ANTHROPOLOGY, POLANYI, AND AFROPENTECOSTAL RITUAL: A SCIENTIFIC AND THEOLOGICAL EPISTEMOLOGY OF PARTICIPATION

by Craig Scandrett-Leatherman

Abstract. The 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis sponsored both an International Congress of Arts and Sciences aimed at unity of knowledge and an anthropology exhibit of diverse peoples. Jointly these represented a quest for unifying knowledge in a diverse world that was fractured by isolated specializations and segregated peoples. In historical perspective, the Congress's quest for knowledge is overshadowed by Ota Benga who was part of the anthropology exhibit. The 1904 World's Fair can be viewed as a Euro-American ritual, a global pilgrimage, which sought to celebrate the advances and resolve the challenges of modernity and human diversity. Three years later Afropentecostalism dealt with these same issues with different methods and rituals. This ritual system became the most culturally diverse and fastest growing religious movement of the twentieth century. I suggest that the anthropological method of Frank Hamilton Cushing, the postcritical epistemology of Michael Polanyi, and the Afropentecostal ritual movement initiated by William J. Seymour are all attempts to develop a postmodern epistemology that is simultaneously constructive, focused on discerning reality, and broad enough to allow for human consciousness and diverse human communities. I explore this confluence of scientific and participatory epistemology through six theses.

Keywords: Afropentecostalism; Frank Hamilton Cushing; epistemology; Michael Polanyi; ritual; Victor Turner

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The 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis, Missouri, sponsored The International Congress of Arts and Sciences, whose purpose was to seek the unity of knowledge in a world of fractured disciplines and peoples. Toward this unity the Congress convened top scholars in the arts and sciences, including Max Weber, from top universities in Europe and the United States.

This same 1904 World's Fair included thousands of international guests from every continent and from many nations and tribes. They were centered in Anthropology Hall and in several outdoor "tribal exhibits." According to one newspaper heading, this was the "Most Startling Ethnological Exhibit Ever Seen in Civilization." The highlight of the exhibit was five African pygmies, one of them named Ota Benga. The exhibited peoples were persuaded, captured, or kept at the fair in various ways. Public displays of these exotic peoples permitted uninhibited observations. Body-part sizes and proportions were measured; reaction times to questions and stimuli were recorded.

Albert Einstein said that "physics is an attempt to grasp reality as it is . . . independent of its being observed" (1951, 81). Reality is greater than what can be known by passive observation; its comprehension calls for involvement and participation. Observation alone can separate observer from reality. This was the case for Ota Benga, who eventually lived in the Bronx Zoo caged with an orangutan. The iron bars of Ota Benga's cage permitted uninhibited observation, but that did not bring people closer to reality, to Ota Benga as a real person.

I suggest that knowledge is advanced not only by critical distance but also by participation. I am interested in projects that aim at the unity of knowledge but distrust any science that excludes knowledge of persons in the diversity of their being and peoples in the diversity of their cultures. I am interested in pursuing person-recognizing and community-based methods of knowing that do not reduce people to the sum of their materiality. I propose that the research method of a cultural anthropologist, Frank Hamilton Cushing, along with the participatory epistemology of a chemist-become-philosopher, Michael Polanyi, may be used together to develop an epistemology that is broad enough to experience realities as diverse as matter, humans, consciousness, community, and God. I further suggest that Afropentecostal ritual is participatory knowledge that contributes to a broad and inclusive epistemology and society—as demonstrated in the ritual inclusivity of the Azusa Street Revival.

Einstein said that scientists are motivated "by wonder and awe before the mysterious comprehensibility of the universe which is yet finally beyond [their] grasp" (Einstein 1950, 30, 60, from Torrance 2001, 135). Although the scientific method often is characterized by objective observation, data collection, and replicable experiment, we see in Einstein and Polanyi a broader passion to behold what is real, to explore and participate in reality, and through this participation to be changed and reoriented by

reality. Science and religion take persons outside of themselves (which is the definition of ecstasy) through these processes of wondering, discovering, and participating. These are the movements of science and religion—the mutual, painful and joyful process of touching, embracing, and being embraced by what *and who* is real.

Let us see how a scientific and religious epistemology can emerge by participating in the discourses of anthropology, chemistry, and Afropentecostalism.

Frank Hamilton Cushing: Anthropology and the Method of Participation

In 1879 Cushing went on an ethnographic expedition with John Wesley Powell. During their visit with the Zuñi, an elder came to Cushing and said, "Little brother, you may be a Washington man, but it seems that you are very poor. Now, if you do as we tell you, and will only make up your mind to be a Zuñi, you shall be rich, for you shall have fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, and the best food in the world. But if you do not do as we tell you, you will be very, very, very poor, indeed" (Cushing 1979, 68). Cushing ended up staying for five years, but the stay was not without its conflicts and struggles. Early in his stay a Zuñi objected to Cushing's note-taking and came at Cushing with a knife, intending to take away his notebooks and pens. Cushing drew his own knife, and they fought until Cushing established dominance. Cushing was able to keep taking notes. So Cushing lived Zuñi: He ate Zuñi food, learned Zuñi language, skills, and habits, and was initiated as a Zuñi through a four-day ordeal.

I interrupt Cushing's story to contrast his work with that of another American ethnographer, Lewis Henry Morgan, who spent a few months with Native Americans and wrote a book on their rituals. When his informant reviewed this book, he said, "there's nothing actually wrong in what he says, but it isn't right either. He doesn't really understand what he is talking about" (Turner [1969] 1977, 2).

Cushing's reviewers indicated that he conveyed "a sense of the presence of living people and real things" (Jesse Green, in Cushing 1979, 19). He was able to communicate this sense of reality because he participated in reality by invitation, initiation, struggle, and a tenure of years. He was the first anthropologist to live with the people he was studying and so was the first to practice observant participation (Green, in Cushing 1979, 5).[2] In a letter to a friend Cushing wrote, "My ability may not be as great as those who proceeded me but my method must succeed" (1979, 136). Cushing experienced Zuñi life by participating in it, and he communicated a sense of living people and real things that drew others toward reality.

In cultural anthropology Cushing initiated a method called participant observation, but I find no better epistemological foundation of this method than the writings of Polanyi, to which we now turn.

Michael Polanyi: Chemistry and an Epistemology of Participation

Polanyi was a physical chemist at a research institute in Berlin and then at Manchester University, where he began to philosophize on scientific knowledge in particular and on knowing in general. His philosophy is developed most comprehensively in *Personal Knowledge: Toward a Post-Critical Philosophy* ([1958] 1964).[3] I summarize this book in three straightforward, almost commonsense theses: (1) We know more than we can say, (2) Knowledge involves participation, and (3) Discovery involves an experience or intuition of reality and the risk of revising theories and habits that hinder perceptions of that reality. I briefly elaborate on these and conclude by considering how science, participant observation, and Pentecostal ritual relate in their common emphases on participant knowledge.

(1) We know more than we can say. This statement seems like common sense. Based on this assumption, people have been practicing apprenticeships for millennia. However, the statement is the antithesis of modernity with its almost exclusive focus on explicit knowledge; modernity's claim seems to be *If you can't say it, you don't know it.*

Polanyi's thesis is illustrated in two examples from daily life: learning to ride a bicycle and recognizing a friend's face in a crowd. A physicist is able to analyze mechanical forces, balances, and vectors in such a way that she could tell a want-to-be bicyclist that one maintains balance through a combination of centrifugal force, weight balance, and minor force-vector changes that are accomplished by steering in the direction of the tilt. Such advice, however, will be of little use. The learning process usually goes something like this: The potential learner sees others riding bicycles; the learner becomes interested in and then passionate about learning to ride; a lesson is requested or offered; an experienced bicyclist gives basic instructions and offers support; the learner tries, wobbles, falls, gets up, tries again, makes adjustments, practices—and eventually becomes a bicyclist. Because we know more than we can say, the knowledge of bicycling is passed on with a very few explicit words. As to the other example, face recognition: We can easily recognize a friend in a crowd, but it is very difficult to give others a description of that person's face so that they will recognize it in a crowd. We know more than we can say.

According to Polanyi, people would not get very far in life or learning if they waited to act until they explicitly understood the principles that support action. A person would not drink until he understood gravity, liquids, vacuums, nutrition, and calorie needs. A person would not drive until she understood fuel and its explosive qualities, electricity, and the physics of bearings, wheels, gears, and pulleys, as well as the physics of bridges upon which she and the car depend. A person would not marry before he fully understood the opposite sex or even his partner. So all of us—bicyclists,

philosophers, eaters, scientists, drivers, and lovers—travel by the knowledge that is demonstrated by our elders. Some of that knowledge is spoken, but we all know more than we can say, and we all learn by the "more" as much as by what words convey.

It follows that *(2) Knowledge involves participation*. In ways similar to the way a person learns to ride a bicycle, mechanics, carpenters, bakers, steel workers, florists, guitarists, painters, cooks, and other artisans learn their skills by participating in their arts by practice and instruction, by watching and doing, by apprenticeship. Children learn language by participating in communication. But do scientists learn by participating in science? Polanyi argues that even the most objective of scientists learns by participation. In his field of chemistry, people do not learn their discipline by explicit knowledge being transferred to their minds. Instead, students bring themselves into the presence and under the discipline of experts. Knowledge is gained not only through books and lectures but also by association with experts whose assumptions are trusted. Students spend hours in laboratories learning techniques, habits, and practices that give them confidence in trusting the communal practices of chemists and chemistry. Although some scientists still suggest that their assumptions and theories are explicit and critically tested, Polanyi argues that in the economy of time, scientists spend very little time critically testing their theories or assumptions or those of their predecessors.[4] Chemists gain knowledge not only by observation and critical testing but also, and primarily, by participating in realities of matter through relationships with mentors who embody the traditions and disciplines of their sciences.

In these first two theses Polanyi is criticizing the idea that knowledge is primarily explicit and objective. Artisans and animals, parents and infants learn by participation; so do scientists and philosophers.[5] Human disciplines of knowledge involve not only explicit knowledge but also participation.

If knowledge comes by participating in the assumptions and traditions, commitments, and disciplines of communities, *(3) Discovery involves an experience or intuition of reality and the risk of revising theories and habits that hinder perceptions of that reality.* Polanyi is not criticizing the idea that reality exists apart from subjective experience. Rather, he is advancing the idea that reality is always beyond our perception and that it cannot be reduced to what can be comprehended by a single method, perspective, theory, ideal, representation, or community.

For human beings, experiencing reality is a process of participating in the sensations of the object, the language for and ideas about the object, the relationships of the object with other realities, and the place of the object within the whole cosmos and broader experiential realm including feelings. The first sensate perceptions of a child could be conceived of as direct, raw, or uninterpreted experience of reality, but the firstness of experience is immediately joined by communal experiences through rituals,

tones, and facial expressions that integrate perceptions within a network of sensations, feelings, meanings, and relationships. In short, experience of reality is embodied enculturation of a social cosmology. Knowledge is embodied and encultured.

As individuals participate in these webs of community and culture, they may experience reality that does not seem to "fit" their embodied knowledge and their encultured cosmos.[6] Some may simply ignore these misfit perceptions. Others who persist in attending to them will strive toward discovery. Whether they are physicists, anthropologists, prophets, healers, poets, or geographers, discoverers are people who participate in the culture and cosmos of their tradition yet have an intuition that some experience of reality is not accounted for by that tradition or theory, and they are driven by a desire to reconcile the cosmology of their community with the reality they have experienced. There are risks, but discoverers are awed by reality and are restless until they can stretch the words of their language or theory or cosmos to account for what they have perceived. When communities are open to discovery, to new experiences and perceptions of reality, discoverers are encouraged and discovery is celebrated. When communities are not open, discovery is denied and the discoverer is excommunicated.

Unlike scientists who reduce knowledge to that which can be discerned by observation alone, I have summarized three features of Polanyi's personal knowledge that base knowing on a broad epistemology that is not positivistic but human. It is personal knowledge that includes more than we can say; it is based on participation in a tradition and community of knowledge; and it aims at discovery and universal intent.

It seems to me that Polanyi's personal knowledge provides an epistemological foundation for Cushing's anthropological method, and Cushing's method extends personal knowledge into the realm of social knowledge, as my anthropological interpretation of Polanyi has already done. Now, I want to extend Polanyi and Cushing's participant knowledge into the realm of ritual—specifically, Afropentecostal ritual as initiated by William J. Seymour. The purpose of this next section is to juxtapose inclusive participation of the personal body with inclusive participation of the social body.

William J. Seymour: Afropentecostal Ritual Participation

Seymour was a migrant from the Mississippi Delta. He moved from Centerville, Louisiana, to Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Houston, and then Los Angeles, always looking for alternatives to the agricultural peonage and terror of Louisiana lynching. He wanted a better job, a more inclusive church, and a deeper experience of God. Born in 1870, he endured the withdrawal of Union troops and the Freedman's Bureau, the peak of Ku Klux Klan violence, the reign of lynching terror, the injustice of voting

rights removed, and the toil of 18- to 20-hour days of plantation work. He taught himself to read, read the Bible, experienced the spirituality of slave rituals and music, and hoped in the revolutionary implications that "God is no respecter of persons" (Acts 10:34 KJV) (Nelson 1981, 153–57).

In 1900 Seymour moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, and joined the Evening Light Saints, which became the Church of God. One of the saints, William G. Schell, had written a rebuttal (1901) to Charles Carroll's book *The Negro a Beast* (1900), which had been gaining popularity. Schell reminded readers that "all men are created equal," that Negroes were descended from great civilizations, and that race prejudice should be eliminated. The Church of God was actively recruiting African Americans and encouraging interracial fellowship. Seymour joined. He contracted smallpox, a disease that was fatal among most African Americans, but recovered and was then ordained with the saints (Anderson 1979, 162–65).

In 1903 Seymour traveled to Texas as an evangelist looking for relatives from whom he had been separated during slavery. He found them in Houston, where he also met and took a class from Charles Parham, a holiness preacher who, along with some students, had experienced the Pentecostal gift of glossolalia (speaking in tongues). Seymour was not allowed to sit in Parham's class with white students but listened from the hallway. Parham laid hands on Seymour and prayed for the gift of tongues, but nothing happened.

Meanwhile an invitation came from Los Angeles for Seymour to pastor a church (Nelson 1981, 166–67). After being locked out of the inviting church because of his desire to speak in tongues (Anderson 1979, 65), Seymour resorted to prayer meetings, which were held in the homes of African American washwomen who shared his desire. Eventually, the Rev. Mrs. Lucy Farrow and Brother Warren came from Texas to a prayer meeting. Shortly after their arrival "the power fell," and within a few days several, including Seymour, found the Pentecostal experience.

The revival "continued night and day at 312 Azusa Street for three years" (Anderson 1979, 65–66). Sometimes a dozen people might be "trembling under the power of God," and the standard revival invitation was not needed because

> God himself would give the altar call. Men would fall all over the house like the slain in battle, or rush for the altar enmasse, to seek God. The scene often resembled a forest of fallen trees. . . . Then in a burst of "glory," they would "come through" to salvation, or sanctification, or baptism in the Spirit with shouts and songs of praise, speaking in tongues, leaping, running, jumping, kissing, and embracing one another. (Anderson 1979, 69)

One of the Azusa leaders estimated that more than twenty nationalities were represented at the meetings, including Ethiopians, Chinese, Indians, Mexicans, Portuguese, Spanish, Russians, Norwegians, French, Germans, and Jews. Another observer noted that the meetings were "noticeably free

from all nationalistic feeling. . . . No instrument that God can use is rejected on account of color or dress or lack of education" (Anderson 1979, 69). According to Leonard Lovett (1985, 395), persons from thirty-five nations participated in the Azusa movement, with many taking it back to their countries of origin. He suggests that no known religious movement was as quickly interracial and international. Whatever the numbers of cultures and nations, no one disputes that this was a multicultural ritual phenomenon situated within a diverse yet segregated city and nation. Azusa was the launch pad or focal center of Pentecostalism, which became the fastest growing religious movement in the twentieth century, if not human history. By some estimates it has grown, in one hundred years, to more than 450 million (Barrett and Johnson 1998, 27).[7]

Although the Pentecostal movement was identified as multicultural and international, the local host church was made up of European Americans and African Americans. The Azusa mission was organized as the Apostolic Faith Gospel Mission and was led by twelve elders, six of whom were women, three African American, and one a ten-year-old girl (Anderson 1979, 70). The Church of God in Christ (COGIC) became the first nationally registered Pentecostal denomination after its founder, Charles H. Mason, visited Seymour and the Azusa Street Revival. The COGIC was composed primarily of blacks and whites and was led not by an eldership but by Mason, who ordained more than four hundred white pastors (and many more black pastors) for seven years beginning in 1907. In 1914 the white members withdrew to form their own denomination, the Assemblies of God. Here Pentecostalism followed the fault line of U.S. race segregation as established constitutionally by the Supreme Court in 1896.[8] The intricacies and significance of this seven-year existence of a black-white denomination, led by an African American, during the peak of segregation has yet to be explored.

From this history of racial inclusivity, I now turn to the contemporary inclusivity of participatory worship, which includes a diversity of forms, roles, and styles. This juxtaposition suggests that diverse participatory forms create a ritual space that is hospitable to different types of people. (My involvement with the COGIC began in 1993 when I attended a friend's wedding in Chicago. Since then I have been involved in three churches in Chicago, St. Louis, and Lawrence, Kansas, where I was a member for three years.) With 3.5 million members, COGIC is the largest Afropentecostal denomination in the United States.

What is most striking to visitors is the active participation of members in worship. Participation is encouraged by a variety of roles with very specific responsibilities. Titles include elder, deacon, pastor, mother, missionary, usher, teacher, musician, evangelist, first lady, adjutant, bishop, superintendent, treasurer, secretary, administrative assistant, and others. Most people in the church have one or more such titles, which become

their names in conjunction with their last names. If no other role is designated, their title is Brother or Sister. Although participation takes many forms in Afropentecostal worship, most involve the body. Members clap and move when we sing, wave to agree, encourage, bless, or receive blessing; shout when we get happy; speak in tongues when ecstatic; and run, jerk, pace, jump, or dance when moved. When members pray for healing or anointing, touch is joined and enhanced by olive oil. When the offering is given all participate; during a joyful song all congregants beginning with the back seats come forward up the center isle and either put offerings in the stewards' baskets or touch the edge of the basket and then return to their seats along the outside wall of the sanctuary. During the testimony service, which is central to most gatherings, anyone is welcome to speak, sing, or share a word. Singing is loud. Congregants participate in the sermon by verbally affirming, questioning, encouraging, repeating; and we often respond to the preacher's climax by standing, nodding, waving, and maybe even stomping, running, or dancing. Instruments often join, encourage, or undergird responses to the sermon. Any and every instrument is welcome (Hammond organ, piano, electric guitar, electric bass, saxophone, trombone, flute, cello, trumpet, occasionally Djembe or Conga drums but usually a drum set). The drum set, especially the snare, is often used to support or initiate a shout rhythm that may engage most of the congregation in dance.

If an atom served as a metaphor for the participatory patterns and energies of Afropentecostal worship, dancing would be its nuclear center. In the early days, when many black churches were adopting "respectable" (Higginbotham 1993) styles of worship, Mason wrote an essay to defend dancing (Mason 1969, 36). But today the COGIC dance needs no defense, and its practice has influenced many of the denominations that historically resisted its ritual exuberance. Afropentecostal dance is an intensely aesthetic and kinetic event. The dancer feels an inner movement of emotion, usually rising joy, and, if music is playing, the rhythm of the drums beats on the inner organs of the body and amplifies this joy. When the dancer moves, her body not only perceives external sensations but creates its own. The dancer feels her body in motion in relation to itself and in its rhythmic contact with the floor; she sees flashes of clothing and hears the intensity of drums increase while others shout or dance in response. The initial joy is intensified by the body's active participation and the participation of others through their own kinetic or verbal responses. There is no standard form of dance, but each moves in his or her own style. (I have never seen all the members of a congregation dance but have occasionally seen most dancing.)

By aesthetic and therapeutic use of clothing, oil, Bibles, symbols, musical instruments, and bodies, members participate in materiality. By greetings, titles, roles, testimony, offering, congregating, and collective emotions,

members participate in sociality. By sermons, teachings, and discussions of scripture and theology aimed at universality and morality, through the diachronic communion of Spirit and saints, and the sense of personal and everlasting love, members know the reality of the world by participating in it.

Clearly, Afropentecostal rituals permit and promote participation. With varieties of experiences, perceptions, movements, styles, roles, gifts, and talents, there is something for anyone and everyone to do. The hesitant and insecure are most encouraged when they take the risk to participate. Invitation to personal action, whether building a Habitat for Humanity house or Afropentecostal worship, encourages participation. From its worship to its common life Afropentecostalism is a religion of participation and a method of social knowledge.

Having reviewed the observant participant method of Cushing and situated participation in Polanyi's broader philosophical epistemology, and having described inclusive participation in Afropentecostal ritual, I conclude by drawing these various perspectives into a central thesis and then listing six additional, related theses that suggest paths for further exploration and development.

Concluding Theses

First, the central thesis: Persons know by participating in (sensing-acting-consciousness) and reflecting on (feeling-thinking-symbolization) reality, which is material (comprehensible-regular-aesthetic), social (communal-political-jural), and spiritual (relational-universal-moral). Participating involves entering into mutually active, exchanging, and transforming relationships with reality.[9] The Hebrew Bible suggests that embodied participation was the expression of unity of diversity and the basis of human knowledge and productivity. Man and woman represented the original human diversity. "The man knew his wife Eve and she conceived" (Genesis 4:1 NRSV). Knowledge is productive and progressive as it participates in reality—material, personal, and communal reality (Johnson et al. 2007).[10]

Second thesis: Human life, knowledge, and identity are embodied, and personhood is experienced by the interrelations of bodies: personal, social, political, institutional, earthly, and cosmic. This thesis has been developed by phenomenologists Edmund Husserl (1980) and Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1962) and anthropologists Jean Comaroff (1980), Thomas J. Csordas (1990; 1993; 1994a, b; 2002), Michael Jackson (1989), John M. Janzen (1978–2002), and Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Margaret M. Lock (1987).

Third thesis: Although language is symbolic communication, it is based on embodied interpersonal utterance. Parents and others who communicate face-to-face with infants often exchange verbal sounds and tones that are not words—and not necessarily even sounds used in the common ver-

nacular—through gurgling, cooing, and playing with clicks and noises. Embodied sounds continue to be used by adults to express intense feelings of pleasure, joy, sorrow, or pain through various tones, sighs, and moans. Afropentecostal glossolalia is another form of relational utterance where participating in language is privileged over the explicit communication of content (Csordas 1990, 24–26). We know more than we can say, so we utter sounds from and through our body that are transrational but foundationally relational.

Fourth thesis: Healing involves participating in reality.[11] African perspectives of ritual and social healing suggest that afflictions and diseases are the embodiment of fractured relationship(s) with material-social-spiritual reality (Turner 1968; [1969] 1977; Janzen 1978–2002). Traditionally, African doctors are those who discern these multifaceted and interconnected disruptions and prescribe participatory therapies and communal rituals to restore right relationships with all realms of reality. In the modern West these therapies are divided by specialties: Medical doctors deal with the internal biological and chemical aspects of healing, psychiatrists or counselors deal with the social, and priests or moralists deal with the spiritual. Usually the integration of these diverse therapies rests on the afflicted individual. Postmodern therapies have the potential to combine both integrative-ritual therapies and therapies that have been developed by modern specializations. In any case right relationship with reality is critical to healing.

Fifth thesis: Emergent theory taken to increasing levels of complexity moves from individual consciousness to collective consciousness to intercultural consciousness. According to emergence theory, human consciousness represents the climax of system complexity in its relation to materiality. The process of evolution is not the parts simply merging to make the whole but also the interrelation of the emerging whole becoming an influence on the parts' relation and interrelation with other parts (Lewes 1874; Koestler 1969; Polanyi [1958] 1964; Clayton 2004). Consciousness is integrated with, evolved from, made of, yet more than the sum of the brain's components that are discerned and analyzed by chemists, physicists, and biologists. But the consciousness of an individual is comprehensible only as a component of social consciousness. In other words, human consciousness is dependent on language, which itself is socially constructed. We know little of what human consciousness would be isolated from language and human community. Culture is a higher level of complexity than human consciousness. Beyond that, pluralistic societies are made of collections of cultures. Collective consciousness is a reality of greater complexity than individual consciousness, and comprehending collective consciousness requires a transmaterial perspective that accounts for the realities of human language and social life.

Sixth thesis: Rituals are places where reality may be reimagined according to its interrelational quality.[14] Rituals suspend functional and rational social structures in order to invite participation and accentuate relationality (Turner [1969] 1977). Although rituals can be used to accentuate superiority and promote violent relationships, I have summarized the ritual patterns of Afropentecostal worship, which for the most part accentuate the social and relational quality of reality. In the best of such rituals, people are not divided and bound by difference-based discrimination but free and united by difference-based celebration. There, ritual orchestration creates an open and indeterminate space of social reimagining.

This essay opened with a ritual description in which white Europeans and Eurocentric American intellectuals came together in an International Congress of Arts and Sciences to seek the unity of knowledge. Outside the Congress was a host of darker people who represented an earlier stage of social evolution. They were extracted and exhibited; their bodies and reactions were measured; they were objectified and analyzed. In short, they were observed by many, but they were not known by any. But the exhibited people were more than what could be extracted, measured, analyzed, or observed. Their consciousness and culture, their reality—their persons—could be known only by participating, with them, in their worlds and lives. I am suggesting that knowledge of persons and social life is the foundation for human knowledge and that such must inform our methods and theories of knowing—even scientific knowing. The methodology of Cushing, the epistemology of Polanyi, and the rituals of Afropentecostals all suggest that all human knowledge involves participation. We learn and know by participating in reality.

NOTES

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1. Sources of information about the St. Louis World's Fair include Benjamin 2004; Bradford and Blume 1992; Parezo and Fowler 2007; Schilt 1994.

2. It was not until Bronislaw Malinowski was isolated, long term on an island, by the outbreak of war in 1914 that the method of participant observation would be more broadly theorized and academically promoted. In his *Argonauts of the Western Pacific,* Malinowski wrote that the goal of cultural anthropology is "to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realize his vision of the world" ([1922] 1961, 25).

3. Beyond hundreds of published science articles Polanyi's main philosophical works were *Science, Faith and Society* (1946), *Personal Knowledge* ([1958] 1964), and *The Tacit Dimension* ([1966] 1967). Drawing from Polanyi's books, lectures, and essays, Marjorie Grene edited *Knowing and Being* (1969). A year before his death Polanyi published *Meaning* (1975) with Harry Prosch.

4. The tacit aspects of (chemistry) knowledge is also argued by Polanyi's observation that "the articulate contents of science are successfully taught all over the world in hundreds of new universities, [but] the unspecifiable art of scientific research has not yet penetrated to many of these" (Polanyi [1958] 1964, 53).

5. Similarly, in philosophy students learn by participating in the disciplines, language, and assumptions of philosophy through their own discussions and writing.

6. Polanyi develops the concept of embodiment by talking about subsidiary awareness of the body, participation, and tradition. The title of the Polanyi Society Periodical is *Tradition and Discovery*.

7. Pentecostalism is a subset of Christianity, but if it were counted as one of the world religions it would rank fourth, behind Christianity with 2.1 billion, Islam with 1.5 billion, and Hinduism with 900 million. It has more adherents than Buddhism with 376 million (*http://www.adherents.com/Religions_By_Adherents.html*).

8. In 1890 Louisiana passed a law that required blacks to ride in separate railroad cars. Homer Plessey, who was seven-eighths Caucasian, tested the case by sitting in a "white only" car and refusing to move. In *Plessey vs. Ferguson* (representing the state of Louisiana), the U.S. Supreme Court voted 8–1 to affirm the constitutionality of "separate but equal" segregation.

9. This thesis is informed by Amos Yong in *Spirit-Word-Community* (2002) where he develops a trinitarian hermeneutics and initiates a trinitarian epistemology.

10. These realities can be viewed as progressive as observed in childhood development. Children mature as they attend to realities broader than their own needs and desires, although these are never extinguished and are always basic to further exploration and discovery. Such participation takes people outside themselves. The etymology of the word *ecstasy* is from the Greek *ekstasis,* to put out of place (or out of self). When the beyond-self refers to fantasy that is disconnected with reality, it is ("out of your mind") harmful, but experiencing reality inherently requires going out-of-self, out-of-place.

11. Healing also may involve reconceptualizing reality so that the invitational or relational character of life-giving reality is perceived.

12. In a recent address, Jürgen Moltmann (2008) suggested that we know in order to participate, but I am suggesting that knowing and participating are less sequential and more circular than Moltmann's statement indicated.

13. John's vision of the Christian consummation of history includes Jesus being married and united with (1) the body of the universe: Everything was created in Christ, through him, for him; new heaven (Colossians 1:16; Revelation 21:1); (2) the body of the earth: Earth is like mother; humans formed from the earth; new earth (Genesis 2:7; Revelation 21:1); (3) the body politic/social body: A tree is planted with leaves for healing the nations (Revelation 22:2); (4) the church: the social-communal body that is founded on the testimony of the apostles; includes the living-dead who cheer us on in life; is also the visible body of Christ on earth (Revelation 21:9-14; Hebrews 11:2–12:1; Ephesians 5:23); (5) the body personal/biological:

He shall wipe away every tear from their eyes (Revelation 21:4). The marriage of Christ to creation/church will heal all of these bodies by their consummation with Christ, and this, by implication, will restore right relationships between these bodies.

14. Several of these theses overlap. In this case, the thesis of ritual is intimately related to the thesis of healing. See references above. Healing is biological, social, and spiritual.

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