohabiting, homosexuality or pregnancy outside marriage, indicate that sexual morality was a deep concern and often at odds with wider social values. This disconnect between values held within the movement and those of wider society is also a potential contributor to a sense of cognitive dissonance as the world appears to be slipping away from the path of the Gospel, despite the efforts and expectations of the movement.

Ecclesial changes, or perhaps at times absence of change, is possibly even more important in the development of the CCR and its growing tendency towards apocalyptic views. As discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis, the post Vatican II Church has been a somewhat confusing place for all members and not least those in the CCR, not always for the same reasons of course. Some Catholics reacted very strongly to the proposed reforms of the Council and a degree of schism occurred, although it should be noted

that this was quite limited.[92] Most people simply accepted changes as they came along, with a mild discontent in some cases and a welcome response from others. It would seem that in the first couple of decades following the Council, the expectations of members of the CCR were high and that they saw themselves as pioneers in liturgy, spirituality and lay empowerment. The 1975 prophecies at St Peters certainly reveal a great deal of expectation and are not out of step with the tone of the movement at this time. As considered in Chapter 6, the following decades have resulted in comparatively few changes of the type expected in those early years. The papacies of John Paul II and Benedict XVI saw increasing centralisation of power and an emphasis on clerical authority. Liturgical reform, whilst bringing significant changes compared to pre-Vatican II experiences, did not produce a wide movement towards charismatic worship. It should be noted, however, that many hymns that were once considered charismatic in nature are now found within mainstream Catholic hymnbooks.

Personal spirituality has certainly developed significantly over the past fifty years with a growth in lay involvement with numerous forms of spirituality beyond liturgical and formal devotions. It would seem that the CCR has become largely located within this area of Catholic life, as a form of spiritual expression amongst many others. For most members this appears to be where they are most happy to locate the movement and they have little interest in the CCR impinging on their life beyond prayer groups, occasional days of renewal and annual conferences.

[92] Perhaps the most high-profile incident was that of Archbishop Marcel Lefebre who left the Catholic Church and founded the Society of St. Pius X in reaction to liturgical and other changes in Vatican II.

It is this final group, the majority of CCR members, which presents a narrative that is romantic in terms of the relationship with God and expectations of Him. It is also tragic in the sense of being deeply catholicised and having a clear trajectory and path guided by set rules that will lead to heaven. Another group of CCR members, although very small, does exist and when considered in light of reports from writers such as Ford, Laurentin, and Fichter in the 1970s, they seem to be something of a remnant of a large, perhaps even dominant, worldview amongst the CCR in its early years. In this study this group was exemplified by *Cor et lumen Christi* who presented a worldview which whilst romantic in nature was also comedic in the belief that gaining of certain levels of knowledge would bring about the happy end of harmony and salvation. Time then appears to have acted on a key element of the charismatic worldview when placed in the setting of the Roman Catholic Church. A shift from prophetic movement to an apocalyptic one. A move from something of a reforming sect to one seeking lasting structures and a second generation, something more of an ecclesial structure. In Frye's terms, it is a movement that has shifted its worldview from the rising sun of the East and its comedic/gnostic views, through the southern trajectory of romance, towards the setting sun of the West in a tragic/canonic view. As Ricoeur suggests, time is central to any narrative.[93] Narratives seek to make sense of time, bringing together the personal and cosmic levels of time. In the story of the CCR encountered in the UK it appears that as time itself has passed the narrative to make sense of it has adapted, been re-expressed, and moved closer to that rooted in the host Church.

[93] Ricoeur, P. *Time and Narrative: Volume 1*., p.87.

So, is the CCR a single movement? Yes, but it is one on a journey in which it is aligning itself with the Catholic Church and finding its place within it, and not all expressions appear to be at the same point in that journey. Many aspects have been incorporated into traditional Catholic devotions and activities and so are hard to recognise on a day-to-day basis, but they can be recognised in the context of the general narrative of the movement which presents a prophetic and apocalyptic thread in the story of the Roman Catholic Church over the last fifty years.

7.2 Final Reflections

As he wrote the book that has proved central to this analysis of the CCR, James Hopewell was dying of cancer.[94] He gives an account of the stories told by various friends and colleagues as they attempted to make sense of this most serious of all elements of a narrative: the end. The stories he encountered fell into each of the mythic genres outlined by Frye and considered in this study; from the comedic tales of hospital chaplains who advised that greater knowledge of his condition and his body could bring healing through to the ironic tales of colleagues who saw no hope for healing and instead prayed for emotional wellbeing and skilled care.[95] As a reference point in the classification system used here this raises the interesting question of what a member of the CCR may have said to Hopewell, or someone in a similar position. A member of *Cor et lumen Christi* might well have provided a narrative that reflected, to some degree, that of the hospital chaplains. Their belief in the acceptance of certain knowledge as a

[94] Hopewell, J.F. *Congregation: Stories and Structures*, pp.55ff.

[95] Ibid., pp.57-62.

path to healing and a happy ending places them in a similar comedic setting but, along with the other Charismatics encountered in this study, the dominant worldview for them remains a romantic one. Romance brings with it too the hope of healing and a happy ending, but this comes not through knowledge but through abandonment to God and allowing Him to dwell within the hero. This can bring about miracles as God acts directly in the world through this deep immanence. Such a narrative is, I think, what would form the backbone of a narrative offered by most members of the CCR.

The CCR members and the narratives that their groups present is not simply one of romance but also one of tragedy. As such one might expect their stories to a dying person to also contain elements of what is quite a different view of their prognosis. There could be no expectation of a miracle. Rather, the patient who is the hero of the plot, must submit to the inevitability of the progress of their illness and seek unity with God's will before the end. This would seem quite incompatible with the Romantic vision that underpins the Charismatic worldview and, yet, it is this tragic view that defines that of Roman Catholicism. As such, this deathbed image seems to encapsulate the dilemma and the oxymoronic nature of being a Catholic Charismatic as mentioned at the very beginning of this study. One appears to require an emphasis on the tragic image of a helpless God nailed to a cross whilst the other dwells on God as powerful and immanent Spirit.

The key to understanding the coexistence of these seemingly exclusive emphases is the notion of plot in the story, which enables time to be brought into the picture. The other key components of a story, namely setting and character, are static unless the plot of a story is allowed to develop. It is in the unfolding, thickening and twists of the plot that richness is brought to the story and the development takes place. The plot brings

crises, challenges and turns that cannot be answered in the same way each time. New solutions and views must be tried and tested. If they do not radically contradict the core values of the community then they can be incorporated and provide a richness to the worldview. Plot links events together and provides a meaning through the common binding threads. As such it is perhaps impossible to gain an understanding of the true nature of a community or movement without seeking to understand the plot that links their history, their present and their hopes for the future. In reconciling romantic and tragic worldviews in their plot the CCR has maintained a sense of themselves as heroes in God's story of the world, central to his plan and passionately loved. As such they are perhaps somewhat introverted and perhaps narcissistic. There is also something of the schizophrenic that is held in tension between the belief and desire for intervention and miracles in this world and a sense of a path to be followed in obedience. They hold this together not simply through compartmentalisation, which would be one option, but rather through a shift from temporal expectation to eschatological hope. This current time, *chronos*, is a time of tragedy but it sits within a broader scheme of time, *chiros*, that belongs to God and is deeply romantic.

At all stages in this study I have tried to remain faithful to the self-understanding of the groups encountered and sought to avoid reductive presentations of their behaviours and beliefs. I have always accepted their beliefs as genuinely held and do not seek in any way to explain away their faith and practices. This would go beyond both the limits of the methods employed and also the aims of the study. To attempt otherwise would be as pointless as attempting to explain why a person loves another and would assume a power of analysis that exceeds any science, including the social sciences employed here. I have, inevitably, brought my own values and experiences into this study for good or ill.

Where they show through it perhaps shows one of the limitations of studies of this nature but perhaps also a strength in allowing empathy and experience to play a part.

The use of the Hopewell analysis does provide some important insights, I believe, that allow us to move beyond static interpretations of phenomena, symbols and beliefs to create a more dynamic view of a faith community. It is not perfect, as I have alluded to several times and there is much room for its development but his bringing together of the powerful insights of Frye and Geertz has much to offer in this field, and perhaps also more broadly. Indeed, as a point of reference and analysis it encourages the 'thick description' desired by Geertz that allows deeper understanding, in this case moving beyond the thin gathering of facts performed by a chronicler into the deeper understanding presented by a biographer, historian or storyteller. In the case of the groups studied here it has allowed narratives with diverse settings and characters to be linked together through common themes of the shared plot of their stories.

This study has, then, looked at phenomena within diverse groups that share some form of heritage and traced back the themes that hold them together as they evolve into a catholicised form of Pentecostalism. At times the linkages are deeply buried, but they are there. Perhaps most intriguing has been the move towards the apocalyptic as each expression develops in its own maturity. The study has also presented a model of analysis and applied it. Within the limits of its nature, and the aims of its application, it has provided some novel insights. This study also sits within a greater body of knowledge and study of religious communities generally and the CCR more specifically. In the depth and thickness of its approach it has, I believe, enabled greater understanding of the CCR in the UK, and the movement more generally, as well as some further vindication of the methods employed.

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Appendix 1: Images

Images of *Cor et lumen Christi* events. (Source: *Cor et lumen Christi* website: http://www.coretlumenchristi.org/



Image 1.1. Elevation of the monstrance with priest's arms supported by participants. Damian Stayne can be seen to the left with arms raised wearing the uniform and cross of the community.



Image 1.2. Procession of the Blessed Sacrament with participants reaching out to touch as it passes.



Image 1.3. Miracle Rally at the Friends Meeting House, Euston.



Image 2.1



Image 2.2

Irish National Charismatic Conference 2014 showing leadership group. Also visible are the enthroned Gospel in the foreground (Image 2.1), the centrally placed Marian Icon, the lectern frontispiece showing an image of Pentecost and banner calling on the Holy Spirit to Come (Image 2.2). (Photo: Tim Nichols.) https://plus.google.com/photos/112340098365169075329/albums/6029911709396655681?banner=pwa)



Image 2.3. Enthroned Gospel and Marian icon at front of the stage. Athlone conference.



Image 2.4. Banner at Athlone conference showing map of Ireland and heart shape over the location of Athlone.



Image 2.5. Banner of the Monaghan Charismatic Prayer Group, representated at the Irish national conference. The banner shows clear nationalist, Eucharistic and Marian imagery alongside more typical Charismatic images such as flames and a dove.

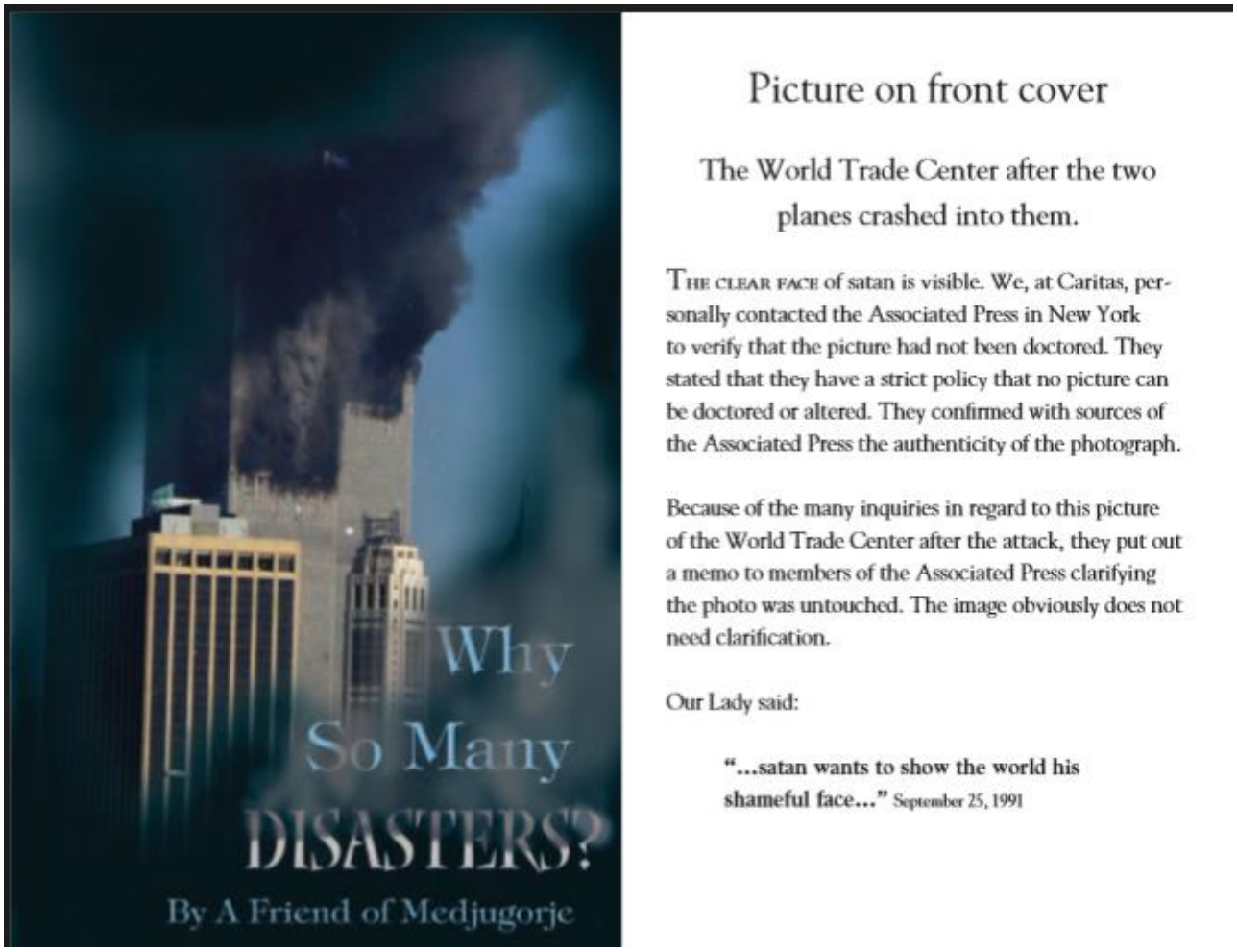

Image 3. The cover and first page of the *Why so many Disasters?* leaflet given out by prayer group members.

Appendix 2. **Prophecies Given at St. Peter's Basilica during the Closing Eucharist on Pentecost Monday—May 1975**

"Because I love you, I want to show you what I am doing in the world today. I want to prepare you for what is to come. Days of darkness are coming on the world, days of tribulation….Buildings that are now standing will not be standing. Supports that are there for my people now will not be there. I want you to be prepared, my people, to know only me and to cleave to me and to have me in a way deeper than ever before. I will lead you into the desert…I will strip you of everything that you are depending on now, so you depend just on me. A time of darkness is coming on the world, but a time of glory is coming for my church, a time of glory is coming for my people. I will pour out on you all the gifts of my spirit. I will prepare you for spiritual combat; I will prepare you for a time of evangelism that the world has never seen…. And when you have nothing but me, you will have everything: land, fields, homes, and brothers and sisters and love and joy and peace more than ever before. Be ready, my people, I want to prepare you…" *(given by Ralph Martin)*

"I speak to you of the dawn of a 'new age' for my church. I speak to you of a day that has not been seen before….Prepare yourselves for the action that I begin now, because things that you see around you will change; the combat that you must enter now is different; it is new. You need wisdom from me that you do not yet have.

You need the power of my Holy Spirit in a way that you have not possessed it; you need an understanding of my will and of the ways that I work that you do not yet have. Open your eyes, open your hearts to prepare yourselves for me and for the day that I

have now begun. My church will be different; my people will be different; difficulties and trials will come upon you. The comfort that you know now will be far from you, but the comfort that you will have is the comfort of my Holy Spirit. They will send for you, to take your life, but I will support you. Come to me. Band yourselves together, around me. Prepare, for I proclaim a new day, a day of victory and of triumph for your God. Behold, it is begun." *(given by Bruce Yocum)*

"…I will renew my church. I will renew my people. I will make my people one. I am calling you to turn away from the pleasures of the world. I am calling you to turn away from the desires of the world. I am calling you to turn away from seeking the approval of the world in your lives. I want to transform your lives….I have a word for my church. I am sounding my call. I am forming a mighty army….My power is upon them. They will follow my chosen shepherd(s)….

Be the shepherds I have called you to be….I am renewing my people. I will renew my Church. I will free the world."

"Know that I, your God, brought Peter and Paul to Rome to witness to my glory. I have chosen you also and have brought you to Rome to bear witness to my glory, confirmed now by your shepherd. Go forth to the healing of the nations. Know that I am with you; and though you may pass through tribulation and trial, I will be with you even to the end. I am preparing a place for you in glory. Look to me and I will deliver you from the power of the evil one. Behold I am with you now, all days, even till the end of time."

"You have known the truth these days. You have experienced the truth these days. It is clear to you at this moment what the truth is. It is the truth of my kingdom, my kingdom that will prevail….I want you to take that truth, to rest in that truth, to believe in that truth, not to compromise it, not to lose it in confusion, not to be timid about it, but to stand simply, in love, but to stand simply, firmly rooted in the truth as foundation stones upon which my Church can have new life and new power."

Appendix 3. Interview Respondents

Appendix 3.1. St. Michael's house group

Shirley

Shirley is in her mid-sixties, white and middle class. For a significant proportion of her married life she was a full-time parent, raising three children. After the youngest child started secondary school she worked part-time as a doctor's receptionist. She is a cradle Catholic and has practised her faith all of her life, although she admits to being not so diligent for a while in her early twenties. She is married to Tom (see below) and both have been involved with the Catholic Charismatic Renewal since they were a young married couple in the late 1970s. She and Tom have been members of several prayer groups, due to moving home a couple of times during their married life, but she feels that their strongest experiences were in the early days when a number of young families came together in the parish and prayer group. She and Tom were key members in the decision to form a new group at St Michael's following changes at their own parish over a period which saw increased representation of Filipino members.

Shirley was interviewed twice in 2010. Once on her own for one hour. The second time with Tom for about ninety minutes. The first interview took place at St Michael's parish centre, the second in the family home. Shirley appeared keen to share her experiences of the CCR at all stages.

Tom

Tom is married to Shirley and is also in his mid-sixties. Most of his working life was in management at a number of manufacturing and engineering companies. At the time of the interviews he was preparing to retire from his current role within the next eighteen months. He too is a cradle Catholic and he and Shirley met through a mutual acquaintance at Church.

Tom was interviewed once, with Shirley, at the family home. My initial feeling was that Tom was somewhat suspicious of my intentions initially but by the end of my time with the group he appeared more relaxed. It may be my initial feelings were a misinterpretation of a slightly reticent character.

Margaret

Margaret is a retired primary school teacher in her late sixties who taught at Catholic schools throughout her career, including the local parish school for most of that time. She is married and has two children and three grandchildren. Her husband was also involved in the house group but was not interviewed. She is a cradle Catholic, but her husband converted when they got married forty-two years ago. They have both been involved in the CCR since 1984 and were part of the group that helped to found the new prayer group at St. Michael's.

Margaret was interviewed once in 2010 for eighty minutes at St. Michael's parish centre.

Jacob

Jacob is sixty years old and works in local government. He and his wife Vanessa have lived in the area for over thirty years and were involved in the CCR before they came. They were members of the prayer group in the other parish and came across with the others to help form the new group at St. Michael's. Jacob plays the guitar and regularly provides music for the large monthly prayer group. He is Catholic by birth and he and Vanessa have three adult children, one of whom still lives with them, and one grandchild.

Vanessa

Vanessa is fifty-nine and works as a university administrator. She took a career break of approximately ten years when the children were young. She is also Catholic by birth and feels that she and Jacob work hard to encourage their elder daughter to bring up their granddaughter as a Catholic but is not sure how successful they are.

Jacob and Vanessa were interviewed together in their family home for two hours in 2010.

Appendix 3.2. St. Michael's Friday Group

Yvonne

Yvonne is a fifty-seven-year-old nurse from just outside Glasgow who moved down south in the mid-80s to work in a London hospital. There she met her husband who now

works as a GP and is also a Catholic. She has four children, two of whom have left home. One of her children is still at university in Manchester and is involved in the Catholic chaplaincy there.

Yvonne was born a Catholic and has a strong sense of her Catholic cultural identity, commenting at one point about Celtic football club being the only other faith allowed in her house. She and her husband were both involved in the CCR for a couple of decades before moving to help set up the new group at St. Michael's.

She was interviewed once in 2010 for one hour at St. Michael's parish centre.

Ailish

Ailish is sixty-eight and was widowed four years ago. She has two children and four grandchildren who all live nearby. Her son and his family still attend mass regularly. Her daughter is less frequent but will attend several times each year.

Ailish is originally from Ireland and came over to England in the 1970s. She initially worked in the office of a nearby bakery before stopping work to raise the children. She did some part-time administrative work in her fifties before retiring at sixty.

Ailish was interviewed for one hour at St. Michael's in 2010.

Brenda

Brenda works as a cleaner in the local primary school and has done so for about ten years. She is fifty-five, married and has two adult children. Her daughter is away working, and her son lives nearby with his wife and two young children. Her son

doesn't attend mass, and this is a source of sadness to her, especially as he has young children. Brenda blames her daughter-in-law for preventing the family from attending mass as she isn't a Catholic. This particularly annoys Brenda as she too wasn't born a Catholic but regular brought her children to mass, even when her Catholic husband didn't attend. Brenda converted to Catholicism in her thirties when the children were young.

Brenda was interviewed for one hour in 2010 at St. Michael's.

Appendix 3.3. Our Lady of Lourdes

Sarah

Sarah is in her early fifties and married to Jim. Together they took the lead roles in bringing the Life in the Spirit seminars to Our Lady of Lourdes and have two children, both in their late teens. Sarah works at a local further education college teaching English and adult literacy and has lived in the parish for over ten years. She has been involved with the CCR since the late eighties and came in through Life in the Spirit seminars; she has also helped organise seminars before. She and Jim have wanted to run seminars in the parish before, but felt they were a "*bit too new*" in the parish to be suggesting renewal. She doesn't feel that ten years is necessary but that before you can offer seminars in this way "*people need to know that you are really part of the parish*". Also, a factor in her decision to run the seminars was the recent death of her mother whom she credits with bringing her up in a strong Catholic ethos.

Five informal interviews took place with Sarah before, during and after the seminar series in late 2010 and early 2011, all at Our Lady of Lourdes. On two occasions, these also included Jim.

Jim

Jim, like Sarah, is also in his early fifties and is also a cradle Catholic. He works as a manager in the headquarters of a large retail chain and plays guitar in a band that gigs most weekends, playing largely soul and funk music. He had encountered aspects of the CCR as he grew up due to an active group in his parish and their influence over a youth fellowship he joined at fifteen and where he "*got the bug for playing the guitar*". He looks on those times fondly. It wasn't until the late eighties when, as a young couple, he and Sarah took part in Life in the Spirit that he really became involved. Even though there has been no prayer group in Our Lady of Lourdes, both he and Sarah have been regular attendees in a nearby town.

Four informal interviews took place with Jim over the course of the seminars, and after, in late 2010 and early 2011. Two of those were together with Sarah.

Gareth

Gareth is from South Africa, white, and has lived in the UK for nearly twenty years. He works for a large engineering company and is married with four children. He is in his late fifties and regularly attends the Charismatic prayer group in the large town near Our Lady of Lourdes, which Sarah and Jim also attend. He became involved in the CCR in South Africa in his early twenties due to the influence of some local Jesuit priests who regularly held prayer meetings. Since coming to England, he has also

become involved in a men's Charismatic group that hold regular meetings in London and annual events at a large residential centre. He became involved in this series of seminars when Sarah and Jim asked for some help to lead small discussion groups at their regular prayer meeting.

I had numerous informal interviews with Gareth during the course of the seminars and one longer, one hour, interview after the series of seminars.

Appendix 3.4. Large established prayer group

Gavin

Gavin is white, 58 and works in an accountancy and professional services company. He has been a member of the St John's prayer group 'core group' for over ten years. He has been involved with the CCR since his late teens and it is an important part of his Catholicism. His only daughter has left home and only goes to mass when she comes to visit her parents "*to keep her mum happy*" says Gavin. His wife also attends the prayer group regularly. He admits to feeling exhausted and frustrated by the way things have gone in the parish and with the prayer group in particular. He also understands that members have less energy as they get older, but he feels they could make more effort, that they have "*handed themselves over*" to forces that want to "*grind them down*". He has tried in the past to re-energise things in the group but feels that he is at the point of giving up. I interviewed Gavin formally for one hour in March 2011 and had several less formal conversations with him at prayer meetings over the course of my time with them.

Laurence

Laurence is seventy and married with two adult daughters and three grandchildren. He and his wife have both been involved in the CCR since the late 1970s, and have attended a large number of conferences and days of renewal. This is the only prayer group that they have ever been members of.

Laurence was not interviewed formally but gave informal interviews at a number of coffee breaks during prayer meetings.

Eileen

Eileen is seventy-one years old and lives on her own since she was widowed five years ago. Her children have all left home. Two are married and she has five grandchildren. She was married to Bobby who was a project manager with a large construction company. Eileen is a retired nurse. Both she and Bobby come from a small town in Limerick and came over to England shortly after getting married in 1974. At first, they lived in Birmingham before moving down to the south of England when Bobby was placed on a large road building project in the 1980s. They became involved in the CCR in Birmingham soon after joining their new parish. This was extremely lively and they became deeply involved on the local, regional and the national level. After moving to southern England, they helped establish a new prayer group, not at St John's but in a nearby town. They were also instrumental in helping to develop and promote the Celebrate conferences in Southampton, along with Charles and Sue Whitehead.

In addition to several informal conversations with Eileen one interview took place at St. John's for ninety minutes in May 2011.

Patricia

Patricia is sixty-seven years old and hoping to retire soon. She works as an administrator for the BBC. Patricia is married with three children and four grandchildren. She is not very happy with the level of Catholic upbringing that some of her grandchildren are receiving and blames her own children, rather than their spouses. Only her second son is married to another Catholic. Patricia's husband does not attend the prayer meetings but is a practising Catholic. She has been a member of the prayer group since the late 1980s and had a spell of about five years in the core group.

Patricia was interviewed once for one hour in May 2011 at St John's.

Helen

Helen is fifty-seven and married to another member of the prayer group. She has been a member for about twenty years and her husband has been for about fifteen, after she took him to a Celebrate conference in Ilfracombe. Helen works for the probation service and has two children, one at university and the other living at home whilst saving to get a place of his own. Helen is a convert to Catholicism and was drawn to the CCR by its enthusiasm shortly after she was received into the Church.

I had several informal interviews with Helen during the course of my time with the prayer group and one more formal interview of ninety minutes in April of 2011.

Ian

Ian is forty-five years old and works in a large IT company. He is married to Kelly and they have two teenage children. Ian converted to Catholicism when they got married eighteen years ago. He had little experience of Christianity in any form when growing up in Scotland "*mum and dad weren't, and still aren't, big fans of religion. My mum was brought up a Catholic but didn't want anything to do with it*". The CCR has been a big part of his faith since the beginning as Kelly was involved in prayer groups before they met, and he attended meetings before he was received into the Church. He feels the Church leadership is failing to provide strong guidance and that the Catholic education system is too liberal and slipping from its core aims of forming Catholic children. He and Kelly both attended the Miracle Rally during my time with the group.

I spoke with Ian individually on several occasions and interviewed he and Kelly together for ninety minutes in May 2011.

Kelly

Kelly is 44 years old, married to Ian and works in social services. She is a cradle Catholic and has been involved with the CCR since she was at university. She values the spirituality but feels the group at St John's "*hasn't quite got it*". She would love to see things change but is so stretched with work and family that she feels unable to take any initiative.

I spoke with Kelly informally several times during the study and interviewed her with Ian on one occasion in May 2011.

Appendix 3.5. Athlone

Joe

Joe is a sixty-three-year-old accountant, and has been an active member of the CCR in Belfast for thirty-five years. In that time, he has established and led prayer groups, been involved in ecumenical initiatives, organised local conferences and days of renewal and is now a member of the National Service Committee that, amongst other things, organises the national conference. He is married to Lorna and they have four children and six grandchildren. I had met Joe on a number of occasions prior to Athlone and had attended two prayer meetings at the prayer group attends in North Belfast. He has a strong passion for Scripture and also for ecumenism. Like many people in Belfast he has seen the disastrous consequences of religious division taken to extreme.

I spoke at length with Joe three times during the Athlone trip, mainly at the beginning and the end with a shorter conversation on the second day due to his commitments with the conference.

Lorna

Lorna is married to Joe and has been involved with the CCR for the same period, joining together as a young couple. She is originally from a small town south of Belfast but met Joe in church when they were in their early twenties. Their children all still attend mass regularly and those grandchildren that are of school age attend Catholic schools. Lorna has never been as active in leadership as Joe and believes that he has a real gift for what he does. In addition to attending her own prayer group she sometimes

also attends the Lamb of God prayer meetings and, less regularly, prayer meetings in other parishes. Charismatic spirituality is an important part of her Catholic life.

In addition to talking with Lorna as part of the group, and with Jim, I also spoke with her alone for about 45 minutes during the conference on the second day.

Mairead

Mairead was not part of the Belfast group but from a prayer group in Dublin. I met her on the first day of the conference and when I explained what I was doing she was very interested to find out more. We arranged to meet during the afternoon break in the canteen later that day. We also chatted a couple of times on the last day for short periods. I would say that part of her motivation was to ensure that a socially and politically conservative voice was heard. As she represented a position that was not uncommon amongst other attendees I had encountered I was comfortable that voice needed to be heard.

Mairead is in her mid-fifties and has been a member of the CCR for over 25 years. She is also active in SPUC[96] and a member of a Padre Pio prayer group and a Medjugorje group. She has been to Medjugorje twice. She has three children, two are young adults and the other has two years left at school. They all still live at home due to financial pressures. The younger two still attend mass but the older one does not.

[96] Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child

Niamh

Niamh is in her late sixties and a member of one of the Belfast prayer groups. A small parish group of about twenty regular members. She is not originally from Belfast but from just south of the border with the Republic. She has lived in the North of Ireland for nearly forty years and has been a member of the CCR for all of that time, joining shortly after she moved to Belfast when she married her husband who is from the city. At the time the movement was just beginning, and she was central to the early development of the Renewal in Belfast and its development through the 1980s and 1990s. She has four children, all of whom have left home. She has three grandchildren and spends much of her week looking after the youngest. Niamh and her husband attend their local prayer group together and regularly go on group, and individual, pilgrimages. She has recently returned from Rome with a group pilgrimage.

I spoke with Niamh on several occasions during the trip to Athlone and also met her at a prayer meeting and at the local conference in Larne.

Orla

Orla is in her early sixties and has been a member of the CCR in various places for over thirty years. Originally from County Armagh, she moved to Belfast shortly after getting married and worked as a civil servant until the birth of her first child. She has five children and seven grandchildren. Two of her children live in England and rarely attend mass. Her middle son who lives in Belfast, and who has one child, also rarely attends mass. She is deeply concerned about the fact that four of her grandchildren rarely attend church in any form and three of them are not at Catholic schools.

I spoke with Orla during the trip down to Athlone and on two occasions whilst there. One of these was for nearly an hour and constituted a more formal form of interview.

Rita

Rita is from Dublin and is a member of Christian Zionist group there, as well as being a regular attendee in her local parish. The group does not have a formal name but draws strongly from the personal revelations of a mystic visionary in the West of Ireland who they simply call "Anne".[97] I met Rita on two occasions at Athlone, once a brief conversation in passing and the second for a longer informal interview lasting about thirty minutes.

Appendix 3.6. Celebrate

Oscar

Oscar is thirty-seven and originally from Malta. He moved to the UK ten years ago and works in the financial services industry. He is married and the father of two young children, aged six and four. He attended Celebrate with his wife and children and tries to find as many activities as possible to do together as a family within the context of the Church. He was brought up as a Catholic in Malta, where there was no question of not

[97] Subsequent research suggests that this is most likely to be the 'Anne' of the group Direction for Our Time. It appears that she is now based in Illinois but has close links with the Diocese of Kilmore in County Cavan: http://www.directionforourtimes.com/ . I could not find any overt references to Christian Zionism in this group's online material, but Anne's personal story professes strong influences from Medjugorje and a significant apocalyptic tone. The primary mission of the group relates to the notion of the 'Returning King' and one of Anne's prophecies introducing this mission is: *"I am raising up a tidal wave of Christians to wash over the shore of badness that has taken control of this world, so lovingly created by My Father. This process will cleanse your world, making it safe once again for God's children. I am going to bring you knowledge, wisdom and love. I am going to introduce you to the divine to make your hearts burn like furnaces of divine love. You will be given the opportunity to work with Me." (Jesus, Volume Two, p.1.).*

attending mass or of not attending Catholic education. When he first came to England he continued going to mass but would miss the occasional Sunday. Even now he says that this is something he would never tell his mother. He feels that his enthusiasm for his faith was re-born when he had his own children. He has had little experience of the CCR until quite recently but feels it may be a good thing for his family. I spoke with Oscar during the conference on three occasions then met with him for ninety minutes approximately six weeks after Celebrate.

Natalie

Natalie is thirty-nine and has been involved in the Renewal for about ten years *"on and off"*. When her two children were younger it wasn't always practical to attend weekly prayer meetings but now the eldest is twelve years old she feels able to make better use of babysitting facilities available to her. She has also returned to work as a teacher full-time, after working part-time for about ten years. Her and her husband regularly attend the local celebrate conferences, if not every year then on alternate years.

Natalie is a cradle Catholic and has attended mass most of her life, with one or two exceptions in her twenties. She admits that she hasn't always had the most committed faith, but feels that her faith is strong at the moment and that being part of a CCR prayer group has been an important part of that. She feels that these larger gatherings are important as her local prayer group lacks a little energy due to the increasing age of the membership.

I spoke with Natalie during the Celebrate conference twice. For a few minutes on the first day and then in an informal interview for about forty-five minutes on the second day.

Philomena

Philomena is in her early sixties and has been a member of the CCR for over thirty years in several parishes. She is actively involved in social action both as part of Church groups and outside the formal structure of the Church. She feels that as long as she is achieving good outcomes she does not mind too much whether it is seen a Christian action. She doesn't hide her faith and makes it known to those she works with and welcomes any questions.

She has been attending the Celebrate conferences since they started and feels that they are a valuable part of her year. I spoke with her once, on the second day of Celebrate, for about forty minutes.

Appendix 3.7. Miracle Rally

Catherine

Catherine is 57 years old and lives in North London. She comes originally from central Ireland but has lived in London for nearly thirty years. She is married with three adult children and works as an administrator in a car hire company. When she first came to England she worked in administration in a bank in the City but gave up work for fifteen years on the birth of her first child. She attends mass every Sunday and regularly

attends weekday masses when the timing is right. Following a series of Life in the Spirit seminars in her parish she joined her local Charismatic prayer group in 1992 and has attended regularly since.

In addition to attending the Miracle Rally regularly, Catherine has also attended Celebrate and New Dawn conferences. I spoke with her for twenty minutes on the first day between the day session and the evening healing service and then again two weeks later for one hour over the telephone.

Deidre

Deidre is in her early fifties and has been a member of her local parish prayer group for about fifteen years. She is married, and attends mass every week. She has two children, both in their mid-teens. She has attended Celebrate conferences in the past but the event where I met with her was her first experience of the Miracle Rally. I initially spoke with her during a break on the first day and then again on the Sunday. This was followed up with a telephone interview one month after the Rally.

Adam

Adam is 62 years old and from west London and works in local government. He is of Caribbean descent and his family came to the UK when he was three years old. His father was born a Catholic and his mother converted when they married. The Catholic faith was a big part of his life growing up in London and has been since. He is married with two adult daughters.

Adam has been part of his parish prayer group since the early 1980s and finds it to be an important part of his life as a Catholic. The parish he lives in is ethnically diverse and he feels this helps to keep the parish alive generally, and more specifically in relation to the prayer group. Unlike many parish groups, he reports that about half of his prayer group are under forty years old. I meet several of them over the course of the weekend and this seems to be the case. All are of African-Caribbean ethnic origin. I spoke with Adam for about five minutes in the first break after the appeal from Stayne for Cafod donations and then again before the beginning of the first session on the Sunday for about thirty minutes.

Brian

Brian is 33 years old, white and from South Africa. He has lived in London for four years and works in a number of casual jobs in bars and restaurants. He is a cradle Catholic and attends mass every Sunday, unless work prevents him doing so (he sometimes provides bar cover at events). He attends his local Charismatic prayer group occasionally as the evening sessions often clash with work, but he has been a member more or less since coming to London. Prior to that he had no experience of the Charismatic Renewal. He has attended Harvester Men's group meetings in London and this is where he heard about the Miracle Rally. This is the first time he has attended. I speak with him during a break for twenty minutes and then for one hour by telephone two weeks later.

Elizabeth

Elizabeth is 48 years old and lives in the West Midlands. I met her on the first day of the Miracle Rally and spoke with her twice over the weekend. I also met with her later in a parish in Birmingham and we spoke for ninety minutes. She is married with three children and is an active member of her local prayer group. This is her first Miracle Rally. Elizabeth has had a number of challenges during her life, losing her mother at an early age and an alcoholic husband. Her faith, both as part of the Charismatic Renewal and day-to-day parish life has been an extremely important part of her life. She has been involved with the CCR since the late 1980s.

Francis

Francis is a seminarian from the south of England and grew up in a family that were active members of the CCR, attending local and national meetings. He is 34 years old and in his third year of studies at seminary. He has never wandered from his faith and attended mass and the university chaplaincy all through his degree studies. After some travelling and a range of jobs he decided in his late twenties that he was called to the priesthood and applied to his home diocese. He did consider joining a community with a charismatic ethos but felt called to parish life. His parents still attend CCR meetings and he will go along with them when he visits home. Francis says he is comfortable with most expressions of the CCR and, whilst he has encountered *Cor et lumen Christi* before, he has not attended the Miracle Rally previously. I speak to him at lunch and briefly later in the weekend. I also met with him in London about two months after the Rally for about one and a half hours.

Gregory

Gregory is 32 years old and from close to London. He is a cradle Catholic and has practised all of his life. His experience with the CCR is limited to attending a few meetings in his home town, mainly those hosted by a local religious community. He feels drawn to charismatic worship and his friendship with Francis has emboldened him somewhat. He imagines that Charismatic prayer will form part of his life as a priest but doesn't imagine that it will define it. This is his first Miracle Rally. I met him at the same times and places as Francis and all conversations took place with both of them together.

Andy

Andy is a member of the *Cor et lumen Christi* community. I met with him both at the Miracle Rallies and in the September following the first Miracle Rally attended. In the September we spent about two hours together. I also met with him by coincidence at another event two years later but none of that encounter is reported here for ethical reasons. Due to the nature of the community no further personal details are shared here other than he is white and in his thirties.

James

James is white, 41 years old and originally from Yorkshire but now living in the south of England. He is a cradle Catholic but has been intermittent in his practise of his faith. He started attending mass again regularly shortly before getting married. He occasionally attends a local Charismatic prayer group, depending on work commitments, and will also attend some men's group meetings. Charismatic prayer is a part of his

spirituality but not the most important aspect for him. I met him at a men's group meeting and spoke with him for just over one hour afterwards in 2012.

Appendix 4. Forms and Interview Schedule.

Appendix 4.1 Consent Forms

Covering Letter:

6 Antrim Rd,
Woodley,
Berks,
RG5 3NR
07972 *******

Date

Dear

Further to our initial conversation, please find enclosed copies of the consent form for participation in the research project that I am undertaking on the Catholic Charismatic Renewal as part of my doctoral studies at the University of Oxford.

I would be most grateful if you would sign the consent form. As the form outlines, you are at liberty to withdraw from the project at any point either during or after the interview. If you wish to withdraw after the interview, none of the answers you give will be used in the study.

Again, many thanks for participating and I look forward to meeting again soon.

Yours sincerely

Keith Chappell

Consent Form

In signing this document, I am giving my consent to be interviewed by Keith Chappell as part of his doctoral research. I understand that I will be part of a research study that will focus on the Catholic Charismatic Renewal.

I understand that I am consenting to participate in an interview on matters relating to my faith and experience with the Catholic Charismatic Renewal.

The interview will take approximately 1 hour and will only extend beyond that time by mutual consent. I understand that Keith Chappell may contact me for more information in the future and that both participation in the interview, and any follow-up, is entirely voluntary and that consent to part or all of the process can be withdrawn at any time.

The interview is granted freely, and I will receive no direct benefit as a result of participation in this study. I have been informed that the interview is entirely voluntary and that even after the interview begins I can refuse to answer any specific questions or decide to stop the interview at any point.

Any reporting of my responses will be anonymous, and pseudonyms will be used at all times, including in the storage of any transcripts. All electronic storage will be encrypted with passwords and deleted as soon as the study is complete. Hard copies of material, including this form, will be stored in a locked cabinet and destroyed by secure shredding when the study is complete.

Whilst confidentiality will be maintained throughout, if any information is revealed indicating that I am at risk of harm or others are at risk of harm I recognize that the interviewer may not be able to keep this confidential.

I have read and understand the disclosure document. I understand that, if I wish, the results of this research will be given to me and that Keith Chappell is the person to contact if I have any questions about the study or about my rights as a study participant.

If I have any queries which I do not feel can be addressed by Keith I am aware that I can contact his supervisor: Prof. Martyn Percy, Ripon College Cuddesdon, Oxford, OX44 9EX.

Date _____

Signed Researcher _____

Signed Participant _____

Appendix 4.2 Interview Outline

Background Information

Age

Gender

Occupation

Marital status

Children

Length of time in parish

Period of involvement in CCR

Faith Story

Are you a cradle Catholic or convert?

Could you describe your faith story?

Prompts/Probes: How long have you been a Catholic?

How did you convert?

What was your religious background?

How did you find the RCIA process?

Did you go to a Catholic school?

What was your experience of your faith growing up?

Were your family regular mass goers?

Did you ever stop going to mass? – Why?

Have there been any significant events in the development of your faith?

Have you ever been involved with the Charismatic renewal? Or

How long have you been involved with Charismatic renewal/prayer?

What was your first experience of charismatic prayer?

Can you remember how it felt the first time you were prayed with?

Did you have any physical response? (lights, shuddering, crying, warmth)

Do you pray in tongues?

What did you think the first time you heard tongues?

How did you feel the first time you prayed in tongues?

Did it happen in a group or on your own?

Were you scared?

Did you feel out of control?

Have you ever sung in tongues?

Did that seem like a different experience to speaking tongues?

Would you sing normally?

If you haven't received the gift of tongues, do you feel at all on the outside during prayer?

Have you experienced any of the other gifts of the Holy Spirit (e.g. prophecy, healing)?

(In yourself or in others?)

How did that come about?

What happened?

How did you react?

What do you think the Charismatic movement has to offer the wider Church?

What do you think about the state of your prayer group?

Could it/should it change?

The following sections to be used as appropriate:

The Church

When you describe your faith do you describe yourself as Catholic or Christian?

Do you go to mass every Sunday?

Every Holy Day?

Weekdays?

Do you ever read the Bible?

Has this changed?

Do you believe the literal truth of the Bible?

Creation story?

What are your feelings about other Christian groups?

Do you feel they have lost their way?

Do you feel they have a right to worship in a different way?

Have you ever been to a service in another denomination?

Do you think lack of Christian unity is a significant problem today?

Why?

Why not?

Do you ever pray for Christian unity?

When you think about Christian unity what do you imagine?

Do you imagine all Christians becoming Catholic?

Do you imagine an agreement to co-exist with our differences?

What makes being a Catholic distinctive or important?

Do you feel strongly connected to your parish?

What makes you feel connected to the parish?

People?

Style of the mass?

Like the priest?

Social structure/activities?

Do you have a strong sense of belonging to the universal Church?

Have you ever been to Rome?

Have you ever been on pilgrimage elsewhere?

Do you think the Church is in a good state at the moment?

Why?

What needs to happen to make things better?

Salvation

When you think of heaven, what do you see?

Do you ever imagine yourself there?

Do you ever imagine others there?

What about hell?

What do you think sin is?

What do you think causes sin?

Evil forces?

Do you believe in purgatory?

How do you imagine it?

Suffering

Have you ever had any events in life that have challenged your faith?

How did you deal with that?

Did you leave the faith for a period?

How do you respond if you or someone you love is suffering in some way?

Have you ever had a serious illness?

Was your faith significant in coping?

Do you think you would respond differently in future?

Have you ever experienced anyone close to you dying?

How did you cope?

Was your faith a support?

Do you think you would react differently in future?

What do you think or do when you see major disasters on the news?

Do you think people ever bring suffering on themselves?

Do you think mental health issues are a particular form of illness?

Are they rooted spiritually or physically?

Why do you think God allows people to suffer?

Does it have a purpose?

Is he unable to stop it?

Is it a punishment?

Prayer

Do you pray regularly in private?

How do you pray?

(e.g.Meditation, Lectio Divina, Divine Office, Rosary.)

Do you go to a prayer group?

What form does the prayer take?

When you pray yourself, what sorts of things do you tend to pray about?

Personal matters, e.g. health?

Family?

Work?

Social issues?

When you pray about something what do you expect to happen?

God will fix it?

God will give you strength/wisdom to cope?

Does the Holy Spirit have a special place in your prayer?

Do you ever pray to Our Lady?

What role does she have in your life of faith?

Do you say the Rosary?

Do you ever go to adoration of the Blessed Sacrament?

How much of your prayer is taken up with praise and how much with petitioning God?