THE LAYMEN'S HOLINESS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

THE DEVELOPMENT OF

A WESLEYAN - FUNDAMENTALIST SECT

By

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ABSTRACT

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The Laymen's Holiness Association (LHA) (1917-1925) was inspired by an eleven year emphasis on holiness revivalism on the Fargo and Bismarck Districts of the North Dakota Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The stress on the message and experience of entire sanctification as a second work of grace coupled with the adoption of religious fundamentalism created tensions between pro-revivalist and anti-revivalist forces in the conference. However, the revival debate only masked a deeper concern among those of the pro-revivalist division. They believed Methodism was not only advocating modernistic teachings but openly opposed the preaching of the doctrine of entire sanctification.

The original goal of the LHA was to reform Methodism and revive the teachings of the Wesleyan doctrine of Holiness. The movement used its official organ The Holiness Layman to castigate the Methodist Church and warn its readers of the trends of liberalism within the church and society. Under the leadership of Dr. J. G. Morrison the movement spread into six states and supported nine full time holiness evangelists.

This dissertation places the organization within its historical context by first reviewing the development of American Methodism, the Wesleyan concept of Christian Perfection, and the development of the American Holiness Movement. The church-sect theories of Weber, Troeltsch, and Niebuhr are used to understand the characteristics and the development of this rural sect. Many of its members eventually aborted from the Methodist church (1922-25) and joined the Church of the Nazarene, an organized Holiness sect.

Back issues of The Holiness Layman were used to trace the development of fundamentalistic tendencies within the organization. The author discovered the movement fully accepted these teachings with one exception -- it replaced the Keswickian teaching of Holiness with a Wesleyan interpretation. Furthermore, the Wesleyan doctrine was merged with the fundamentalist's eschatological teachings. The LHA's adaption of the Wesleyan doctrine of sanctification to fundamentalism created an anomaly known as Wesleyan-fundamentalism. While Timothy Smith (1962) introduces this term he never fully develops the concept. This dissertation attempts to trace the development of the organization (LHA) and the formation of its Wesleyan-fundamentalistic teachings.

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INTRODUCTION

The American Methodist Church has a rich history. Beginning as a revivalistic movement within the Anglican Church, it soon graduated to the status of sect. Breaking away from the mother church it created its own form of government, mode of worship, and doctrinal emphasis. Its success on the Western frontier of the United States cannot be denied. However, from the earliest days of its American origins Methodism struggled to maintain membership unity. Its episcopacy and presiding eldership were authoritarian, while the American society was democratic and the people were freedom loving. The differences in the two styles of government caused several schisms.

The form of ecclesiastical leadership was not the only problem the Methodist faced in attempting to maintain unity. Another was doctrinal integrity. Because of religious freedom, the phenomenon of denominationalism blossomed in the United States. Often a new or different interpretation of the Bible, form of worship, or religious experience created controversy. These controversies often led to debates, the hardening of positions, and the fracturing of opponents. Methodism experienced its share of schisms over doctrinal issues as well.

Division in part, is the theme of this dissertation and

it will focus on one small but important twentieth century doctrinal schism within the American Methodist Church. This schism had its origins in the Upper Mississippi Valley. This area was among the last frontiers in the land rush of the late nineteenth century. In North Dakota early twentieth century Methodism experienced revivals and church growth akin to that on the frontier in the early nineteenth century. In some respects their characteristics were very similar.

This North Dakota revival was rooted in the Holiness Movement and was most effective in the small towns and rural areas of the state. As holiness revivals spread though the Methodist Churches, an association sprang up to support the activity. An annual camp meeting at Jamestown, North Dakota became the heart throb of the organization. It created the excitement and momentum for the movement each year between 1905 and 1925. It boasted attendance as high as 1800 for a ten-day mid-June or July meeting. This movement became know as the Laymen's Holiness Association (LHA). LHA President, Dr. J. G. Morrison lead as many as a 1,000 Methodists of this Association into the Church of the Nazarene.

Many works dealt with the various schisms within the Methodist Church. (Sweet, 1964; Norwood, 1974; et al) Furthermore, many books were written on the holiness movement, its doctrinal emphasis, its piety, and its Wesleyan heritage. (Peters, 1956; Smith, 1962; Cox, 1964; Dayton, 1987; et al) This dissertation will focus on the

Laymen's Holiness Association. It was a Wesleyan Holiness Movement within the Methodist Church located in the Upper Mid-West. It will give particular attention to the LHA's adoption of fundamentalistic creeds.

This study goes beyond the work of Dr. Timothy Smith's (1962) Called Unto Holiness: The Story of the Nazarenes. Smith covers the development of the LHA from its beginning but fails to envelop the development of Methodism in North Dakota the roots of the movement. Smith does establish the fact that the LHA and Nazarenes adopted fundamentalist creeds. Marsden (1980), on the other hand, identifies the Methodist roots of Keswickian holiness (progressive sanctification) within fundamentalism, but fails to develop the Wesleyan version (instantaneous sanctification as a second work of grace) of the movement. I will attempt to expand upon both Smith and Marsden and correct a few misstatements of historical facts based upon oral history by citing primary sources.

It is my thesis that the rapid changes occuring on in American society in the early twentieth century, the challenges of science and rationalism, rigid Methodist episcopacy, and resistance to the emphasis of holiness revivalism were the ingredients that created the friction and dissatisfaction among Methodist holiness people causing their attachment to fundamentalism and schism from Methodism. I will show how the LHA made the attachment of Wesleyan holiness doctrine to fundamentalist creeds. Furthermore, I

will show the sectarian and separatist characteristics of the organization as it challenged the social trends of the "roaring twenties."

A perusal of the literature reveals the organization's development. The first period covers between 1905 to 1908 with the development of the district camp meeting and the emphasis on holiness revivals. This period is best characterized by a loose organizational structure with the leadership solely in the hands of the District Superintendent S. A. Danford. The second period extends between 1908 to 1914 and is characterized by the publishing of a holiness paper. In this period the movement adopts fundamentalist creeds and addresses the issues of higher criticism and the teaching of evolution in public schools and church related colleges. During this time the paper begins sharp criticism of the Methodist Church for adopting modernistic teachings and placing them in the minister's course of study. The body takes on an organizational shape with elected officers, and the district revivals intensify. Clearly, it can be described as a Movement. The third period covers the years 1915 and 1916 in which the Movement is tossed into confusion and temporarily loses its leadership. The next period extends from 1917 to 1922, which is the crest of the Movement's activity, just before its merger with the Church of the Nazarene. Dr. J. G. Morrison is elected president of the organization. It assumes the name of the Laymen's Holiness Association and

fully adopts fundamentalist creeds and attaches to them the Wesleyan doctrine of sanctification. In addition, it becomes a fully organized association, spreads its "Idea" into several states, and employs nine evangelists with area or district responsibility. The final period, 1922-1925, covers the Association's merger with the Church of the Nazarene. The publishing activities are slowly, but finally, absorbed by the Nazarenes, and the Jamestown Camp Meeting is no longer the hub of the Movement. Finally, the LHA officially ceases to exist. Thus, the LHA, a rural Methodist protest sect, adapted fundamentalist creeds in reaction to a changing cultural environment. Rejected by its own denomination, it completes its journey and finds kinship within an organized conversionist sect (Benefiel, 1986) whose doctrines and methods were compatible to their own.

Stark and Glock (1968) suggest five core dimensions to religion: belief, practice, knowledge, experience, and consequences. This dissertation will cover three of the five. They are as follows: belief, the theological outlook; practice, the devotional aspect; and experience, the teaching of subjective knowledge of ultimate reality.

CHAPTER ONE

LITERATURE REVIEW

According to the proponents of the church-sect theory religious organizations develop along predictable paths. These theories are relevant for a broader understanding of church history. This literature review will survey the development and debate of church-sect typologies. This theory gave the author a deeper understanding into the origins of the Laymen's Holiness Association.

In addition, the chapter will review the current works pertaining to the development of the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy (1910-1925). This material was essential for an understanding of the theological issues surrounding the rise of the LHA. Finally, primary and secondary historical materials will be reviewed and commented on.

I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHURCH-SECT TYPOLOGY

The sociological study of church-sect typology began in Europe around the turn of the twentieth century. The German sociologist Max Weber (1864 - 1920) believed that sociology was a comprehensive science of social action. His primary focus was on the "subjective meanings that human actors attach to their actions in their mutual orientations within

specific social-historical contexts." (Coser, 1977, 217) He classified social action into four types: (1) goal - oriented rational action; (2) value - oriented rational action; (3) emotional motivations; and (4) traditional action. Weber's work has been viewed as a "paradigm of a sociology which is both historical and systemic" (Coser, 1977, 218) and was primarily concerned with western society.

Weber, a student of social change, "was concerned with the alterations that took place at the societal level that permitted a virtually wholly secularized social structure to develop." (Swatos, 1976, 130) He attempted to apply sociological principles, particularly his concept of "ideal type," (a hypothetical model used to facilitate precise comparisons) to the development of Christianity in Europe. He was trying to understand the processes by which the Christian religion and the larger social system interacted to bring about the pluralizing and secularizing of the Western world. (Swatos, 1975, 132) By using the concepts of church and sect as a functional dichotomy he drew some conclusion about movements within Christianity. While his "types" have been both used and abused, it was his intent to develop a heuristic tool "to give an understanding 'inside look' ... and, in this limited sense, an 'explanation' for specific kinds of action." (Eister, 1967, 87)

In developing his church-sect typology, Weber defines the "church-type" as a political institution. This means it is capable of exercising authority. Furthermore, the

"church-type" maintains its order by granting and withholding sacramental goods. (Berger, 1984, 368) Membership, based on birthright, is compulsory, meaning it compels the members of society to come under its authority. However, it does not stress a restrictive ethical lifestyle.

Weber's definition of sect is a voluntary association "which uses no force and makes no effort to control all people within a certain sphere of power." (Berger, 1984, 368) Membership is restrictive and is reserved for those who religiously and ethically qualify.

In developing a theory of leadership, Weber uses the term 'charisma.' "In the church, charisma is attached to the office; in the sect, it is attached to the religious leader." (Berger, 1984, 369) In summary, Weber is attempting to distinguish between different modes of religious organizations. The "church-type" is more hierarchical and inclusive, incorporating all as members. The "sect-type" is more democratic and exclusive, testing the possible members.

Ernst Troeltsch (1865-1923) was one of the great German philosophers of religion and culture at the turn of the century. He expanded upon Weber's theory in his The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches. In his earlier studies, he discovers what he believes to be a universal sameness in all religions. However, when he applies the new sciences of sociology and psychology in his study of religion, he radically changes his views. Troeltsch begins

to take into account "the interplay of rational and nonrational, transcendental and cultural factors in all experiences and expressions of religion." (Kliever, 1977, 1979)

Building upon this principle, Troeltsch understands the social teachings of the early church to have a dualistic tendency. One branch, which follows the strict law of the Scriptures, develops into movements such as monasticism and pietism. The other branch follows the tendency to compromise with the world. (Troeltsch, 1950, 331)

As Troeltsch expands upon the theory of Weber, he teaches that the "church-type" is overwhelmingly conservative and, to a certain extent, accepts the secular order, dominates the masses, and in principle can be considered a universal church organization. Like Weber, he believes those who become its members do so by birth rite and are legitimated by infant baptism. By using the European Roman Catholic Church as a model, he further emphasizes that the "church-type" maintains a professionalized priesthood and an organized hierarchy. (Troeltsch, 1950, 331-339)

In Weberian fashion he contrasts the "church-type" with the "sect-type":

> The sects, on the other hand, are comparatively small groups. They aspire after personal inward perfection, and they aim at direct personal fellow ship between the members of each group... Their attitude towards the world, the State, and Society may be indifferent, tolerant, or hostile, since they have no desire to control and incorporate these forms of social life; on the contrary, they

> tend to avoid them; their aim is usually either to tolerate their presence alongside of their own body, or even to replace these social institutions by their own society. (Troeltsch, 1950, 331)

Troeltsch also observes that "sect-types" or, as he sometimes calls them, Christian revolutionary movements, begin with the poor masses. Niebuhr quotes Troeltsch saying:

> The really creative, church-forming, religious movements are the work of the lower strata. Here only can one find that union of unimpaired imagination, simplicity in emotional life, unreflective character of thought, spontaneity of energy and vehement force of need, out of which an unconditioned faith in a divine revelation, the naivete' of complete surrender and the intransigence of certitude can rise. Need upon the one hand and the absence of an all-relativizing culture of reflection on the other hand are at home only in these strata. (Niebuhr, 1929, 29)

One of the final characteristics of the "sect-type," according to Troeltsch, is their emphasis on "the subjective realization and the effects of grace." (Troeltsch, 1950, 341) While not trying to survive on the miracles of the past, the "sect-type" attempts to renew the miracles of the presence of Christ in the subjective reality of each individual's ability to master life and its difficulties.

Theologian - historian H. Richard Niebuhr (1894-1962) was introduced to German theology by his father, a pastor in the German Evangelical Church, who served a bilingual church in Missouri. Therefore, it was not surprising that Niebuhr was to write his doctoral dissertation at Yale on Ernst Troeltsch. In his work <u>The Social Sources of</u>

Denominationalism (1929) Niebuhr adapts Troeltsch's pre-reformation analysis to American church history.

Niebuhr approaches the Christian faith from a practical, rather than theoretical, viewpoint. Kliever notes that Niebuhr discovers that a variety of religious expressions have become institutionalized in the mainstream of "evangelical revivalism and fundamentalism, and secularized in liberal religiosity and humanitarianism." (Kliever, 1979, 38) This institutionalization is not only true of the early twentieth century church but also true of the colonial churches as well. Niebuhr theorizes there is "an inevitable rhythm of fluidity and fixity, of reformation and institutionalization of the kingdom of God in American history." (Kliever, 1979, 38) From this theoretical basis comes his interpretation of the "church-sect" typology.

Niebuhr considers church and sect as poles on a continuum rather than simple discrete categories. According to Niebuhr, much zeal is generated in the initial stages of sect formation. However, this burst of new energy begins to subside and in the next stages of development, the sect begins to accommodate itself to the norms and values of the surrounding society. This challenge is critically acute beginning with the second generation. Unless the children in the second generation are socialized by the parents, it is unlikely they will experience the same zeal for the organization as their parents.

According to Niebuhr's definition, as a sect becomes

more accommodating of social values, it begins to appear more "denominational." His use of "denomination" is similar to Troeltsch's use of "church-type." The difference in this case is a denomination will fail to dominate the society. He suggests that the denomination recognizes the strength of the secular world. It is built on the principle of compromise:

> ... it dominates the world and is therefore dominated by the world... (the church) utilizes the State and the ruling classes, and weaves these elements into her own life; she then becomes an integral part of the existing social order; ... in so doing, however, she becomes dependent upon the upper classes, and upon their development. (Niebuhr, 1929, 21)

Niebuhr's model of sect-denomination-church seemed to work well for the American religious scene. "By definition, only one 'church-type' organization can be present in a given society compared to an unlimited number of 'denominations' potentially co-existing at the same time usually in a more pluralistic society." (Benefiel, 1986, 7) In summary, Coleman notes:

> Niebuhr's specific contribution to theory was his hypothesis of the precariousness of sectarian organization. He postulated a dynamism by which sects become churches as they face the dilemma of recruitment and incorporation of children of sect members. Within a generation or two, sects either become churches or die out. (Coleman, 1968, 58)

Weber, Troeltsch and Niebuhr all have a common theme. They recognize "church-sect" typology as an organizational concept. These three see the church organization as relational and bipolar. Weber and Troeltsch focus on the "precarious" nature of the church giving rise to sects.

Niebuhr focuses on the instability of the sect dealing with member recruitment and leadership succession. However, this theory has been challenged and expanded upon.

II. ATTEMPTS AT RETOOLING THE CHURCH-SECT TYPOLOGY

The Church-Sect theory of Weber has been useful to students in the field of religious sociology. Many have attempted to tailor it to the unique phenomenon of American denominationalism. Some types are so rigid they give no room for exceptions. Others are so theoretical and detailed that they cannot find an actual example to prove their hypotheses. The theory, with all its derivatives, has been debated since its 1904 debut. I believe there is no single sociological theory or model that contains all the variables found in either the American or European religious institutions. However, I still believe there are basic tenets of the theory that are useful for tracing the development of church organizations.

Weber's theory, based upon an European model of church and sect, was absorbed by the American religious sociologists. These theorists began to alter his ideas to fit the United States' phenomenon of denominationalism. The first American sociologist trained to handle and extend church-sect theory was Howard Becker. Swatos notes:

> In an attempt intended to facilitate increased specificity, Becker (1932) delineated two types within each of the original types and thus devised a cult-sect-denominational-ecclesia model. In

> developing the typology in this way, however, Becker apparently abandoned - or ignored - the Weberian device of the ideal type and instead moved closer... to a notion of "abstract collectivities - ideal realities rather than constructs. (Swatos 1976, 135)

J. Milton Yinger, a prolific writer in the field of the sociology of religion, has developed a six step classification system based on the Weberian model. His stages are as follows: the universal church, the ecclesia, the denomination, the established sect, the sect, and the cult. Even this detailed typology has had its share of criticism. It is viewed as complex and sophisticated, and Johnson adds, it contains "ambiguities, contradictions, and unwarranted assumptions." (Johnson, 1971, 126)

The following will be a limited simplified summary of church, denomination, and sect typology characteristics based on Weber, et al. I have chosen these three rather than listing the many variations that have been developed in this school of thought.

The "church-type" will have been established for centuries and will have six basic characteristics. First, it claims universality and will include all members of the society in its fold. Second, it will establish a religious monopoly and attempt to eliminate all its religious competition. Third, it will be very closely allied with the established government of the land as well as other secular powers. It supports existing social and economic institutions and closely identifies with the status quo. The "church-type" sees its primary function as "making an

effort to insure social cohesion and order." (Yinger, 1970, 253) In this case it must strive for some form of peaceful coexistence with society. Everyone should be brought into the ecclesiastical fold and that requires a willingness to compromise with the wide ranges of behavior found in society. Fourth, it will demonstrate a highly organized and imposing hierarchical bureaucracy with a complex division of labor. Fifth, it will "employ a professional, full-time clergy who possess the appropriate credentials of education and formal ordination." (Johnstone, 1983, 7) Finally, the growth of the "church-type" will be by the natural gains of the birth and socialization of its children.

The second typology is "denominational-type." It will not have achieved the universal status of the "church-type," and is "limited by class, racial, and sometimes regional boundaries." (Yinger, 1957, 149) A "denominational-type" will be on relatively good terms with most secular and state powers. It will maintain fairly good relationships with other denominations for the sake of religious pluralism. It also, like the "church-type," must depend on the birth of new children to increase its membership. "A denomination accepts the principles of at least modestly changing doctrine and practice, and tolerates some theological diversity and dispute." (Johnstone, 1983, 80) A fifth aspect in a "denominational-type" is its worship. It tends to follow a fairly routinized ritual and will suppress and discourage any spontaneous emotional expression. It ordains

and employs its own clergy who must meet certain minimal requirements before they can be certified to serve a local parish. The seventh characteristic pertains to its attitude toward its members. It tends to recognize the competing demands of society and thus accepts less involvement than would a "sect-type." It will be inclusive rather than exclusive in terms of membership policies. Finally, in regard to social standing, the "denominational-type" tends to draw "disproportionately from the middle and upper classes." (Johnstone, 1983, 80)

Many students in the field of sociology of religion believe the fundamental theme of the "sect-type" is "protest." "Sect-types" typically schism and break away from the parent religious organizations. (Yinger, 1970, 81) He further believes "the proliferation of separate churches and sects can best be explained... by (the) variation in needs, values, and experiences in a heterogeneous society." (Yinger, 1961, 100)

Sects are characterized by voluntary workers, exclusive membership, and the expulsion of those who do not conform. They maintain an attitude of an elite spiritual status that has come from a special enlightenment. "Sect-types" tend to manifest a radicalism of a sort in regard to its non-compromising and separatistic attitude toward the world. (Niebuhr, 1929; Pope, 1942) Its clergy may not have formal education or ordination and it gains it members by evangelism, recruitment and birth, in that order.

III. PROBLEMS WITH THE CHURCH-SECT THEORY

There are those who believe many problems have arisen in the church-sect theory since Troeltsch's departure from Weber's original methodology. Eister believes Troeltsch introduced what became an open invitation for subjective, value-laden definitions. "For what is 'compromise' of an ethic to one believer or even to a non-believer -- is not compromise to another." (Eister, 1967, 87)

"Troeltsch was a theologian attempting to relate types of religious experience to the varieties of social teachings with which they might be correlated." (Swatos, 1975, 133) He altered Weber's basic ideas by moving from the emphasis on organization to behavior and stressing the notion of "compromise."

Swatos found what he believed to be a problem in Niebuhr's reinterpretation of Weber. He notes:

> (When) taken by itself, it (Niebuhr's theory) tends toward the reification of the types and the hypothetical continuum which he in turn posited - it contained further seeds for church-sect theory to develop (falsely) into a quasi-evaluation device. (Swatos, 1975, 136)

Church-sect typologies have been under attack by scholars for a number of years. Erich Goode, for example, has called the typology a "dead concept, obsolete and archaic." (Goode, 1967,77) Coleman (1968) has observed that the attempts to improve the typologies have led to a lack of consensus on the characteristics which should be included. For example, Johnson (1971) sees Yinger's attempt to broaden

the typology categories as fraught with weaknesses.

Eister (1967) observes the problem with the typologies as a definition problem. There are too many descriptions. Often writers themselves do not know what concept for which to settle. In the same sense, Snook (1974) believes the church-sect theory needs a "more comprehensive theoretical framework."

Niebuhr states the "rise of the sects was to champion the uncompromising ethics of Jesus and to 'preach the gospel to the poor'" this, he believed, was an effective means of recalling Christendom to its mission." (Yinger, 1970, 253) However, it should not be assumed, Snook suggests, that sects are necessarily a better sort of religious group. (Snook, 1974, 202-203)

A final problem with church-sect typologies is the tendency to build polar types. Troeltsch intended for his typology to show two variant forms of religious organizations. Furthermore, Johnson believes both the "church-type" and the "denominational-type" are more accommodating to their host societies than the sects. However, "one commits a grave error in seeing them as standing at the extreme end of the theoretical continuum between church and sect." (Johnson, 1971, 133) The main shortcoming of the church-sect typology appears to be the assumption that the development of sects always leads to a compromise of religious purity and distinctiveness.

Some scholars have suggested that "tension" be used as

an alternative to the church-sect typologies. While Benefiel (1986) notes that only two measures for tension appear in the church-sect literature, it seems to have the support of Coleman (1968), Yinger (1970), Johnson (1971), and others. "Simply stated, tension is the degree to which a religious group accepts or rejects (and is, in turn, accepted or rejected by) the social environment in which it exists." (Benefiel, 1986, 14) The key advantages to using "tension with the socio-cultural environment as a measure of sectness is its conceptual simplicity, its applicability to different religious groups, and the fact that it is a characteristic included in most church-sect typologies." (Benefiel, 1986,15)

IV. POSSIBLE USES FOR THE CHURCH-SECT THEORY

Despite the broadsides the church-sect theory has taken over the past several years, there are still useful aspects in the typology concerning the process of sect development. It provides a conceptual framework for understanding the development of religious organizations. The paradigm could be used for comparisons and contrasts to existing and newly formed religious organizations. As a predictive model, it could give the researcher an understanding of religious organizational life cycle, the impact of secularizing influences upon the organization, and a clarification of the tension between a church's theological perspective and

societal norms. Finally, the theory can be used to confirm or deny this researcher's or any other researcher's hypotheses concerning a religious organization's response to a major social upheaval.

Next I will examine the concepts of secularization, a transforming process religious groups undergo as they move from sect to church status.

V. THE THEORY OF SECULARIZATION

The American Heritage Dictionary (1985) defines secularism as "the view that consideration of the present well-being of mankind should predominate over religious considerations in civil affairs or public education." While many theorists vary in their interpretation of secularism, all agree in principle with the above definition.

According to Douglas, the term secularism has been invented by G.J. Holyoake (1817-1906) "to indicate a way of life which leaves out of consideration God, revelation, heaven and hell, but bases morality on that which will enhance the public good." (Douglas, 1979, 894) However, Harry Smith indicates the term was first used "to mean the transfer of physical properties from ecclesiastical control to worldly principalities." (Smith, 1968, 158) While these definitions are rather general they still maintain the concept of a shift away from religious influences.

Max Weber defines the term more narrowly. He sees it as "the process by which sectors of society and culture are

removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols" (Berger, 1967, 107) Bryan Wilson, likewise states, secularization is the "process whereby religious thinking, practice and institutions lose social significance." (Wilson, 1966, xiv) Ronald Benefiel defines secularization as "the process that a religious group undergoes as it accommodates itself to its social environment." (Benefiel, 1986, 18)

However, Richard Fenn notes that while the term generally applies to the decline of orthodox religious beliefs and practices in a particular society, religion will continue to exist in a secular society. He also notes that "secularization tends to limit the sacred to specific times, places, people, and events." (Fenn, 1978, 28) Thus, according to Fenn and others, the breadth of the influence of religion decreases as its host society becomes more secular. The extent of its controlling power becomes limited to those who are voluntarily within its boundaries.

The above definitions describe sociological theory that directly relates to secularization. The theory of secularism states that as a society becomes more complex, pluralistic and begins to modify, change, and diversify, the influence of traditional religious beliefs begins to decline. (Niebuhr, 1929; Pope, 1942; Wilson, 1966; Redekop, 1974; Fenn, 1978) Thus religious exercises become more confined to the activities of religious institutions and have less influence on society as a whole. When the

individual attempts to look for sources of legitimacy, he is now more predisposed to the secularizing influences of the society than by the former religious influences. (Fenn, 1978) It concludes that individuals are dominated or prejudiced by the force which dominates the culture, whether secular or religious. However, regardless which one dominates, the other will survive in some degree.

It is Stark and Bainbridge who states that a sect's accommodation to their social environment is "the central thesis of church-sect theory." (Stark, 1981, 137) Richard Niebuhr (1929) believes sects tend to adapt (secularize) to their culture. As a result the transformation is both internal and external. Internally, the second generation leaders begin to lose the spirit and fervor of the first generation leaders. Externally, the increase of wealth and social status forces the sect to redefine its relationship with the world. Liston Pope notes that social pressure against certain religious practices will eventually weaken the sect members' commitment to those unconventional norms. Furthermore, the sects' desire to "outdistance" other religious groups in the community causes them to focus on societal prestige and a secular measure of success. (Pope, 1942, 121) Thus, Redekop states:

> ...sect development involves a dialectical process between sect and host society. What sects become in time is not simply a function of their initial characteristics taken by themselves but is the product of an ongoing process of interaction with their environments." (Redekop, 1974, 345)

Wilson notes that some groups, like the Amish, avoid the process of secularization by "isolating" themselves from the rest of society. In this case the group uses dress, language, and/or territorial location to develop a tight-knit social or physical community. They have organized themselves to perpetuate their distinctiveness (Benefiel, 1986, 22) Other groups slow the process by "insulating" themselves from the secular world by establishing behavioral rules for group norms. (Wilson, 1967, 37) And, it should be noted, if "norms become sacred like the belief system, there is a reluctance to give them up." (Nielson, 1971, 27) However, the insulating group must maintain group solidarity while remaining in both "geographical and social proximity to the secularizing influences of the outside world." (Benefiel, 1986, 23) For Benton Johnson, the process of secularization, in some cases, "is not irreversible" and a group may stop the secularization process. (Johnson, 1971, 131)

Some groups have great difficulty maintaining a position of social isolation. The position of isolation would, for example, be nearly impossible for the conversionist sect like the Church of the Nazarene. To completely cut themselves off from the world would be inconsistent with their commitment to evangelize the world. The literature points to the fact that while the process may be slow, most sects accommodate themselves to their host societies and undergo secularization. Benefiel notes:

> Adjustment to the social environment is central to the process of secularization. This adjustment is made more complex when the environment is unstable. The organization finds itself faced with trying to retain its identity while keeping pace with a continuously changing social situation. If the organization tries to initiate internal change in order to remain pertinent, it risks losing traditional symbols that have contributed in the past to its social solidarity. If it holds on to reified symbols and beliefs in order to maintain its identity, it quickly discovers that society has left it behind. (Benefiel, 1986, 21)

In summary, the definition of secularism contains within it the postulation and implication of two basic sociological theories: that of religion losing its grasp of influence over the secular aspects of society and accommodating to those secularizing influences; and sectarianism, the development of groups within the parent religious organization who protest the influences of secularization and exit the group to reestablish what they consider to be primitive orthodox religious goals devoid of the secularizing influences of culture. "Church-sect" theory not only implies a secularization but a movement in class status. The following sections give an overview to that thesis.

VI. SOCIAL STRATIFICATION THEORY

Social stratification and social differentiation are two terms used by sociologists to differentiate between people. Social differentiation divides people into distinct individual qualities and social roles. (Kerbo, 1983, 10) Those distinct qualities may be biological characteristics

or social roles. This, in itself, does not necessarily constitute social stratification.

Social stratification, however, tends to imply social inequality with regard to the valued resources, services, and positions in the society. In this sense, Kerbo defines social stratification as an institutionalization or hardened system of social layering. It is a hierarchical system in which "people have come to expect that individuals and groups with certain positions will be able to demand more influence and respect and accumulate a greater share of goods and services." (Kerbo, 1983, 11) Warner defines as follows:

> Social stratification refers to any system of ranked statuses by which all the members of a society are placed in superior and inferior positions. Besides kinship and age and sex typing, various other criteria, such as economic position, power, and so on, may provide the bases of stratification in any given society. (Warner, 364, 1961)

The literature indicates that sociologists believe that societies develop differently, therefore each will have different stratification structures. There are five commonly held types of social structures.

Primitive communalism system is a social structure in which there is a high degree of sharing of food and tools. The only individuals with any status in such a society are the chief and the shaman.

Slavery is a social system of extreme inequity in which some people are owned by other people. In some cases a slave

could buy his freedom and thus elevate his social status. Obviously such social mobility was limited to the better educated and the more highly skilled.

The Caste system is a form of social stratification in which one is assigned the status of his parents from birth. This is known as ascribed status. This system is divided into four main categories with the Brahmans (priests) at the top and the Untouchables at the very bottom. In between are several occupational subclasses. This system is extremely rigid and there is no social mobility from one class to another. One does not marry outside of his caste nor train in any other occupation than that into which he has been born. With this ascribed status there is no conflict over who has what jobs. Although extremely oppressive, it has been working in India for nearly 4000 years.

The estate system was in essence a "relationship based on military power or economic dominance." (Kerbo, 1983, 21) Initially it began with two classes: the nobility, a militaristic land holding class; and the vassals, the peasants and serfs. The latter provided labor and military services for the former in exchange for food and protection from outside attacks. By the twelfth century, a third class, the priests, came into being in Europe as this system developed. Kerbo notes this was primarily a closed system. However, there was some chance for "an exceptionally bright peasant" to achieve a high religious position or skilled warrior to achieve a position of nobility. In later

feudalism the ranks became much more rigid. (Kerbo, 1983, 22)

Finally, the class system, which is a modern product of the industrial revolution. Class generally means large numbers of people see themselves and others as sharing the status that comes with wealth, power, and prestige. Rossides states that with class stratification "the industrial society defines social level and function in terms of a hierarchy of differential achievement by individuals, especially in economic pursuits." (Rossides, 1976, 17) Wallace states:

> A class stratification system is a form of stratification in which people are ranked into categories according to their economic status, but in which some opportunity exists for mobility between the categories based on achievement or merit. (Wallace, 1985, 251)

VII. KARL MARX AND MAX WEBER: THE CLASS SYSTEM

With the birth of modern sociology there has developed differing schools of thought concerning the class system. Karl Marx divided industrial societies into two classes, the owners and the workers.

Karl Marx (1818-1883) is probably best known as the Father of Communism. Marx was born to a Jewish family who converted to Christianity, however, he abandoned religion all together. He entered the University of Berlin to study law, became immersed in his reading of Hegal, and dropped his legal studies.

Hegal's philosophy had a profound effect on the young Marx. However, it was the teaching of Feuerbach that helped him create his Materialist Theory of History.

Hegal believed the history of each nation developed from what both proceeded and succeeded it. This development followed a fundamental spirit peculiar to that nation. Taking this concept one step further, Hegal believed that the whole world was directed by "The Absolute" (a pantheistic concept of God). For Hegal the development of the whole of human history was "the progressive self-realization of this Absolute Spirit." (Stevenson, 1987, 54)

Feuerbach, a humanist, believed that Hegal had his concepts turned around. He believed that instead of God progressively realizing Himself in history, religion is a product of men reflecting on this world.

Marx, building upon Feuerbach's suggestion, developed the idea that the driving force in the world is not spiritual but material in nature. Economic conditions are the key to all history. Marx postulates that under the capitalist system, laborers do not work for themselves but for those who own private property. Marx writes, "Private property... as wealth, is compelled to preserve its own existence and thereby the existence of its opposite, the proletariat." He further notes:

> The possessing class and the proletarian class represent one and the same human self-alienation. But the former feels satisfied and affirmed in this self-alienation, experiences the alienation as a sign of its own power, and possesses in it the appearance of a human existence. The latter,

> however, feels destroyed in this alienation, seeing in it its own impotence and the reality of an inhuman existence. (Marx, 1972, 104)

The capitalist system, he believes, has been externally imposed and has created a class system which exploits the workers. Therefore, according to Marx, revolution is necessary to overthrow the capitalist system and install the classless system of communism.

Marx has been among the first to develop a theory on the relationship between religion and society. He sees religion as a barrier and against social change in the industrial society. He believes that religion is making something sacred out of social stratification. It is a means employed by the dominant class to oppress the lower classes. He calls it the "opium of the people."

He notes that those politically in charge are from the society's dominant religion. Furthermore, religion emphasizes the idea that hard work leads to success and the "here and now" is not as important as the "hereafter." He believes these teachings of sacrifice and hard work only benefit the ruling class. If the lower class remains satisfied with their life situation, then religion is an instrument for the maintenance of inequality. In this sense he believes that religion legalizes the social class system. "Marx called for the abolition of religion. He felt without religious beliefs the masses could understand more easily they were oppressed and would unite to overcome their oppressors." (Wallace, 1985, 442) Because his concepts look within the social structure for seeds of self-destruction

and social change it has been called a "conflict" approach to social theory.

The German sociologist scholar Max Weber (1864-1920) concerned with the roots of the Industrial Revolution and approached the concept of the class system differently. He believed a capitalist spirit or mentality was the foundation of the revolution. He published these ideas in 1952 under the title The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.

Weber sees capitalism as emanating from the idea that making a profit is morally right and the duty of the individual is to increase his capital. (Weber, 1952, 24) In establishing this thesis Weber links Protestant Reformation ethics with capitalistic spirit. Obviously the Protestants of the Reformation Era had no intention of establishing worldly capitalism. Weber believes they accidentally caused capitalism. (Weber, 1952, 90-92)

During the Middle Ages and prior to the Reformation, traditional religious belief held that worldly work was of little significance and accumulation of wealth was wrong. The Catholic Church taught the pursuit of material gain beyond one's personal needs was wrong. During the Reformation John Calvin taught that all people were predestined at birth to either heaven or hell. The outward or visible signs of the "elect" of God were great works flowing from one's spirituality. The elect could not earn their way into heaven. They had to clearly demonstrate their godliness. This translated into being successful in an

earthly station or calling. Weber notes, "Thus the Calvinist... creates his own salvation, or, as would be more correct, the conviction of it." (Weber, 1952, 115)

A second component to this belief was living a life of frugality. The outward display of wealth had been rejected by the leaders of the Reformation. "Weber, therefore, defines the two core components of the 'Protestant ethic' as a drive to worldly success to prove one's 'elect' status, combined with frugal lifestyle." (Weber, 1952, 170-171)

Weber believes this combination of diligence and frugality leads inevitably to the accumulation of wealth. The resulting spirit and methodology that follow these "elect" become a driving force and spirit in the development of capitalism, which is, in turn, a driving force in the development of industrialization. Different than Marx, Weber believes one function or consequence of religion is to legitimate the economic order. This theory has been interpreted as similar to a structural-functional one. This means the theory attempts to understand how the social structures function to keep the society stable.

In his work The Sociology of Religion, Weber makes some general statements about the religious activity of those in the class system. He notes:

> The more agrarian the essential social patterns of a culture... the more likely it is that the agrarian element of the population will fall into a pattern of traditionalism and that religion, at least that of the masses, will lack ethical rationalization. (Weber, 1963, 81)

He further states:

> Yet it is still in theory that the middle class, by virtue of its distinctive pattern of economic life, inclines in the direction of a rational ethical religion... (and) the urban man's life has a far more rational essential character... (Weber, 1963, 97)

He also notes that those of the "economically disprivileged social groups" place a specific importance on salvation religion. Furthermore, the lower the social class, "the more radical the forms assumed by the need for a savior..." (Weber, 1963, 102) However, those who have high social and economic standings will avoid the idea of salvation in religion and replace it with a religious system that legitimizes their pattern of life and worldly situation. (Weber, 1963, 106-107)

Weber's theory, which is supported by H. Richard Niebuhr (1929), indicates that the lower the social status and the closer to the rural life, the more apt the religion will be traditional, emotional, and salvation prone. And, the higher the social status and the more urban its make up, the more rational, self justifying, and less other-worldly the religion. Weber's theory on social status gives a clearer picture to the nature of secularism and enables us to better understand the appeal of sectarian religion for the lower classes, (in this group Weber includes the Calvinists, reformed Baptists, Mennonites, Quakers, and Pietists) especially as it applies to the Methodist and holiness movements such as the LHA. Next I will review the theological concerns of the dissertation.

VIII. FUNDAMENTALISM AND MODERNISM

The issues relating to the era covered in this dissertation (1905-1925) pertains to a debate that arose in the church around the turn of the century. It was called the Modernist-Fundamentalist Controversy, and the issue cut across all denominations.

Modernism means a new trend. In the religious controversy it pertains to a new trend of thought and doctrine in the Christian religion. Its teachings culminated by the beginning of the twentieth century. However, the doctrines had been developing for several years.

Fundamentalism was a national religious and theological reaction to secularism and modern (liberal) religious thought. It was organized following World War I. It is generally thought the Movement received its name from a series of books entitled The Fundamentals: A Testimony of the Truth, (1910-1912). (Ferm, 1959, 291) These books were published with a grant from Lyman and Milton Stewart, two wealthly laymen of California. These men felt the twelve indoctrinational volumes would be a defense of the "old-time" gospel. Over three million copies of the volumes were circulated throughout the nation and in foreign countries. 300,000 were sent to ministers and missionaries. (The Fundamentals, 1988, preface).

The mid-century successes of nineteenth century

American evangelicals appeared to be bringing in the Kingdom of God. However, by century's end many believed it would never happen. (Frank, 1986) Many of the great orthodox traditions were crumbling under an assault of modern theology. This condition did not erupt suddenly; it was a gradual development following the Civil War. Modernism's origin was rooted in the Enlightenment and resulted in an attempt to reconcile the differences between orthodoxy and intellectualism and science.

Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) has been called the "Father of Modern Theology." He believed he could convert the modern despisers of Christianity if he could help them understand its "essence" and not its orthodox trappings. Thus they "could in intellectual integrity return to the Christian Faith." (Ramm, 1973, 76) In 1799 Schleiermacher wrote <u>On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers</u> in which he addressed the Romantics with the message that they were not so far from religion as they thought, stating his belief that religion is the "feeling and intuition of the universe." (Schleiermacher, 1958, 14) The resulting affair was to make orthodox Christianity palatable to the new age of scientific and philosophical intellect. The outcome was the denial of many of its cardinal doctrines.

The following points were at the crux of the issue: the historic division between the natural and the supernatural, supernatural miracles, Divine revelation, the total

depravity of man, the divinity of Christ, his virgin birth, his atoning sacrificial death, and his bodily resurrection and ascension. In addition to these orthodox doctrines, the liberals rejected the church's position on subjective faith in Christ as Lord and traditional eschatology including the final division of the lost and the saved. Finally, Ramm notes:

> In rejecting Holy Scripture as the revealed, inspired, infallible, and authoritative Word of God and relocating its normative character in the religious experiences... (the Liberals were) turning man to his own reason and experience... (Ramm, 1973, 83)

Fundamentalism was an evangelical response to religious liberalism also known as modernism. (In this dissertation I will use of the term liberal as I would modern, modernism, or modernist.) The Fundamentalist did not view liberalism a new version of historic Christianity. He believed it to be the denial of orthodoxy. According to Ramm, the evangelical response proceeded at two levels: first, the fundamentalist ministers, evangelists, and Bible teachers; and second, the learned theologian (such as Machen and Warfield).

Fundamentalist attacks on liberalism moved on many fronts. They used Bible Conferences, Bible Institutes, publishing concerns, evangelical and revival crusades, fellowships and associations and the radio. They focused themselves on teaching the inerrancy, dependability, authenticity, and truthfulness of the Bible. (Kantzer, 1978, 37) By employing the scriptures as the revealed truth of God, they emphasized the traditional doctrines of the

church. (Cole, 1963; Kantzer, 1978; Sandeen, 1978; Rausch, 1979; Marsden, 1980; for complete reading see The Fundamentals: A Testimony to the Truth, Vols. 1-4, [1988]) The movement attacked the Modernistic teaching of Higher Criticism and Evolution. The Fundamentalist believed these teaching eroded the foundation of the authority of the scriptures.

Marsden has noted that there are two ways of viewing fundamentalism: as an "extreme and agonized defense of a dying way of life" and as an "outgrowth of the 'Millenarian' movement that developed in late nineteenth-century America..." (Marsden, 1980, 4) With regard to the former, H. Richard Niebuhr (1929) viewed fundamentalism as closely related to the conflict between urban and rural cultures. Smith agrees with Niebuhr's thesis. Smith notes one component of "Wesleyan-fundamentalism" was the farmer's feeling that the urban world had passed him by playing all the while a demonic "Pied Piper's" tune which his children could not resist. (Smith, 1962, 308) The Millenarian view was propounded by Ernest Sandeen (1970) who took issue with Niebuhr's thesis. However, Marsden, like Niebuhr, views fundamentalism as an organized protest group.

Obviously there are many different perspectives from which to view the Fundamentalist Movement. One gets the impression he is looking through a kaleidoscope when reviewing the topic. However, Niebuhr, Marsden, and Sandeen all have relevance when viewing the attitudes of the

Laymen's Holiness Association.

IX. PRIMARY LITERATURE SOURCES

The primary reading focused on an eight year period (1917-1925) of the publication of The Holiness Layman. (The Methodist and The Holiness Messenger were other names of the paper as well.) This was the product of The Laymen's Holiness Association (formerly the Jamestown Camp Meeting), and J. G. Morrison was the editor from 1910 to 1925. The materials reveal the progress of his and LHA ideas and the intensification of their positions. It moves progressively from speaking out about liberalism within the Methodist Church to a Wesleyan-fundamentalist position.

Other souces included pamphlets and articles Morrison wrote for other Holiness papers, such as the Herald of Holiness, the offical paper of the Church of the Nazarene. Morrison was a frequent contributor to the Herald following his joining the Nazarenes. Still other souces included the memoirs of Ira Hammer -- an individual who worked with Morrison in the LHA. Hammer's information fills in the gaps as to the attitude of the LHA, but is one sided. Occasionally his dates are incorrect. Other memoirs include Horace Cowan, who joined the Nazarenes in 1910. His personal recollection gives the Nazarene view when the LHA joined the church in 1922. Again, his dates are not always correct. I also consulted district and conference minutes

for correct dating and census records for LHA population/class data.

Timothy Smith is the chief historian for the Church of the Nazarene. His work, Called Unto Holiness: The Story of the Nazarenes: The Formative Years (1962), is the standard history for the denomination. It is very complete but very broad. He was required to cover the origins of seven holiness groups that merged with the Church of the Nazarene between 1907 and 1922. Time nor space did not permit him to go into much detail for the smaller groups such as the LHA. Often Smith depended upon the dates given by Ira Hammer which were incorrect. Overall the work is correct and the analysis accurate. However, Smith's work is cumbersome and students find its arrangement confusing. (This is a personal opinion having used the work several times in teaching denominational history courses.) M. E. Redford's work, the Rise of the Church of the Nazarene (original 1948), is very brief and lacks specifics. Redford was commissioned to write the history for the denomination's Christian Education Department. Its purpose was to give the laymen a quick overview, which is does. Dr. J. B. Chapman, Editor of the Herald of Holiness and General Superintendent of the Church of the Nazarene, wrote the first general history of the denomination in 1926. His information lacks detail but was helpful in giving an understanding to the attitude of the early Nazarenes and their relationship to the Methodist Church.

It is Smith (1962) who orginally propones the concept of Wesleyan-fundamentalism. He realized this group combined the issues of the Fundamentalist Movement with Wesleyan principles. However, Smith did not give much support for his idea. Marsden (1980) approaches the holiness issue within fundamentalism from the Keswickian side. This interpretation of holiness doctrine orginated in England and supports the concept that the power of sin is broken, not removed or destroyed as the Wesleyan position holds. "It is rather, more closely related to the idea of positional holiness as taught by the Plymouth Brethern." (Wiley, 1952, Vol.II, 463) This dissertation will demostrate how the LHA visa via Morrison made the attachment of Wesleyan Holiness to fundamentalism.

To summarize, the development of religious organizations from protest group to sect generally begins when a group reconizes the process of secularization within the host group. The result is a high degree of tension between the protest group (generally from the lower class) and the host group (middle class or higher) which (according to church-sect theory) results in a breaking away of the protest group from the host. This in turn creates a new sect. As the internal processes of secularization begin to have their effect on the sect, its tensions with the culture and cultural values begin to decrease. It slowly takes on the values of the existing culture, and in time it evolves to a higher class standing. The characteristics of the

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group and its members begin to be described in denominational or church terms rather than sectarian terms. This results in another protest group evolving and starting the cycle over again. Pluralism and secularization have all had its effect on the organization. The LHA is a model organization which travels though the process of moving from protest group to sect. Its articulates its protest, however, in terms of a national concern, the Modernist - Fundamentalist Controversy and attaches its Wesleyan doctrine of holiness to fundamentalist creeds.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN METHODISM AND THE HOLINESS MOVEMENT

Before the Revolutionary War, Methodism was just a group of loosely connected societies under the Anglican Church nd directed by John Wesley (who never visited the American organization). However, during the War many of the Anglican priests, being Tories, fled to England and Canada. In the absence of official priests, Methodist lay leaders served the needs of many of the Anglican congregations through their class meetings. Following the war, Methodism broke away from the Anglican church and began to take a leadership role alongside the Baptists and Presbyterians in the frontier revival efforts. The first 50 years of the nineteenth century were American Methodism's greatest hour. Sydney Ahlstrom notes Methodism emerged as a "semisectarian secession from Anglicanism during the late eighteenth century, ... had become by the dawn of the twentieth the largest Protestant denomination in America." (Ahlstrom, 1972, 47)

Wesley is the spiritual father of Methodism and most Holiness sects have sprung from its roots. However, Wesleyan theology went though revisions and reinterpretations throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The members of the LHA considered

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themselves "old fashioned" Methodists theologically. That is, they believed in the doctrine and experience of entire sanctification as a second work of grace. This interpretation of Wesley was rooted in the theology of the Holiness Movement. Furthermore, many of the LHA's revivalistic characteristics were based upon the methods and practices coming out of nineteenth century Methodist and Holiness camp meeting traditions. In order to better comprehend these practices and theological traditions I will briefly survey American Methodist history, Wesleyan theology, and the development of the Holiness Camp Meeting Movement.

I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF WESLEY'S CHRISTIAN PERFECTION

John Wesley (1703-1791) was a man with boundless energy, holy zeal, a keen mind, and a determined will. These characteristics enabled him to establish the foundations for the development of the Methodist church and its doctrine of freewill, prevenient grace and Christian perfection in both England and America during the eighteenth century. In the New World, Methodist preachers challenged the established work of the Calvinists in New England. On the rugged western frontier the circuit riders and class leaders planted Methodism where the established Eastern churches were slow to go. (Peters, 1956; Weisberger, 1958) By the close of the nineteenth century, the Wesleyan doctrine of Christian perfection had left its imprint on American Protestant thought.

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According to H. Orton Wiley, an early twentieth century holiness theologian, "The doctrine of Christian perfection has come down to us from apostolic day as a sacred and uninterrupted tradition through all the Christian centuries." (Wiley, Vol.II, 449) It would appear Wiley is correct for a survey of several theological histories indicated early Christian divines had a deep concern for personal holiness and purity of heart. (Jessop, 1938; Latourette, 1970; Walker, 1970; Turner, 1977; Bromiley, 1978) (During the patristic period and the early Middle Ages, personal holiness took on the form of asceticism among the Catholic and eastern monks. In the latter part of the Middle Ages and into the early period of the Reformation, it manifested as mysticism. The writings of French Catholics such as Fenelon and Madame Guyon indicate the strong desire they had for personal purity and sanctification through self-denial and consecration to God. [Lawson, 1970, 81])

The formation of John Wesley's doctrine of Christian perfection began under the puritanical influence of his mother and father. Suzanne Wesley's moralistic teachings and disciplined living started him on the road toward Christian perfection. (Tuttle, 1978, 46) Samuel Wesley, an ordained Priest with the Church of England, taught him to "revere the patristic age as containing the best commentaries upon the apostolic writings," (Keefer, 1984, 23) Reflecting on the influences of his early life Wesley noted:

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> From a child I was taught to love and reverence the Scripture, the oracles of God; and, next to these to esteem the primitive Fathers, the writers of the first three centuries. Next after the primitive church, I esteemed our own, the Church of England, as the most scriptural national Church in the world. (Wesley, XIII, 272)

Wesley was schooled in the classics at Charter House, biblically trained at Oxford University and read the devotional literature of the early eighteenth century. The work of the mystics William Law, Thomas a' Kempis, and Jeremy Taylor especially appealed to Wesley's personal sense of morality. (Tuttle, 1978, 102) Each of their works had a deep effect upon his life and he devoured them with regularity. (Peters, 1956, 23) Wesley writes:

> In the year 1726, I met with Kempis's "Christian's Pattern." The nature and extent of inward religion, the religion of the heart, now appeared to me in a stronger light than ever it had done before. I saw, that giving even all my life to God (supposing it possible to do this, and go no further) would profit me nothing, unless I give my heart, yea, all my heart to Him. (Wesley, 1966, 10)

And again he notes:

> A year or two after, Mr. Law's Christian Perfection and Serious Call were put into my hands. These convinced me, more than ever, of the absolute impossibility of being half a Christian; and I determined, through His grace (the absolute necessity of which I was deeply sensible of), to be all devoted to God, to give Him all my soul, my body, and my substance. (Wesley, 1966, 10)

Furthermore, the practical application of primitive Christianity, as taught in the scriptures, was modeled by his Oxford Holy Club. It was because of the rigid discipline and methods the Holy Club applied to their lives

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in seeking a Holy lifestyle that Wesley and his followers were called "Methodists." Studying the development of Wesley's Christian perfection, one soon realizes he was shaped by many different forces including Catholic, Lutheran and Anglican teachings. However, his converting experience was also formed by the Moravians.

Wesley's first encounter with these German pietists was on his 1735 voyage to the American colony of Georgia. In the midst of a storm at sea, and afraid for his life, he noted the calmness of a group of these men and women. Upon his return to England in 1738, Wesley came in contact with an ordained Moravian missionary by the name of Peter Bohler. They visited frequently and had many conversations about religious faith. Bohler insisted that "saving faith brought with it both dominion over sin and true peace of mind - both holiness and happiness." (Peters, 1956, 23) It was Wesley's contact with the Moravians that lead to his famous "Aldersgate" conversion experience. And, according to Peters, they also taught him about "a second crisis subsequent to initial regeneration which brings 'deliverance from every fleshly desire, and from every outward and inward sin'" (Peters, 1956, 26) George Cox adds:

> ... the Moravians gave him (Wesley) a clearer concept of how holiness is attained. His experience of conversion in May, 1738, and subsequent experiences convinced Wesley that justification and sanctification are by faith and are instantaneous. (Cox, 1964, 18)

Wesley's doctrine of sanctification blossomed during his years of ministry. He defined it as being "renewed in

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the image of God, 'in righteousness and true holiness.'" (Wesley, 1966, 41) While he never testified to having experienced entire sanctification, nevertheless, he preached its obtainability.

Entire sanctification, for Wesley, began in regeneration and continued as a gradual growth in grace. Burtner and Chiles quotes Wesley saying:

> From the moment we are justified, there may be a gradual sanctification, a growing in grace, a daily advance in the knowledge and love of God. And if sin ceases before death, there must, in the nature of the thing, be an instantaneous change; there must be a last moment wherein it does exist, and a first moment wherein it does not. "But should we in preaching insist both on one and the other?" Certainly we must insist on the gradual change; and that earnestly and continually. And are there not reasons why we should insist on the instantaneous also? ... Therefore whoever would advance the gradual change in believers should strongly insist on the instantaneous. (Burtner and Chiles, 1954, 182)

Lindstrom clarifies what Wesley means by instantaneous sanctification:

> The gradual process is interrupted, that is, by the direct intervention of God, which in a single instant raises man to a higher plane. It is this combination of the gradual and the instantaneous that particularly distinguishes Wesley's conception of the process of salvation. (Lindstrom, n.d., 121)

Wesley taught instantaneous and gradual were both legitimate methods of experiencing the grace of God. "It is both the one and the other. From the moment we are justified, there may be a gradual sanctification, a growing in grace, a daily advance in the knowledge and love of God." (Wesley, VIII, 329) However, once achieved, the individual

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experiences real inward change. It appears to be Wesley's desire not to stress one aspect of the experience over the other. However, in reading the materials, one gathers he speaks more of growth in grace than of instantaneous sanctification. Nevertheless, it must be said, Wesley attempts to kept both in delicate balance. He states:

> Neither dare we affirm, as some have done, that all this salvation is given at once. There is, indeed, an instantaneous, as well as a gradual work of God, in His children; and there wants not, we know, a cloud of witnesses, who have received, in one moment, either a clear sense of the forgiveness of their sins, or the abiding witness of the Holy Spirit. (Wesley, 1966, 30)

In response to the question "When does inward sanctification begin?" Wesley responds:

> In the moment a man is justified. (yet sin remains in him, yea, the seed of all sin, till he is sanctified throughout). From that time a believer gradually dies to sin, and grows in grace. (Wesley, 1966, 42)

Wesley did not believe that sanctification was absolute perfection or infallibility. To accuse him of such is to misunderstand his definition of sin. Wesley taught that sin, "properly so called," was a "voluntary transgression" of a know law of God and must be repented. Involuntary transgressions, while they broke the law of God, were committed in ignorance and came under the atonement of Christ. Wesley states:

> I believe there is no such perfection in this life as excludes these involuntary transgressions which I apprehend to be naturally consequent on the ignorance and mistakes inseparable from mortality... Therefore sinless perfection is a phrase I never use, lest I should seem to

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contradict myself. (Wesley, 1966, 54)

Finally, to appreciate Wesley's concept of Christian Perfection and the high level of redemption and holiness he projects for man, one must understand his concept of depravity. For Wesley, mankind is totally depraved. There is not one part of man that is not infected by sin. Man has no power in himself to do good. However, because God is gracious, he has given to man his grace. This grace, prevenient grace, makes it possible for man to choose God's gracious offer of forgiveness and eternity life. Wesley insists:

> When he turns to God, it is grace (prevenient) co-operating with grace (redemptive). And this redemptive grace is conceived of as infused rather that imputed. It effects not simply a changed relationship but a changed nature. And it is sufficient to effect man's complete salvation. It is this high doctrine of grace which makes possible in a single system a synthesis of total depravity and Christian perfection. (Peters, 1956, 43)

Wesley believed if one loved God then one would delight in doing his will. As one's love was perfected, so would one's doing the will of God be perfected. While Wesley's teaching and views concerning Christian perfection, free will, and prevenient grace were consistent with his theology, the individual responsible for organizing and defending these thoughts was John Fletcher (1729-1785). Converted under Wesley's preaching in 1755, this brillant theologican, years later, clearly articulate the official Wesleyan position and defended the Methodist doctrine.

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II. JOHN FLETCHER'S CONTRIBUTION TO WESLEYAN THEOLOGY

As the English evangelical revival progressed through the 1760's, two theological camps began to develop within Methodism. It was divided between the Calvinists and the Arminians. (Mattke, 1968, 39) The Countess of Huntingdon, a Methodist of the Calvinist division, desired to open a training school for ministers. She founded Trevecca college in 1768 and called Fletcher to be its President.

In the 1770 preachers' meeting Wesley stated, "We have leaned too much toward Calvinism." (Fletcher, I, 8) When this statement was printed in the minutes of the meeting, a rupture was created between the two camps. This division, called the Antinomian controversy (1770-1778), resulted in the Countess dismissing Fletcher from the school. As a consequence of this breach Fletcher was encouraged by Wesley to write a defense of the Arminian position. Wesley wanted his position of freewill, as stated in the minutes, clarified. Furthermore, he wanted to check the spread of the Calvinists' teaching of election within the Methodists societies. Thus, Fletcher wrote his work entitled Checks to Antinomianism.

Fletcher's writings were beneficial to Wesley and the English Methodists, as well as to the American Methodists. The first issues of the Checks were in the hands of American Methodist ministers by 1791. They were welcomed by the struggling colonial societies. By 1816 they were placed on

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the General Conference Course of Study where they remained until 1880. (Knight, 1978, 22) Of these works, Methodist historian, Abel Stevens notes:

> ... more influential in the denomination than Wesley's own controversial writings on the subject. They influenced, indirectly through Methodism, the subsequent tone of theological thought in much of the Protestant world. (as quoted in Mattke, 1968, 38)

The result of Fletcher's accomplishment was fourfold. First, it systemized Wesley's thoughts. Fletcher has been viewed as the first systematic theologian of Methodism. (Mattke, 1968; Knight, 1978; Smith, 1980) Second, it clarified John Wesley's position on free will and resulted in the development of his doctrine of prevenient grace. The emphasis in this case was shifted away from theocentric to anthropocentic categories. (Knight, 1978, 19) "Fletcher employed the same argument Wesley used that the Holy Spirit awakens in human beings the dormant spiritual senses, enabling them to perceive and enjoy spiritual reality." (Smith, 1980, 69) Third, Wesley and Fletcher feared "that the Calvinists' theology would lead to antinomianism, or to a separation of doctrine and life, justification and new birth." (Knight, 1978, 15) The Checks would emphasize the necessity of a holy life, and teach that Christian perfection was teleological, that is an experience in preparation for heaven. (Cubie, 1976, 22)

It must be noted that Fletcher's teleological emphasis would differ from other nineteenth century holiness teachings in America such as Phoebe Palmer's. While

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attempting to maintain Wesley's balance of both gradual and instantaneous sanctification, (Fletcher, II, 636) Fletcher stresses the baptism of the Holy Spirit in justification. (Fletcher, II, 633) Similar to Wesley, he also teaches that the baptism with the Holy Spirit is repeated in a succession of events beginning with the new birth and concluding with Glory. (Fletcher, II, 632) According to David Cubie, this same Wesleyan balance is seen in Fletcher's teaching on the cleansing of original sin. He paraphrases Fletcher as follows:

> Original or indwelling sin is not a single-nondivisible entity which is wholly present in one moment and then removed in a single, radical faith-grace event. Instead, it is removed gradually, the Comforter "expelling according to the degree of our faith"... Inward sin may be removed gradually by a process of "feeble faith and feeble love" which are "so frequently repeated as to become strong, habitual, and evangelically natural to us"... Though gradual perfection is normative, all sin may be removed in an instant by a single full baptism of the Holy Spirit in response to a single act of full faith. "Both ways are good." (Cubie, 1976, 25)

What is consistent in both Fletcher's and Wesley's view of final sanctification is the belief that a final cleansing from all sin will be achieved before death. This usually occurs during a long gradual process of maturity, sometimes referred to as "ripening." Both Fletcher and Wesley deny that death, man's last enemy, can "perfect" the soul before entering heaven. Thus the sanctification process will be comcomplete before the Christian's physical death.

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> Although in some ways Fletcher's understanding of Christian perfection was perhaps more balanced, as for example in holding together both the gradual and instantaneous aspects, unquestionably his treatise on perfection, as well as all his Checks, wielded great direct influence in shaping Wesleyan Theology in America particularly during the first half of the 19th century. (Knight, 1978, 23)

Finally, according to Timothy Smith, Fletcher's Checks helped to hold the loyalty of his Methodist followers and "turn the tide of popular sentiment in England toward the doctrine of Christian perfection. (Smith, 1980, 69)

The work and influence of Fletcher upon Methodist thought cannot be underestimated. His writings gave a theological foundation which is universally accepted today as almost a matter of course. Wesley was so impressed with the theological stature and holiness of this man that he twice asked him to be his successor (1773 and 1776). Most of what Fletcher wrote was written during the eight years of Antinomian controversy, 1770-1778. According to Knight, the writing of those eight years gave Wesleyan Methodism one of the "strongest bulwarks" it has ever found (Knight, 1978, 14) and organized Wesley's theology. However, Wesley's next step was to organize his movement in America.

III. THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE METHODIST MOVEMENT

It had never been John Wesley's idea to create a new denomination. He was a loyal churchman and would remain so all his life. The driving force in his spirit was to revive the Church of England. Likewise, his appointees in

America, Richard Boardman, Joseph Pilmoor, and Francis Asbury were on a similar mission. However, it soon became evident to Asbury that a stricter control would need to be exercised over the societies. During the Revolutionary War, in the absence of the Anglican Priests, lay-preachers began administering the sacraments as well as preaching to abandoned Anglican congregations. If this continued Asbury believed these men needed to be ordained and he needed more authority in controlling the organizations. (Rudolph, 1966) The next few steps of the Methodist society were logical. The spirit of denominationalism, democracy, and freedom had helped give Methodism its birth as a church.

The official organization of the American Methodist church was held in December of 1784 at the Lovely Lane Chapel in Baltimore. This famous meeting of nearly sixty young backwoods preachers, Mr. Asbury, and Dr. Coke has become known as the Christmas Conference. (Ferguson, 1971; Norwood, 1974)

The issues moving the Methodists from a society to a church in the United States were akin to the problems facing the Anglicans from which it was born. For more that 175 years, the Anglicans had no bishop in the colonies. If a man desired serve as a priest in the Church of England and administer the sacraments, he would need to journey to the British Isles and be properly ordained. The lack of the physical presence of a Bishop for the overall control and supervision of the colonial church compounded the problems.

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For example, the local priests were often dominated by the laymen. (Isaac, 1982)

Wesley had struggled with the problems of authority, leadership, and ordination in his British movement. Now with the growth of the American work and his inability to physically oversee its development, a decision had to be made. "Since he was opposed to lay administration, this meant providing some form of ordination." (Norwood, 1974, 96) Wesley was forced into a corner when the Bishop of London refused to ordain one of his Methodist preachers. His next step was to search the scriptures to prove he had the right to ordain and thus no longer "entangle" nor enslave his movement to the Church of England. His rationale seemed quiet logic as Norwood notes:

> Hence, he now acted in accordance with his understanding of his position as an ordained minister of the Church of England and as the superintendent of the People called Methodist. This position, in his view, coincided with the position of the bishops of the primitive church as he found it in the New Testament and the writings of the early Fathers. A bishop, he concluded, was a presbyter who exercised authority over a diocese or segment of the church. More particularly, he saw himself as comparable to a the itinerant bishop, the chorepiscopos. He was a presbyter in apostolic succession. He was also an administrator of a large movement. This made him a "scriptural episcopos," as he put it. (Norwood, 1974, 96)

He had resolved this long-standing dilemma. Wesley followed by ordaining Whatcoat and Vasey and designating Dr. Thomas Coke and Mr. Francis Asbury "general superintendents" of the American Methodist movement. Wesley's letter dated September 10, 1784 and addressed to

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the North American "Brethren" justified his decision. The latter part of the letter reads as follows:

> It has, indeed, been proposed to desire the English Bishops to ordain part of our Preachers for America. but to this I object, (1.) I desired the Bishop of London to ordain only one; but could not prevail. (2.) If they consented, we know the slowness of their proceedings; but the matter admits of no delay. (3.) If they would ordain them now, they would likewise expect to govern them. And how grievously would this entangle us! (4.) As our American brethren are now totally disentangled from the State, and from the English hierarchy, we dare not entangle them again, either with the one or the other. They are now at full liberty, simply to follow the Scriptures and the primitive church. And we judge it best that they should stand fast in that liberty wherewith God has so strangangely made them free. (Wesley's Works, Vol. XIII, 252)

This equipping of his field lieutenants would stabilize the friction caused by Robert Strawbridge of Maryland. He held that an unordained lay preacher had the authority to minister the sacraments in the absence of an ordained priest. Though unordained himself, Asbury strongly disagreed with Strawbridge's position and practice of administering the sacraments to those on his circuit.

The 1784 Christmas Conference was the beginning of denominational form for the Methodist church in America. In three days Asbury was ordained deacon, elder and general superintendent. Twelve other men were ordained elders, and the organization of the work of a "church" commenced. While some feared this to be planting seeds of episcopacy, others welcomed this new status that would help the Methodist clergy minister to the masses on the frontier. One could

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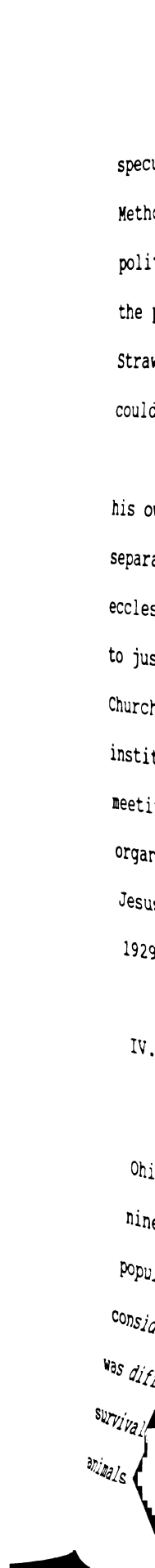

speculate had Wesley not made his decision, the American Methodists could have followed the congregational form of polity and vested authority in the local congregation for the purpose of ordination. The influence was strong and Strawbridge's practices and the anti-episcopacy sentiment could have pushed the church in that direction.

Wesley's decision to take the ordination issue into his own hands was a clear step in the direction of separation from the Church of England. By stepping over ecclesiastical roadblocks and formulating a scriptural basis to justify it, Wesley's move appeared right. The Anglican Church, more concerned with the preservation of its own institution, was not transcending the social conditions and meeting the spiritual needs of the people. Wesley's organization arose to preach the "uncompromising ethics of Jesus" to the poor. A new sect was in the making. (Niebuhr, 1929, 21)

IV. THE CAMP MEETING BECOMES A METHODIST INSTITUTION

Those who made the journey westward into Kentucky, Ohio, and Tennessee just before the beginning of the nineteenth century were a younger and less inhibited population. It took a brave and hardy people to even consider making the long and grueling trek westward. Life was difficult and the pioneers always lived on the edge of survival. There were constant threats from both wild animals and hostile Indians. The circuit riding preachers

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suffered alongside the pioneers. A common response to the frontier Conference roll-call was "Killed by the Indians." Also, the population of the young territories was sparse and scattered with few major commercial centers. Peter Cartwright noted that those brave people of the interior labored under many "disadvantages and privations; and had it not been for the fertility of the soil and the abundance of wild meat, they must have suffered beyond endurance." (Cartwright, 1856, 22) However, the itinerants also followed the westward movement. W. H. Daniels, a close contemporary of the times, notes the Midwest owes its "Christian civilization" to the efforts of those early Methodist itinerants, "more than to any other human agency..." (Daniels, 1880, 570-72)

The camp meetings of the Second Great Awakening introduced a new principle of evangelism into the American landscape. These protracted meetings focused on the frontiersman and evoked displays of wild emotionalism. Such displays should not be surprising.

> (The pioneer) ...lived, worked and died hard. It was natural that he should convert hard; that he should cry aloud in wrestling with his guilt; and that he should leap and twist and shout in rejoicing over his forgiveness." (Weisberger, 1958, 29)

The camp meeting filled both a religious and social need for frontier people. "The camp meeting gave occasion for men to meet their neighbors, brought some excitement into their monotonous lives, and provided an outlet for

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their pent-up emotions." (Cameron, 1961, 121) Niebuhr notes, "emotionalism... was the only way religion could become real to the class which composed the movement; it furnished that group with a psychologically effective escape from the drudgeries of an unromantic, unaesthetic life." (Niebuhr, 1929, 62) The camp meeting revival of the Second Great Awakening became a pattern for evangelism in antebellum America. Its characteristics were unmistakable: simple and persuasive preaching and people emotionally converted to an evangelical faith (Noll, 1983, 173)

While camp meeting excesses were deplored by many churches, the need of frontier-revivalistic-style-evangelism was evident to the Methodists. They quickly adapted the methods of the camp meeting to carry the gospel to the common man located on the edge of the expanding West. The Methodists, with their experienced itinerant ministry, were well adapted for this style of preaching. In fact, the camp meeting became a Methodist institution during the first half of the nineteenth century. "It was not long before every presiding elder's district held such a meeting. It has been estimated that by 1812 at least four hundred Methodist camp meetings were being held." (Rose, 1975, 29) The Western Conference of the Methodist Church profited from this form of revivalism and made great gains in its membership. (Norwood, 1989, 157) The genius of the Methodists was their ability to use methods which were in "consonance with popular needs, and became, as a consequence, a church of the

people." (Cameron, 1961, 123)

V. NINETEENTH CENTURY REVIVALISM AND ENTIRE SANCTIFICATION

American Protestantism and frontier revivalism are generally thought of as one converging stream. In a general sense that is true. All Protestant churches were prospering from a general revival of interest in religion. The Great Awakening in the Connecticut River valley in the 1740's paved the way for the Second Great Awakening on the western frontier. While the former affected the Congregationalists, creating a spirit for Separatism, the latter affected the Methodist by giving them a vehicle for growth.

Frontier Methodists were generally characterized as lacking education and displaying undisciplined emotionalism. Their message centered on "Wesleyan Christian Perfection," which seemed to fit the revivalistic atmosphere of their primitive surroundings. Although Wesley and Fletcher taught sanctification as both an instantaneous and a gradual process, their successors destroyed the delicate balance they tried to achieve. A lopsided emphasis could be seen as early as 1820's. (Peters, 1956, 121) Three Methodists, pastor-theologian Richard Watson, evangelist-theologian Adam Clarke, and evangelist-lay-woman Phoebe Palmer, began to separate sanctification into one of the two emphases.

Clarke and Watson were second generation, nineteenth century Methodist theologians. Each emphasized sanctification from different perspectives, Watson stressed

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gradual and Clarke stressed instantaneous.

Watson (1781-1833), a British Methodist, was the younger of the two, but was a brilliant scholar. He is best known for his Theological Institutes which was completed in 1829. While his work was better known in England than in the United States, it was, nevertheless, a part of the course of study for American Methodist clergyman.

Watson stressed initial sanctification, that is, the process of sanctification begins in the work of justification. His emphasis, as such, blurred the distinction of two works of grace. Watson, more so than Clarke, tended to stay with the traditional Wesleyan balance, however, his overall teaching placed more stress on sanctification as a gradual process. Peters notes:

> Although Watson grants in the Institutes the logical and scriptural grounds for the instantaneous aspect of Christian perfection, he expresses himself with more self-consistency and assurance when in his other works he presents the gradual phase of the doctrine. (Peters, 1956, 108)

Watson's interpretation of sanctification shifted Wesley's balance to the right. Furthermore, the influence of his writings as part of the course of study, did, no doubt, represent, next to Wesley himself, a semi-official theological statement of the American Methodist Church.

Clarke (1762-1832), on the other hand, was also a man of impressive scholarship but was primarily an evangelist. He was a popular personage in America and his commentaries were on the course of study for Methodist ministers as early

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as 1827. (Knight, 1978, 22) However, some scholars believed he "attempted too much to be sufficiently thorough in his undertakings." (Peters, 1956, 103) His rather dogmatic emphasis on the instantaneous phase of sanctification opposed Watson's view. Clarke writes:

> In no part of Scriptures are we directed to seek holiness gradatim. We are to come to God as well for an instantaneous and complete purification from all sin, as for an instantaneous pardon. Neither the seriatim pardon, nor the gradatim purification, exists in the Bible. It is when the soul is purified from all sin that it can properly grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. (Clarke, 1967, 207)

As noted above, Watson's inclination to merge justification and sanctification blurred the distinction of the two elements of the doctrine. Clarke, however, made sanctification a distinctly separate work of the Holy Spirit following regeneration, thus shifting his view to the left. The nineteenth century holiness movement, through the teaching of Mrs. Phoebe Palmer, adopted a Clarkian interpretation of the doctrine of sanctification. Thus, the precarious doctrinal balance Wesley attempted to achieve was lost within fifty years of his death.

In 1839 Timothy Merritt's Guide to Christian Perfection taught "the instantaneous attainability of the experience of entire sanctification." (Peters, 1956, 109) Instantaneous sanctification was a doctrine whose time had come. By the mid-1830's Palmer (1807-1874) and her sister Sarah Lankford (1806-1896), Methodist lay-women, were teaching instantaneous sanctification in their parlor for a ladies'

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Bible study. Their Bible studies became so popular that they started the "Tuesday Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness." Their personal experiences in receiving the gift of the Holy Spirit had evolved out of a revival in their local church, the Allen Street Methodist in New York, and aseries of personal tragedies for Palmer. Lankford testified to being sanctified in 1835 and Palmer two years later. Palmer's personal quest for heart holiness passed through key Bible passages and books of instruction including works by Wesley, Fletcher, Clarke, Hester Ann Rogers, and Timothy Merritt. Charles White notes:

> She thought of her commitment as the 'living sacrifice' God required, and she became convinced that God had accepted her offering. She then realized that what had happened to her was the entire sanctification her Methodist heritage had taught her to expect. (White, 1986, 231)

Melvin Dieter also notes:

> Out of that experience (professing an experience of entire sanctification) and a study of the Bible, she put together a series of Old and New Testament passages to create a new scala sancta by which the Christian believer could be cleansed from all the remains of inbred sin and enter into the Canaan land of perfect love. It represented a blend of the accepted Wesleyan standards ... in interaction with other forces at work creating the currents of revivalism and reform which had been surging through the national experience of the day. (Dieter, 1985, 63)

Because of the intensity of their personal inquiry into the experience of entire sanctification, Palmer and Lankford began to instruct and persuade others to seek the Holy Spirit. Their meetings began a revival of interest in the doctrine of instantaneous sanctification that swept the

United States and touched Europe.

In regard to the "new measures" introduced by Palmer, White notes:

> In place of believing in instantaneous entire sanctification and waiting for it by practicing Wesley's generalized Christian discipline, Phoebe Palmer substituted a "shorter way" to holiness. All one needed to do was follow this simple three-step process for being sanctified: (1) entire consecration, (2) faith, and (3) testimony. (White, 1986, 136)

Palmer's sometimes controversial phrases "the altar sanctifies the gift" and "believe it is done and it is done" received an indirect rebuke from the 1852 General Conference. In addition to her short way to holiness, she altered Wesley's doctrine of sanctification by insisting that the gift would have the witness of the Holy Spirit. (White, 1986, 141) This, White suggests, led the way for the Pentecostal developments of speaking in tongues as a witness of the Spirit. (White, 1986, 158) Regardless of the controversy that surrounded her theology, it did not minimize the power of her influence that spaned both the Antebellum and post-Civil War periods.

Charles G. Finney (1792-1875) the Presbyterian - Congregational evangelist, whose "new methods," created great controversy, was "deeply influenced by Wesleyan perfectionism." (Norwood, 1974, 157) He carried the Wesleyan doctrine to a broader section of the American Protestant community. Finney preached a theme of sanctification and perfection during his revival crusades

(1824-1850). His, so called, "Oberlin Theology" (named after the location of his theological school in Ohio) must be considered one of the most influential perfectionist doctrines outside of Methodism. His fame and message of sanctification gave the doctrine more national appeal.

Finney believed entire sanctification to be a full obedience and entire consecration to God and could only be attained by faith. Furthermore, he saw it as a continued and abiding consecration. He maintained that this experience was not a state in which a man could not sin or not need the grace of Christ to prevent him from sinning. He believed an individual would not struggle with temptation, but neither would he be in a state where he would not need to mature, progress or grow as a Christian. (Finney, 1946) Finney believed that every person must be committed to make a total abstinence from sin. For him "nothing is holiness short of full obedience... to the moral law...(for) holiness consists... in obedience of the will to the law of God, as it is revealed in the intellect, that it is expressed in one word love..." (Finney, 1946, 402)

Finney clearly saw sanctification as a work of grace following justification. He would call it a condition of permanent justification, but only as long as a "full-hearted" consecration continued. If the individual fell from his first love into the bondage to sin (backslides) he was condemned and must repent and do his "first work" and return to Christ by repentance and renewal of his faith and

love. In this sense, salvation was conditional. Finney's views were very close to traditional Wesleyanism. By mid-century, instantaneous sanctification was being preached both within and without the Methodist camp.

VI. METHODISM IN SOCIAL TRANSITION

Nineteenth Century American Methodism was moving along H. Richard Niebuhr's church-sect theory continuum. Beginning in the 1780's, it manifested many sect-like characteristics. Among the dominant features was its emphasis on a highly personalized salvation. Methodism believed that social reform would come through the perfection of its members who experienced "holiness of heart and life." It denounced social sins such as slavery and alcohol and filled its ranks with the lower classes inhabiting the backwoods and unsettled areas of the western frontier. The maintenance of the small Methodist societies depended upon the work of lay-preachers who were in charge until the circuit rider returned. Their religious services were emotional and their uneducated ministers preached in a fiery evangelistic style.

As the frontier tamed down so did the Methodists. Log cabin churches were replaced by brick structures, stain glass windows, and tall spires. Considered to be a church of the lower class in the early nineteenth century, Methodists had become the "fashionable" middle class church of the last half of the century. Its clergy were more

educated, lay-leadership dropped off, and its organization became a bureaucratic. According to Moberg, by the 1930's it was one of the largest denominations in the United States.

> The membership was widely dispersed; they were but little different from non-members. Discipline and expulsion of members were rare; joining involved mere compliance with certain formalities. Groups were highly organized in an interlocking hierarchy of structure, Both lay and professional leadership were specialized... Increased formality and more elaborate forms of ritual characterized religious services. (Moberg, 1984, 103)

Historically, the Civil War was the watershed for the old and new America. From 1865 to 1899 vast changes affected American churches, theology, practices, and life-styles. These changes, in part, were brought about by the steady flow of European migrants not of British descent. American Protestantism became less dominant as the ranks of Catholic, Jewish, and Orthodox faiths increased. Science, technology, and an evolutionary thought were suddenly thrust into the intellectual climate. This challenged Reformation orthodoxy and the authority of the Bible. The industrial revolution quickly changed the center of power from the agrarian to the urban influence. While the Protestant churches grew externally and continued to claim a greater percentage of the American people as members, nevertheless, they felt the pressure of their new environment.

On the intellectual scene, prior to the Civil War most American colleges were affiliated with a denomination. These

colleges maintained a religious orientation and had little problem relating the Christian faith to romantic and idealistic thought. Furthermore, the authority of the Bible had not been widely challenged. However, following the war, science had gained prestige and Darwinism had made its debut. As mentioned above, once Darwinism had the attention of the country, it made a dramatic impact on American thought and theology. It caused an intellectual revolution that led the way for humanistic alternatives to religious traditions and scattered the seeds of materialism and secularism. Technology, the tempo of travel, and communication were all growing rapidly. Science not only spawned new expressions of thought but was also helping to reshape American life.

Protestantism, long secure in the rural small towns of the agrarian North before the Civil War, now faced rural depression, large urban communities, a new industrial order, laboring masses, city slums, and a general fragmentation of life. In the South the conditions were not much different. The state governments were bogging down under a general weakness of leadership and corruption. Those efforts attempting to "reconstruct" the South were either delayed, confused, or of short duration. The Union had been restored but the South remained emotionally and intellectually isolated from the North. Furthermore, those denominations which had split before the war had dismantled all organizational ties and any attempt to reunite them was out

of the question. Smith, Handy, and Loetscher (1963) note the southern churches served as the only institutional link the South had to bind itself together. Post war changes in both the North and the South resulted in an isolation from the larger urban Christian community of the nation and a major resistance to any fundamental change in thought and practice. Methodism, like other major denominations, was attempting to address this cultural maelstrom.

Industrialization and the swift expansion of the American economy had its affect on the Methodists too. As a greater number of new members joined the church, it became more focused upon the middle class and the wealthy. Melvin Dieter notes:

> By 1875 the Methodists were swiftly becoming a middle class church. They began to glory in the mass and beauty of their buildings, in their political influence in local communities as well as in national affairs, and in their status among other established churches in the religious community of the nation. (Dieter, 1980, 204)

Niebuhr makes an interesting observation of American Methodism at this point in its history. He believes it illustrates a church of the poor who casts aside its original endowment and puts on the cloak of its new-found economic status. He notes:

> Religious enthusiasm declined in later days because Methodist Christianity became more literate and rational and because, with increasing wealth and culture, other escapes from the monotony and exhaustion of hard labor became available. The substitution of education for conversion, finally, played its part in making revivalism less important... (Niebuhr, 1972, 63)

Another factor confronting the church was the growing alienation between the individual member and the ministers who graduated from the theological seminaries. Holiness advocates charged too little was taught about Wesley and too much was wasted on "theological questions." According to Dieter, "the 'holiness question,' ... was often sloughed off as an irrelevant irritant..." (Dieter, 1980, 206) Along with the rapid postwar growth of the church was the complication that one-third of the pastors had less than ten years of experience. "Many of those new men were neither indoctrinated in, nor interested in the issues which entered into the holiness controversy." (Dieter, 1980, 207) Furthermore, many of these new pastors were given positions of leadership that would normally have been given to seasoned men.

> There was a concurrent, gradual relaxation of the prohibitions against worldly amusements, fine dress, dancing, etc.; revivalists had consistently inveighed against such involvements as totally incompatible with sincere Christian commitment." (Dieter, 1980, 207)

The holiness advocates believed nothing short of a major revival of Christian holiness, especially among the ministry, could stop the church from being overwhelmed by worldliness.

As late as 1872, according to Smith, "half of the Methodist bishops were well known as strong advocates of... (instantaneous sanctification)." (White, 1986, xiii) However, by the mid 1880's, with the avalanche of scientific

discovery, the new challenges of liberalism in theology, and excesses and emotionalism within the holiness ranks, the bishops began to reconsider their stand on this doctrinal emphasis. (Smith, 1962; Dieter, 1980) Furthermore, the National Camp Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness began to intensify the tensions that were developing over the doctrine of entire sanctification.

An article in "Answers to Inquiries" section of The Christian Advocate, August 10, 1899, may help us understand the changing attitude of the bishops.

> Q. Recently a person in advocating holiness said to the congregation: "If you are only justified, it will not save you. Getting converted is the smallest and most insignificant thing in the religious life." Several laymen indorsed (sic) the sentiment. Is it true?
> A. It is an utterance of unbridled fanaticism, contrary to the Scriptures and vigorously denounced by John Wesley. It is a heresy of such magnitude and so demoralizing in its effects that many ministers uttering it should be brought to trial as quickly as if he should declare that the Book of Genesis was written by twenty-six authors. A justified person, if he dies is that state, is certain of heaven as it is possible for a human being to be; and conversion, in the Methodist sense of the word, is the greatest thing that can ever happen to a human being. "Christian perfection," "entire sanctification." "higher life," is the completion of that wonderful work that translated the sinner "out of darkness into His marvelous light." The difference in kind; according to Methodism and according to the Bible, the difference between a justified believer and the highest possible attainment of Christian experience is a difference in degree. (The Christian Advocate, August 10. 1899, p2)

Statements like the one above, would have moved the bishops to oust the radicals from the church. However, it is likely that good was mixed with bad and many in the

holiness ranks who were labeled extremists, were not.

VII. THE HOLINESS CAMP MEETING MOVEMENT

By the beginning of the nineteenth century concerns were being voiced that the M.E. Church was failing to be a witness to the doctrine of entire sanctification. A decline in the doctrinal emphasis had seemingly begun around 1812. Peters records "In 1819 a commentator on American Methodism could say: 'How few and feeble are the efforts of ... ministers of the gospel in particular, to raise the standard of Christian perfection in the Church'." (Peters, 1956, 99) However, by 1825 some evangelists, pastors and laypersons revived its importance. The bishops were cordial to the reemphasis. However, as I have noted earlier, by 1850's, Methodism was in theological and sociological transition. Obviously, it was attempting to adapt itself to the changing cultural environment. The traditions of the frontier era, the class meeting, the protracted camp meeting, and the perfectionistic message, were passing from popular use. Many Jeremiads were denouncing the church and its failure to continue on the "old paths." Those who gave the forebodings took one of two courses of action. They either helped start a reform movement within the church, or, they help create a new sect. The Free Methodist and the Wesleyan Methodist churches scared the denomination with their schisms. Peters (1956) believes the doctrine of Christian perfection played a significant part in both schisms.

The rupture of the church over the doctrine of entire sanctification came as early as 1859. The center of the debate was in the Genesee Conference of western New York state. Rev. B. T. Roberts and other ministers began to voice concerns over what they believed to be a spiritual decline in the church. For example, quoting from the 1846 Discipline, they condemned the church for the pride it exhibited in boasting about its new buildings and members of social status and fashion. (Roberts, 1879, 45) However, Roberts also focused on the doctrine of entire sanctification. He notes:

> They had not learned to explain away the plain precepts of the Word of God. These, too, held to the doctrine of holiness as taught by Wesley - that entire sanctification was to be sought by faith, subsequently to pardon. Others opposed making holiness a distinct issue, and were content with preaching it only in a general way, and carried the idea that it was to be obtained gradually. (Roberts, 1879, 46)

The protests made by Roberts and others led to a schism in the conference and the establishment of the Free Methodist Church. While slavery had been a major concern during the Wesleyan Methodist division, this was not the major issue for the Free Methodist split. Criticism of the church's social segmenting, slavery, the doctrine of entire sanctification, and Robert's charismatic presence all contributed to this division. "Free" Methodism originally meant free pews and free soil, however, the issue of entire sanctification as second work of grace pointed to a rising concern in some sections of the church that a general

decline in this emphasis of the doctrine had begun.

Within a decade following the Civil War, renewed concerns were expressed over the spiritual state of the church. In 1867 a group of Methodist ministers met in New York City to discuss a common concern -- the backslidden state of the church. At the suggestion of Rev. John A. Wood, the concept of a holiness camp meeting was born. This, no doubt, was a nostalgic attempt to recapture the revivalistic spirit of the western frontier. Under the dynamic leadership of Rev. W. B. Osborn and Rev. John Inskip the idea took root and the National Camp Meeting Association (NCMA) was born. It resulted in a series of holiness meetings that began at Vineland, New Jersey on July 17, 1867. (McDonald, 1965; Smith, 1962; Rose, 1975) The NCMA intensified the message of entire sanctification on a broader scale than the work of Finney and Palmer. They had laid the foundation for the doctrine of entire sanctification in the antebellum era. The NCMA, creating its own inertia, organized as an association to promote the holiness message. Furthermore, it sponsored nearly 200 holiness evangelists who criss-crossed the country holding local holiness revivals and area NCMA meetings.

In 1887, while reflecting on the triumphs of two decades of national holiness camp meeting work, William McDonald, a member of the NCMA, reported:

> The fruit of national camp meetings in the spiritual uplift of the churches from a state of almost utter backsliding as the result of the

> Rebellion, in the inspiration it has given to the work of evangelization and missionary zeal, in the valuable holiness literature it has given to the churches, and in the new era of spiritual song with which it has flooded the land, ...their influence for good has been unprecedented in modern times. (McDonald, 1965, viii)

While the NCMA meetings had an interdenominational appeal, the majority of the attendees between 1867 and 1890 were Methodists. The association printed and circulated holiness books and other literature. It also organized state and local associations to support members whose churches did not preach the holiness message. While the intentions were good the results were divisive. Because many radicals of the movement were the outspoken and condemned the church, the organization began to be looked on with disdain. (Smith, 1962) Some radicals began to advocate "come-outism," (an attempt to restore the true church to its primitive holiness by voluntarily separating from the parent body). On the other side, D. D. Whedon, editor of the Methodist Quarterly Review spoke out against what he saw happening:

> The holiness association, the holiness periodical, the holiness prayer-meeting, the holiness preacher, are all modern novelties. They are not Wesleyan. We believe that a living Wesley would never admit them into the Methodist system. (Peters, 1956, 139)

T. J. Wheat, a presiding elder boldly stated:

> The leaders in the holiness movement are all, or nearly so, zealous advocates of come-outism. For the last ten years... Holiness Associations have been a standing menace to the spirit of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. As associations they have been, and are today, religious anarchists. (Peters, 1956, 141)

Charges were met with counter-charges as the war of words continued to fuel passions on both sides of the holiness issue. In congregations where resentments and passions ran white-hot, holiness people were told to leave the church. In other cases members simply left the church because they felt it was too backslidden to be saved. Still others, not wanting to leave, felt they were being "crushed out," that is, forced out by the leadership of the church or conference. Between 1885 and 1900 the great Methodist Church was fractured by many holiness schisms.

While some holiness advocates were leaving the M. E. Church and forming sects, many other holiness advocates were remaining loyal to the denomination. Daniel Steele, William McDonald, William Nast, and Bishop Willard Mallalieu are all examples of denominational loyalists. Timothy Smith notes four factors that entered into a decision to stay or leave:

> (1) the persistent opposition of ecclesiastical officials to independent holiness associations and publishing agencies; (2) the recurrent outbursts of fanaticism among persons who were members of the associations but not of the churches; (3) the out break in the 1890's of strenuous attacks upon the doctrine of sanctification itself; and (4) the increasing activity of urban holiness preachers in city mission and social work. (Smith, 1962, 27)

The majority of the holiness people who separated from the Methodist Church did so for two reasons. One revolved around a theological issue centering on the interpretation of the doctrine of entire sanctification. (Smith indicates the controversy surrounding the interpretation of the doctrine of sanctification had became quite heated. [see

above] This is no doubt true. The Christian Advocate, April 2, 1891 printed a interpretation of the Wesley's statements on the subject. The article begins "The views of our founder upon Christian perfection have been the occasion of much controversy both within and without the Church." [p.3]) Those who promoted Christian perfection also challenged the churches' apparent drift from the holiness revival spirit present in an earlier era. Second, they were made to feel unwelcome and unwanted in local congregations and at conference gatherings. Instead of bringing revival to the denomination, the holiness movement brought revolt. They preached heart purity but were purged from the denomination. The result was the formation of many holiness churches in which the doctrine of entire sanctification was preached and the bonds of ecclesiastical power were broken.

The American interpretation of the doctrine of entire sanctification had reached its climax in the Clarkian tradition. Palmer and Finney had added revivalistic dimensions and new measures to it. Outstanding Methodist preachers (William McDonald, A. J. Wood, Jesse Peck) and teachers (Daniel Steele, et al) were writing books on the holiness doctrine, however, there was no single voice formulating the doctirne of the holiness movement during the last 25 years of the nineteenth century (An actual holiness theology was not written until 1931). What did result, however, was the crystallization of all the teachings into six main concepts. First, the state of justification

included a full pardon from sin, a spiritual rebirth, and a full renunciation of sinful habits, Second, entire sanctifiction was a work subsequent to the work of regeneration and was preceded by an act of "solemn and complete consecration." This included the total eradication of inbred sin (the carnal nature), perfect love, and the indewelling presence of the Holy Ghost. Third, it was the absolute duty of the sanctified to testify to the experience of entire sanctification. If one withheld testimony to entire sanctification, a great darkness would engulf his soul. Fourth, one must manifest a holy character and live by the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount and the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians. Fifth, the sanctified would manifest the attractive graces, which are the fruits of the spirit as described by the Apostle Paul (Gal. 5:22-23). Finally, the sanctified would grow in grace, which should be rapid, constant and palpable. (Peters, 1956, 119)

By the end of the nineteenth century, a practical holiness theology was in place. Though not formalized by one theological statement from one major denomination, it was a hybrid of Wesley's original intent. The Holiness Movement was an advocates of this interpretation of Wesley. They rightly claimed a Wesleyan theological tradition and therefore they believed themselves to be orthodox as well. As we shall see, the members of the LHA were also Wesleyans in this same traditional interpetation. In the next chapter

I will explore the development of a holiness sect, the Church of the Nazarene, the denomination the members of the LHA joined in 1922.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A HOLINESS SECT: THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE

The emergence of the holiness sects in the last decade of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century demostrated a general revolt within Methodism over the doctrine of entire sanctification as a second work of grace. The Church of the Nazarene, whose roots are in Methodism, emerged during this time as protest movement. It began as a mission with a concern for the poor. As the sect grew it merged with other holiness sect across the country. The LHA united with this body in 1922. At the same time pentecostal (Tongues Movement) sects began to spring up across the nation. This movement also had its roots in Methodist doctrine and experience. The Assemblies of God was formed to merge the various independent pentecostal sects into a national movement. In this chapter, however, I will only survey the origins of the Church of the Nazarene.

> The Church of the Nazarene is a simple, primitive church, a church of the people and for the people. It has no new doctrines, only the old, old Bible truths. It seeks to discard all superfluous forms and ecclesiasticism and go back to the plain simple words of Christ. It is not a mission, but a church with a mission. It is a banding together of hearts that have found the peace of God, and which now in their gladness, go out to carry the message of the unsearchable riches of the gospel of Christ to other suffering, discouraged, sinsick souls. Its mission is to everyone upon whom the

> battle of life has been sore, and to every heart that hungers for cleansing from sin. Come. (Smith, 1962) (The above statement was taken from the first pamphlet advertising the Church of the Nazarene in 1895.)

Dr. Phineas F. Bresee (1838-1915), founder of the Church of the Nazarene in Los Angles, was raised in south central New York during the antebellum era of the perfectionistic evangelists Charles Finney and Phoebe Palmer. He was converted at a Methodist revival on the Central New York Conference, and immediately felt called to be a minister. A few years later his family moved to Iowa where he began his pastoral ministry. He pastored on this conference several years and served as both a presiding elder and a member of General Conference. Following an embarrassing personal financial disaster in 1883, he moved his entire family to southern California. However, he overcame that embarrassment and was soon pastoring the more prestigious churches in that conference.

Bresee was a hard driving pastor-evangelist and kept his churches in a continual spirit of revival. It is not surprising he became affiliated with the National Camp Meeting Association as one of their more popular pastor-evangelists. (Bresee's earliest contacts with the Camp Meeting Association were in 1887 following his appointment to the Pasadena Methodist Church. William MacDonald, the president of the associaton and Rev. J. A. Wood were brought in for revival meetings. The date 1887 also appears in the Association's book, <u>The Double Cure</u>, which features one of

Bresee's sermons.) His Nazarene associate, I.G. Martin, notes Bresee did not wait for an evangelist to bring revival. The work of the evangelist was simply to "swing the revival to a higher tide of victory." (Martin, 1937) His fervency for holiness evangelism in the churches he pastored on the Southern California Conference, where he had been the presiding elder, had brought down the wrath of the bishops. (Girvin reported that following a holiness campaign on the Los Angeles District directed by Bresee and MacDonald, Bishop Fowler was intent to "have Dr. Bresee removed from the District." [Girvin, 1916, 95]) Bresee's strong holiness position of sanctification as a second work of grace, wedded to his powerful evangelistic style and strong support of the National Camp Meeting Association, had brought him into disfavor with the Methodist Bishopric. It was just a matter of time until he was out on his own.

Bresee was no doubt influenced by American utopianism, and attempted to resurrect a primitive New Testament Church in a historical Wesleyan fashion. The influence of the Holiness Movement had given him the perfectionistic message and doctrine. Furthermore, the resistance of the Methodist bishopric to that doctrine and their denial of his request for a supernumerary relationship to the conference caused him to request a location, which was given without debate. (The 1884 Discipline indicated a supernumerary relationship pertained to those preachers whose health temporarily impaired them from their effective work as a pastor or

wished to retire. [Discipline, 1884, 115] Bresee no doubt tried to stretch the interpretation of this provision in order to maintain his relationship with the conference, keep his credentials, and at the same time work in an inner-city mission work under a holiness banner. When this request was denied he decided to take a location, in which he left the Church without his ordaination papers.)

On Sunday, October 20, 1895, Bresee started the Church of the Nazarene in a rented hall in downtown Los Angeles, with eighty-six faithful followers. This was to be a church for the poor. This fifty-five year old, former high ranking Methodist clergyman, was now out on his own without the support of the great church to which he had given his life for service.

As Bresee's new church began to take shape, its mission became its identity. From the outset, the church focused on a social ministry as well as holiness evangelism. He stated, "It had been my long cherished desire to have a place in the heart of the city, which could be made a center of holy fire, where the gospel could be preached to the poor." (Girvin, 1916, 99) According to Tom Nees, Bresee's desire and spirit was inspired by the work of the post-Civil War Holiness movement which had responded "to the new social problems of industrialism in the growing cities" (Nees, 1976, 7). He further notes:

> Holiness churches and their city missions were motivated by the Progressive ideal of saving people from the evils industrialism had brought upon society, while preparing society for the

> soon-to-come "Christian Century" when America would achieve its destiny of righteousness. Utopianism was shared equally by the advocates of the social gospel and the leaders of the holiness movement. (Nees, 1976, 7)

Smith lists five characteristics of the early Nazarenes. First, the government of the church was thoroughly democratic. This action put the power of the church back into the hands of the congregation. Second, the chief aim of the church was to preach holiness to the poor. Third, the discipline of the church depended primarily upon the work of the Holy Spirit. (This meant that a sanctified person would follow a narrow life style which demanded members avoid identification with worldly practices, such as drinking alcoholic beverages, smoking tobacco, profaning the Lord's Day, indulgence of pride in dress, avoidance of the theater, the ballroom, and circus, etc.) On the whole, Bresee adapted historic concepts of the Methodist Discipline from the "General Rules," and included them in the first Nazarene Manual. Fourth, the church creed was brief and made the doctrine of perfect love central. According to Smith, Bresee's doctrinal policy was "liberality in all matters not, in his view, absolutely essential to salvation" (Smith, 1962,17). Finally, the Nazarene worship service was to be "joyously free."

Girvin, quoting from an early leaflet produced by the church, reflects upon testimony of the spontaneity of the people:

> The voice of prayers and hallelujahs trembling on the lips; the shouts of those who conquer, are no

> infrequent things in the Church of the Nazarene... The presence of the Lord is often so manifest as we are gathered together, that not only do our hearts burn within us, but our tongues are tuned to praise, and triumphant hallelujahs fill the house - to Jesus be all the glory. (Girvin, 1916, 124)

According to Martin, an early Nazarene song leader, Bresee "constantly and persistently stressed the necessity of holy enthusiasm - of living under the unction and anointing of the Holy Spirit. 'We must have unction; it is the sword that pierces between soul and spirit... it is your enduement of power; you must receive it fresh by the breath of God, or you are nothing.'" (Martin, 1937, 18-19)

The church experienced rapid growth during its formation years. The great majority of its membership, however, was the result of its mergers with other holiness sects. In his 1929 unpublished doctoral dissertation, Christian Perfectionism in America, Merrill Gaddis notes, "The period of 1893 to 1907 is known as 'the stage of sect-formation in the holiness movement.' Twenty-five holiness sects sprang into existence during this time in the United States..." (Gaddis, 1929, 450, 458) It was the dream of Bresee that the Church of the Nazarene would be the unifying force of the scattered holiness sects in the country. However, the independent character of many of the groups and their desire to reform the Methodist church retarded the progress of this dream. Chapman believed "if they (holiness converts) had not been so resistant to the idea of leaving existing churches and proceeded at once to form one great

holiness denomination, they might have begun with over a million members" (Gaddis, 1929, 458).

Bresee's vision, however, began to come into focus in 1906 with a revival he conducted in Chicago. His contacts there led to the merger of his Church of the Nazarene and H. F. Reynold's Association of Pentecostal Churches in 1907 to form "The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene." This was followed in September of 1908 by C.W. Ruth's former and lesser known group, the Holiness Christian Association of Pennsylvania. The most heralded merger was the Holiness Church of Christ on October 13, 1908 at Pilot Point. (This date is considered, for all practical purposes, to be the natal date of the Church of the Nazarene. The main reason being this was the largest single merge involving the three main groups.) The fifth and sixth groups to join the Nazarenes occurred in 1915, the Pentecostal Mission of Nashville and the Pentecostal Church of Scotland founded by George Sharpe. Finally, in 1922 the North Dakota based Laymen's Holiness Association, under the leadership of J. G. Morrison, joined the swelling ranks of the young church. By the sixth General Assembly, The Church of the Nazarene, (Pentecostal had been dropped from the official name of the organization in 1919 to avoid confusion with the tongues movement), had grown from 99 churches and 6,198 members in 1907 to 1,304 churches and 50,631 members in 1923. (Minutes, General Secretary, Church of the Nazarene)

Also important to our understanding of this rapid

growth is the movement's appeal to members of the Methodist Church. It could be safely assumed that the early Nazarenes viewed themselves as neo-Methodists; that is, a new expression of old-fashion Methodism. (Nazarenes and the members of the LHA considered themselves to be conservatives. They believed they were perserving the orthodox Wesleyan faith and doctrine. They also believed they were in the mainstream of orthodox protestant theological tradition, visa via, Wesley and the reformation fathers.) In 1912, Herald of Holiness editor, B.F. Haynes wrote "The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, in point of doctrine, of experience, of evangelistic activity and missionary belief and endeavor, is Mr. Wesley's legitimate and historic offspring and the direct successor of the Wesleyan movement." (Haynes, 1912, 3). Chapman also wrote about this in 1926, stating once the momentum of the movement got underway the Nazarenes drew most of their members and doctrine from Methodist religious bodies. He notes:

> ... It is likely that more Nazarenes are of Methodist extraction than of any other one denomination... (and) from the standpoint of doctrine and purpose, the Church of the Nazarene is Methodistic and a summary of Methodism and her legitimate offspring will in the future, no doubt, include the Nazarenes." (Chapman, 1926, 23).

Finally, the formation period was doctrinally apologetic and intensely revivalistic. The defensive position of most sects results from a type of superior self-perception for its legitimacy for existence. (Niebuhr, 1929; Pope, 1942) The Nazarenes believed they were picking

up where the Methodists had left off and they had good reasons to believe this.

Just leaving the Methodist Church did not guarantee the Nazarenes and other Wesleyan sects triumph. However, like the Methodist circuit riding preachers of the early western frontier, the evangelists were the vanguards of the new movement. Their courageous efforts took the sects into new and formally Methodist-dominated communities. With their primitive Wesleyan message, they challenged the religious apathy of the members of the Church. Following this tradition and methodology, early Nazarenes were intensely revivalistic and their leaders Bresee, Ruth, Reynolds, and Jernigan, were vivid models of holiness preachers.

As I have asserted, the early Nazarenes believed themselves to be the resurrection of the Methodist Church in the true Wesleyan spirit. Its rate of growth and its mergers gave it a sense of success and divine blessing. The evangelists spear headed the revivalistic assaults on the communities and became the spiritual heroes of the movement. Its preachers and deaconesses were social activists, focusing their work on the poorer sections of the urban centers. As long as the spirit of the nation was optimistic, Nazarenes would believe in the probable success of their holiness message. They would cleanse men's hearts, correct social wrongs, and revive the Christian principles of the country.

After more than a century of national prominence the

influence of evangelical revivalism was beginning to wane. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, conservative religion was beginning to lose its dominance in America's spiritual life. Its theological position was being challenged by evolution, modernism and higher criticism. The consolidating force confronting this newest challenge became known as fundamentalism. Although it was fighting on a new front, revivalism was still the chief tool for recruiting members and indoctrinating converts. In the post-millennial spirit of the utopian age, many believed the church would usher in the Kingdom of God. However, with the coming of the First World War, the obvious failure of prohibition to reform society, and a theological shift from post to premillennialism, the Church of the Nazarene moved from the confidence that social reform was possible to an attitude of retrenchment and isolationalism. (Nees, 1976)

The post-WWI decade of the twenties proved to be a time of great social upheaval for the nation and for the church. The old familiar religious moorings produced by a dominate Protestant middle class were crumbling. The older leadership of the Church of the Nazarene, most of whom were ingrained in Methodism and other churchly traditions, were passing the reins of leadership to a younger group of leaders who "had known neither bishops nor councils, nor a church broadly responsible for the welfare of society." (Smith, 1962) The new generation of denominational leaders were "more conservative, sectarian and preoccupied with the internal

life of the denomination, including educational and missionary interests." (Nees, 1976) A prevailing attitude of rural conservatism now dominated the church, began to lead it from the battle fields to the fortress.

Smith lists three reasons for the increasing influence and attachment to the rising star of fundamentalism.

> One was fear (of a changing society). Another was the farmer's feeling of alienation from urban culture. The third was the heightened sense of human tragedy with World War I and its aftermath. (These together) which in other days had yielded first place to the perfectionist idealism dominant in Wesleyan faith." (Smith, 1962)

Nazarene revivalism began to shift its theme from the conversion of all mankind to a premillennialism and the Second Coming of Christ. It now appeared that only God's supernatural intervention could save the world and society. Coupled with this was the a call to personal piety. Charles Jones notes:

> Popular culture left its deepest mark on holiness teaching in the area of personal conduct. In much the same way that the exuberance of the camp meeting had permanently impressed itself upon holiness worship, the denial of fashion left a lasting mark on later holiness teaching. Rejecting intellectual formulas such as the social gospel, the higher criticism, the theory of evolution, and socialism, holiness spokesmen vigorously contended for "the Old Paths." They identified the holiness movement with ideas and customs then past or passing, rejecting as "modern," worldly, and un-Christian much of their present environment. (Jones, 1974, 85)

According to Smith (1962), Nees (1976), and Jones (1974), the social gospel was regarded as theological liberalism and began to suffer from a "steadily increasing

neglect." By the second decade of the twentieth century Smith notes a change in the face of the once socially active church:

> Rescue homes and missions disappeared from district programs. Pronouncements on social issues, when made at all, were buried in the reports of committees on public morals whose real preoccupation was standards of personal behavior among church people. The order of deaconesses, once a great source of spiritual power in the denomination, declined in both numbers and influence. Even the ancient commitment to prohibitionism was restated in terms of personal rather than social regeneration. (Smith, 1962, 318)

Nees discovered a similar attitude in his research:

> After 1919 these committees ("State of the Church and Country" and "Temperance and Prohibition") began to merge and narrow their interests. By the seventh Assembly in 1928, only three committees remained: Social Welfare and Orphanage, Deaconess, and State of the Church and Public Morals, the latter of which had assumed the interest of the prohibition cause. In 1932 there was just one committee reporting about social welfare or rescue work... The committee on Social Welfare, Orphanage, and Deaconess work continued to function with declining interest until dissolved after the 1948 Assembly. (Nees, 1976)

The Nazarenes as well as other holiness groups continued to describe themselves as poor; however, they had made their flight from the needy. Their justification was the saving of their children and the conserving of the converts. (Jones, 1974, 133) Furthermore, the focus of the developing ethic was on the "joyous freedom" one could experience when fully sanctified. This freedom generally meant dying out to the opinions of the world, a rejection of worldly pleasures, a dependence on the Holy Spirit, and being cleansed from all sin. Those individuals who had

experienced this sanctifying grace created a family-like fellowship in the churches. This fellowship provided both the discipline and enthusiasm for the maintenance of group solidarity and support for the attitudes of retrenchment and isolationalism.

The Pentecostal Movement had its origins in the same theological root as did the Nazarenes and the LHA, the Wesleyan holiness movement. The distinct difference between the two was the former's emphasis on speaking in tongues as the evidence of receiving the Holy Spirit.

The non-tongues tradition of the Holiness Movement, the Wesleyan Methodist, the Free Methodist, the Nazarenes and the LHA, disagreed with the tongues doctrinal emphasis. As I have already mentioned the Nazarenes dropped Pentecostal from their name in 1915 to avoid be confused with the Tongues Movement. There was an attempt to control fanatics within the church. Especially those who tried to "work up" the emotions of the people. Chapman wrote in the Herald of Holiness:

> But it is easily possible for even holiness evangelism to become shallow, so that it will attempt to substitute fuss and noise for Holy Ghost power, and so that it will hasten its seekers to a profession without using the fullest means to get them through to "the rock." Death bed stories and hair raising tales may sometimes get up a "stir," but they will not produce the permanent results that follow the preaching of the gospel. (Herald of Holiness, Jan. 14, 1925, Vol.XIII, no.42)

Pentecostals, however, were a natural and logical result of doctrine of Holy Ghost power as taught by the

Holiness Movement. As we shall see the language of Palmer and Finney and the pessimistic world view that was taking over the churches was set the stage for what became the Pentecostal expression of the Holiness Movement.

The development of the Pentecostal expression in the Wesleyan holiness movement began before the Civil War. As noted in chapter two, a distinct shift in the theological emphasis of Wesley was made by Clarke. Furthermore, Palmer popularized Clarke's concepts and added her own "altar theology." This shift from an emphasis on the perfection of love to salvation from sin and form progressive sanctification to instantaneous sanctification became an American holiness standard. These new nuances created by Clarke and Palmer show the extent of the "contextualization of Wesleyan thought within American Revivalism." (Dayton, 1987, 70) Donald Dayton notes:

> These developments were a necessary prelude to what would follow. Once "crisis" overwhelms "process" to make sanctification primarily an event occurring at a definite point in time - that is, when sanctification has been largely absorbed into entire sanctification - and once the teleological thrust of Christian perfection is transmuted into an initiatory experience has been set for the reemergence of the Pentecostal formulation of entire sanctification. (Dayton, 1987, 70)

By the end of the nineteenth century a shift in the attitude away from the ability of human effort to solve the growing social needs of the nation began to effect many religious groups. While the concepts of perfection have always been controversial, it appears those of the lower

social classes began to radicalize holiness ideas and created a "spiritual" way to cope. (Dayton, 1987, 78) Holiness groups began to multiply and search for a "power" to confront the growing complexity of the social climate. Several features began to develop as a part of this shift in attitude. "Baptism with the Spirit" terminology began to be associated with the experience of entire sanctification. An emphasis on divine healing began to be emphasized in Holiness meeting in general. This reflection of "divine power" had become a common feature in the movement by 1895. (In the very beginning of the movement the Church of the Nazarene adopted, and still maintains, divine healing as one of its fifteen points of The Articles of Faith.) Finally, the pessimism of the age had created a stage for a premillennial hope in the sudden return of Jesus Christ. This theme of divine deliverance reflected a subtle conclusion that evangelism was becoming less a tool for transforming culture and more a process of "calling out a 'select few,'" to prepare to meet the Bridegroom. (Dayton, 1987, 162) Thus a Pentecostal theme had developed as the emphasis of cleansing shifted to an emphasis of power. When the Tongues Movement broke out in 1901 the only theological difference between it and the traditional holiness groups was its stress on speaking in tongues as evidence of receiving the Holy Ghost.

Thus the Holiness movement had given birth to two great ecclesiastical organizations, the non-tongues and the

tongues speaking movements. Both consolidated small fragmented Holiness sects into a denominations. Wesleyan holiness theology, within the context of the American culture and influenced by freedom of religion, denominationalism, and revivalism, produced a hybrid that one wonders if Wesley would have recognized as his child. Next I will discuss the rise of the Holiness Movement (non-tongues speaking) in North Dakota.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NORTH DAKOTA METHODISM AND THE JAMESTOWN CAMP MEETING

Tracing the development of the Laymen's Holiness Association (LHA) leads one directly through the history and spirit of early North Dakota Methodism and the development of the Jamestown camp meeting movement. The origins of this movement are unmistakably Methodist, their roots deep in the life of the primitive frontier. The Jamestown camp meeting grew out of the successful methodology employed by early Methodist circuit riders who planted the church on the great open prairie of the territory of the Dakotas. (This is the same methodology employed so successfully by Bishop Asbury as he lead the Methodist itinerants into the wilds of the new American frontier in the early nineteenth century.) Those who became the vanguards of the movement were honed razor sharp by the difficulties of their primitive surroundings, the severe climate, and the intense religious competition for the sparse population who were in most cases of foreign extraction and Lutheran or Catholic in religious preference.

I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DAKOTA TERRITORY

North Dakota is probably best known for its wide-open spaces and gently rolling prairie in its mid-section and its Badlands of canyons, gorges, ravines, bluffs, and buttes in the western part of the state. 200 years ago the region was the home of many nomadic Indian tribes, chiefly the Mandan, Sioux, Crow, Cheyenne, Chippewas, and Hidatsas. These tribes followed the migrations of the countless buffalo who roomed these treeless plains.

The first recorded white man to visit this area of North America was the French-Canadian fur trader and explorer LaVerendrye and his sons in 1738. He contacted the Mandans who were encamped along the Missouri River just east of the present city of Bismarck. However, it was nearly 50 years before other fur traders began to penetrate into this territory. In 1801 Alexander Henry, a fur trader with Canada's North West Compnay, made the first permanent settlement at Pembina and opened up the Red River Valley to the south.

The greater part of the area now known as North Dakota was acquired in the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. President Jefferson chose Lewis and Clark to lead an expedition and explore this new American territory. They departed from St. Louis in 1804 and used the Missouri River as a primary passageway. They spent more time in North Dakota than any other region through which they passed and have left historians a valuable account of the Indian cultures of

North Dakota. It was at their winter camp of Fort Mandan that Lewis and Clark secured the services of the Indian women Sakakawea, who served as a guide for their journey to the Pacific Ocean.

Following the Lewis and Clark Expedition, fur trading began to expand in the area. The Yellowstone, the first steamboat to navigate the Missouri River began its journey in 1832. These boats became an effective means of transportation for the fur traders. This means of transportation dramatically increased when gold was discovered in Montana in 1863. (North Dakota, 1950, 43-44)

Dakota Territory was organized by Congress in 1861 and opened to settlers. However, it was the farmers, not the miners or the cattlemen, who became the dominant force in taming this part of the wild west. The first area to be settled in North Dakota was west of the Red River, near the present city of Fargo and its natural border with Minnesota. The Homestead Act of 1862 provided that any head of a family who was a citizen or intended to become a citizen, could acquire 160 acres of surveyed land. The land then could be acquired by paying a small registration fee and residing on it for five years. "So rapid was the response to this invitation that by 1880 almost 20 million acres had been entered by those who claimed to be homesteaders." (Krout & Rice, 1977, 37)

With the opening up of this territory to white settlers, the years 1862 to 1880 saw many clashes with the

Indians, the settlers and the soldiers sent to protect the settlers. The Indian was fighting to protect his way of life which was being threaten by the slaughter of the buffalo and the encroachment of settlers on his lands. (Ellis, 1970, 33) North Dakota history is replete with stories of Sioux Indian wars with the American Calvary under General Alfred Sully and General John Pope. Entire towns were abandoned in 1862 when a white exodus was created by the Sioux uprising known as the "Minnesota Massacre". "Dakotans were concerned that 'these savages block the way to the whole system of Northwestern development...'" (Ellis, 1970, 27) Moses Armstrong, a member of the territorial legislaute suggested "the territory might 'die for want of government protection.'" (Ellis, 1970, 25) While many whites wanted the Indians contained on reservations, others would have them exterminated. General Pope, who had been moved from the Civil War battle fields to the "great American Desert," believed the American goverment needed a wise and humane policy for dealing with the red man shall save him "from complete and violent extinction..." (Ellis, 1970, 34) However, Pope's concerns were unheeded.

When gold was discovered on the Sioux Indian reservation in the Bad Lands in 1974, the army allowed thousands of prospectors to come into the hills. This break of the Larimore Treaty caused the Sioux, under the leadership of Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, to leave the reservation and defied the government's orders to return. The effort to

force the Indians back to the reservation lead to the Battle of the Little Big Horn in the summer of 1876.

In 1890 the fear of another Indian uprising called the "Fearquakes" raged though the western half of the state. White settlers demanded protection and weapons. This was brought about by the "Ghost Dance" rituals being preformed by many tribes of western Indians. While the ritual dance was intended to bring about the coming of an Indian messiah who would resurrect the dead braves, drive out the white man, bring back the buffalo, and restore happiness and unite all Indian tribes. The Sioux interpreted this message in a militant fashion. The military was called in. The wild reporting of the papers, the general hysteria of the settlers, and an accidental shooting of a soldier all culminated in the massacre at Wounded Knee, South Dakota in December, 1890. This battle brought to closure the Indian wars in the west. (Pfaller, 1972, 4-17)

The coming of the railroad lead to the great "Dakota Boom" of the 1880's. (The Dakota Boom [1878-1886] saw the population increase almost sixfold.) The Northern Pacific, a land-grant railroad, was given 23.9% of the entire state of North Dakota (10,700,279 acres). The land was sold to investment companies and the profits were used to finance the railroad. (Cotroneo, 1970, 79) As the Northern Pacific, Great Northern and Soo Line railroads built their way west and south across the state, homesteaders quickly staked their claim near the rails. Bismarck and Fargo were

connected by 1870, Minot by 1884,and Montana and Canada by 1894. The great buffalo herds were slaughtered and driven west by 1875, and the Sioux and other plains Indian tribes were contained in reservations by 1895. Congress granted both the northern and southern divisions of the territory statehood in 1889 and the "great influx of settlers, west of the Red River Valley and away from the main lines, came between 1890 and 1915." (Sometimes called the Second Dakota Boom) (Armstrong, 1960, 12) By 1915 little free land was left in the state. The massive and rapid settlement of the western areas of the United States caused the Bureau of the Census (1915) to announce the end of the American frontier.

While the bulk of the settlers in the prairie states came from older settled native areas, the State of North Dakota was heavily populated by German-Russians, Polish, Russians, and Norwegians. Their religious traditions were either Lutheran, Catholic, or Greek Orthodox. The population, on the whole, was basically of a lower social-economic strata. (Armstrong, 1960, 11) They had little money but much courage and a willingness to sacrifice as they faced blizzards, grasshoppers, prairie fires, and unending toil in establishing their prairie farms. The frontier spirit of stubborn individualism, inventiveness, and sense of freedom did much to shape the attitudes of those who lived on the Dakota prairie.

The farmers dependence on wheat as a cash crop unified and strengthened the populist revolt against eastern

monopolistic practices. Revolts against outside explotation reached a climax soon after the period of pioneer settlement ended in 1915. Farm radicalism was kept alive with movements like the Nonpartisan League (NPL) elected to state office in 1918 and the Farmers Union organized in 1927. These examples speak of the North Dakotan's determination to remain independent and somewhat reflect an attitude of folk wisdom and the general conservatism manifested in the Layman's Holiness Association.

The development of the religious customs of the evangelical protestant preachers who followed the westward movement, can be understood by comparing their work to the pioneer circuit riders of early Methodist history. Warren Sweet notes:

> ... Old customs were strangely out of place amid the new frontier condition. The social graces of the older community became impractical in the primitive log cabin and sod hut. Moral restraints were often left behind, too, as the frontiersman headed west, and freedom frequently ran over into license. (Sweet, 1964, 641)

Peter Cartwright stated:

> The great mass of our western people wanted a preacher that could mount a stump, a block, or old log, or stand in the bed of a waggon (sic), and, without note or manuscript, quote, expound, and apply the word of God to the hearts and consciences of the people. (Sweet, 1964, 642)

Cartwright's description of the rigorous conditions on the Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois frontier in the 1820's parallels the primitive circumstances in the Dakotas during the late 1800's. The pioneer preachers of both eras were a

rugged group. Sermons were packed with absolutes and well-defined moral standards. These Methodist preachers stressed the need for personal salvation and the experience of entire sanctification. Their style was intensely evangelistic and revivals and camp meetings were their chief means for recruiting members for the circuit churches.

The primary work of the Dakota Methodists centered on native born Protestants whose ethnic background was Canadian, British, and northern European. Many of the native born, due to the lure of free land, migrated to North Dakota from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Nebraska. However, the native stock were a minority group. (Armstrong, 1960, 13) There was intense competition for the religious affiliation of the native stock Protestants and this was shared by the Methodist, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists. Stories are told of Methodist preachers riding on the cowcatchers of the locomotives in order to be the first to reach new settlements and set up preaching points. With such a limited available population, the native-born Lutherans were often proselyted to start new congregations and Sunday Schools. (Armstrong, 1960, 13)

II. THE ORIGINS OF NORTH DAKOTA METHODISM

Before 1860 the Dakota Methodist work was the responsibility of the Iowa Conference. Later it was designated the Red River District of the Upper Iowa

Conference. The first missionary preacher sent into the area was Rev. S. W. Ingham, who evangelized was South Dakota Territory. Rev. James Gurley preached the first Methodist sermon in North Dakota in 1871. He was followed by Methodist missionary, Rev. John Webb who served under the auspices of the Northern Pacific Mission. He was responsible for organizing the first congregation in the state at Fargo in 1872. A second church was organized in Grand Forks in 1873. A third church was organized at Casselton in 1874, followed by churches at Valley City, Jamestown and Bismarck in 1876. Fourteen more were organized over the next six years. In 1877, all the work in North Dakota was transferred from the Upper Iowa Conference to the Minnesota Conference. As the state developed, first in the east, then in the west, so did the Methodist church. By 1883 North Dakota was organized as the North Dakota and Red River Mission District and held its first Mission Conference in 1884. In 1885, within fifteen years of the first Methodist sermon ever preached in the state, the Annual Conference of North Dakota was organized. (Armstrong, 1960, 17-30)

The rapid growth of the church in the state called for the organization of three districts in 1888 with a total of sixty-five charges. A fourth district was added in 1889. However, in 1881 major concerns arose concerning a spiritual decline within North Dakota Methodism. Presiding Elder G. R. Hair reported "We have more than 30 Sunday Schools and they are doing well. Class meetings are poorly attended."

(Armstrong, 1960, 24)

Similar concerns were voiced in The Christian Advocate by L. B. Wilson. He cites that the reason the church was losing members was due to their loss of the "subpastoral care of the class leader." He reminds the readers that "no organization yet devised has compensated for the practical setting aside of that time-honored institution." (The Christian Advocate, May 12, 1898, 772) His point was well taken, the class meeting served as a social as well as a spiritual event that guided persons from probation to full membership.

Henry Rack believed the source of "dissatisfaction and tension was the declining intensity of religious experience, which caused the class to be boring, repetitive, and viewed with resentment." (Dean, 1981, 41) William Dean disagrees, pointing out Rack is using Troeltsh's church-sect model and implying this decline was inevitable as Methodism moved from being composed primarily of lower class members to that of middle class respectability. Dean feels to explain/blame the decline of the class meeting upon the spiritual decline of the group is too simplistic.

> What actually happened, however, was that the web of circumstances that gave the class meeting functional significance in the eighteenth century eroded, leaving an institutional shell without a clearly manifest purpose, except that attendance was the door to membership. (Dean, 1981, 43)

Dean's point is well taken. The arguments and blame leveled at the church for spiritual decline may well be

social circumstances that are beyond the control of the church. However, Niebuhr notes "Rarely does a second generation hold the convictions it has inherited with a fervor equal to that of its fathers, who fashioned these convictions in the heat of conflict and at the risk of martyrdom." (Niebuhr, 1929, 20) Each generation must have its own convictions for the cause it fights for or the program it maintains.

Some programs, like the revival meeting, which succeeded in one generation will not work for the next; yet all too often they are institutionalized as though sacred. (The evangelistic Sunday evening service is still being practiced by the Church of the Nazarene but has been in steady decline for the last twenty years. Many view it as a mini-Sunday morning service. Forty years ago it was a tool for outreach and winning new converts, now for the most part it is just another service.) As we shall see, the LHA attempted to maintain the success of the "holiness revival" only to be faced with other problems which compounded the difficulty of their organizational independence.

In 1882 pastors Hobart, Spates, and Tucker brought charges against Rev. A. G. Wilson for holding to doctrines that were contrary to the Methodist Church and the Bible. They claimed Wilson preached

> ...that man was developed from the lower forms of life; that the Darwinian was the only thinkable theory... that there was no personal Devil... that there were men on the earth before Adam... that man would have died a natural death if he had not sinned. (Armstrong, 1960, 24)

The Bishop found Wilson guilty of the charges, however, he passed his character when he recanted. We can see how pervasive the influence of scientific thought had become. It was penetrating the rural churches of North Dakota, but, it immediately brought on a volley of protest from this conservative conference.

Between 1888 and 1890 the Conference recorded its support for the "dry cause" in the state. North Dakota Methodists were ardent prohibitionists. They seldom failed to blast the liquor trade and often took on the "bootlegger" and the "blind piggers" (a legitimate business used as a cover to secretly sell or transport liquor). It was not uncommon for them to include tobacco in the same denunciation. Armstrong noted at Conference:

> Sabbath desecration, modernism, under the label "failure to preach the old-fashioned doctrines of the Holy Bible," the waywardness of the young, all came in for proper resolution. "The wicked flee when no man pursueth," but he runs a lot faster when a militant Methodist is after him. (Armstrong, 1960, 35)

The dedication of the missionary pastor-evangelists of the North Dakota Conference equaled that of the early circuit riders in the days of Wesley and Asbury. Their passion for the souls of men drove them through drifted snow, blizzards, mud, and drought. They traveled on foot, by mule, horseback, buggy, sled or train to visit the sod hut of a prairie farmer or to hold an evangelistic meeting in a school house, depot, barn, saloon or dance hall. It

was not uncommon for their circuits to be 60 to 100 miles in length. Methodist circuit riders would leave their homes on Saturday to reach their preaching points for the Sunday morning service, travel several miles to the afternoon service, and travel again to the evening service only to arrive home early Monday morning. The wives were often alone to raise the families while the preachers were away visiting their church members by day and holding services at night. The parsonages were cold during the harsh Dakota winters. In some cases the parsonage families would have to share a room in the homes of church members. The pay was meager and cash was scarce. Methodist preachers were often paid with food items for their families and animals. Yet, the sacrifice of these dedicated missionary pastors built the church. (Armstrong, 1960, 35-50)

The North Dakota Conference grew from 47 charges and four preaching points in 1886 to 175 charges in 1910. The Sunday school statistics showed a similar growth: "1890 - 4,731; 1895 - 5,979; 1900 - 8,483; 1905 - 11,493; 1910 - 18,173; 1915 - 26,866." This reflected a peak of 269 Sunday schools and a 600% increase in twenty-five years. Church membership grew from 5,376 in 1900 to 11,557 in 1911. The Conference roll of ministers reflected a similar growth, recording 83 members in 1911 and reaching a peak of 164 active members in 1918. (Armstrong, 1960, 65) 1915 reflected the crest of Methodist strength in the state.

Following 1915 Sunday School attendance began to

decline. In 1920 the attendance had slipped from 26,866 to 23,899, and to 20,899 in 1925, and fifteen years later was at 12,969. Armstrong explains these losses were due to the Lutheran church beginning church schools to compete for the children of their members (children formerly proselyted by the aggressive Methodist Sunday school workers). The roll of minister slipped from 164 in 1918 to 120 in 1919 and to 106 in 1922 (the date the Laymen's Holiness Association joined with the Church of the Nazarene). The plight of the national economy also had its affect on the work of the church.

The scourge of the Great Depression closed banks, foreclosed on farms, and wreaked havoc on the farm economy. The depression was worse in North Dakota because it was coupled with a severe drought (1932 - 1940). "In 1929 North Dakota stood second... from the top of the list in the percentage of people owning their own homes. (By 1940) ...the state was very near the bottom." (Armstrong, 1960, 69) No one will deny the Depression greatly affected the church. Economic issues curtail building programs (many of the building programs on the conference had occurred around the turn of the century), missionary giving, district budgets and pastoral support. The church was affected in the rural areas by a great migration from the farm. Between 1930 - 1940, according to Armstrong, 40,000 people left the state and another 40,000 moved into the cities. "This, of course, closed up many rural and small town churches and

many Sunday schools. The minutes recorded 182 churches in 1930 and 155 in 1940." (Armstrong, 1960, 69)

While these external events had an effect on the growth and development of North Dakota Methodism, growing opposition to the emphasis placed on the doctrine and experience of entire sanctification at the Jamestown Methodist Camp Meeting, begun by S. A. Danford, created internal strife. I believe it is more than coincidental that the origin of the Laymen's Holiness Association (LHA) coincides with the decline of North Dakota Methodism. The infiltration of liberalism within the church, resistance to the conservative position of the LHA, and the abuse of ecclesiastical authority all contributed to a form of lay rebellion within the Conference. In many cases there was a separation of both clergy and laity.

III. THE ORIGINS OF THE JAMESTOWN CAMP MEETING MOVEMENT

Rev. Samuel Alexander Danford move to North Dakota from Ohio in 1885. Taking a Methodist charge in Sargent County, in the extreme southeast corner of the state, he was soon elected County Superintendent of Schools. He served in that capacity four years and established the first normal school in the state. Danford received his PhD from Taylor University, an independent holiness college in Upland, Indiana and a Doctor of Divinity from Northern Ohio University, a Methodist college in Ada, Ohio. He served North Dakota Methodism for thirty years (1885 - 1915),

eleven years as a presiding elder (district superintendent). Danford is credited for the organization of the Jamestown Camp Meeting, for which he served as president until 1917. This camp gave birth to the Laymen's Holiness Association (LHA).

Danford was sanctified (for explanation see page 70) while a pastor at Jamestown. This experience evidently created an intensity in his ministry. The Jamestown church grew and resulted in his 1904 appointment by Bishop Joyce as presiding elder of the Fargo District. Danford was a friendly man who possessed the ability to inspire his preachers to endure the hardships of the Fargo and Bismarck Districts. He was a gifted administrator who organized his "forces" to accomplish the work of building the church. Armstrong notes:

> This latter experience (sanctification) made him the greatest preacher of "Scriptural Holiness" or "sanctification" the Conference ever had. He was a great builder of churches and parsonages. He believed in the revival method of winning people for Christ... He believed in and taught tithing. Many of the churches in the Slope country still show in their giving the results of his teaching and preaching. Without a doubt, he induced more young men to dedicate their lives to the ministry than any other Superintendent. (Armstrong, 1960, 94)

According to Rev. Ira Hammer, a North Dakota Methodist pastor, an evangelist for the LHA, and eventually an elder in the Church of the Nazarene, the origins of the Jamestown Camp Meeting Movement began at White Rock, South Dakota (1905) in a revival meeting with Holiness Evangelist, Dr.

Beverly Carradine. The pastor, Rev. E. M. Isaac, had recently experienced sanctification and "was consistently pressing the privileges of this great grace of the 'victory life'" (sic) at his church. (Hammer, 1955, 10)

Danford heard about the Carradine meeting and Isaac's efforts in holiness evangelism. However, this work was in South Dakota, and Danford knew Isaac would not receive any encouragement to promote holiness evangelism from the superintendent on that district. Therefore, Danford encouraged Isaac to begin a camp meeting project which he personally would support. It was Danford's intent to propagate "the work of holiness within the Methodist Church" from the beginning of his appointment to the superintendency. (Hammer, 1955, 15) In his district report in October, 1905, Danford reported one hundred converted and "five young men called to the ministry" in the White Rock Meeting. (Danford, 1913, 12) According to Hammer, Danford became the natural leader for the camp meeting effort. He encouraged several of his pastors from the southern edge of the Fargo District to attend the services. It appears some of those who did (Rev. W. R. Morrison, Rev. C. A. MacNamara, and Rev. J. N. Loach) were spiritually revived and later became strong supporters of the Lay Movement that arose out of this camp meeting. (Hammer, 1955, 12)

While District Superintendent, Danford encouraged a revival spirit on his own district. In addition to this camp meeting at White Rock, South Dakota, revivals were

"held on nearly every charge on the district." (Danford, 1913, 23) Valley City held a revival and 250 were converted, in a revival at Oakes, 150 were converted. In his first Annual Report to the Fargo District in 1905 Danford totaled almost 700 converted in revivals and nearly 800 received into probationary and full membership. The next year he reported nearly every church on the district had held a revival. However, he also reported "a good old fashioned camp meeting (the White Rock Camp Meeting moved to the North Dakota District) was held at Fargo in June (1906), which resulted in great good to preachers and churches." (Danford, 1913, 23) In 1907 he reported:

> The Revival work on the human side has been persistently and carefully fostered, and the Holy Spirit has honored the work by many conversions... Judging from reports of pastors, there has been over a thousand converts this year on the district.

He continues:

> We have been careful to keep out wild fire and fanaticism of any sort and have placed my vote upon several evangelists who have asked to come to us. I am as much afraid of dead, cold formality and Unitarianism as I am of fanaticism, but we need not have either. (Danford, 1913, 29)

In his Third Annual Report of the Fargo District, (1907), Danford reported the North Dakota Methodist Camp Meeting was held at Jamestown in June. He noted that about one thousand people attended the meeting "representing nine states and one hundred and ten towns. (Danford, 1913, 36) The camp meeting started at White Rock in 1905 was becoming a popular event and under the inspiration of Danford, was

specifically Methodist in its organization.

In a circular letter to the pastors of the Fargo District, dated October 28, 1908, Danford states:

> The statistics this year will show that our District has increased in membership from 1589 full members four years ago to 3920 this year, or a gain of 2341 full members. This gain has come largely through revivals. (Danford, 1913, 113)

The spirit of Holiness evangelism was upon the District. Pastors were not only encouraged to have revivals, but it was proving to be the best way to recruit new members. The revival was believed to be successful because it was a return to "old fashioned Methodism" (the preaching of sanctification as a second work of grace and emotionalism and enthusiastic responses from the congregation). Phrases often repeated were "Holiness unto the Lord," "Pentecostal Evangelism," "Back to the Bible and Wesley," and Wesley's "God... raised up the Methodist Church to... spread Scriptural Holiness over all the lands." (Danford, 1913, 113 - 115) Furthermore, any preacher wanting to come to the district was not admitted unless he could answer in the affirmative that; one, he had saving faith in Jesus Christ; two, he was going on to perfection; three, he expected to be made perfect in love in this life; and, four, he was earnestly striving for perfect love (entire sanctification). (Danford, 1913, 114) Danford made it very clear he was seeking only those preachers who were "soundly" converted and seeking after Holiness. His reasoning for the strict control was obvious. Church

members were dying for the lack of the preached word and sinners were dying for the lack of help.

Danford had now made a distinction between holiness and non-holiness ministers. His action began to set in motion a segregation of liberal (non-holiness and anti-revivalistic) and conservative (holiness and revivalistic) pastors. This kind of separation, as Gasper notes, is how fundamentalism began. He states, "Historically, fundamentalism may be defined as that 'movement which arose in opposition to liberalism, reemphasizing the inerrancy of the Scriptures, separation and Biblical Miracles,...and the Substitutionary Atonement.'" (Gasper, 1963, 13)

In 1909 Danford gave his fifth and final report for the Fargo District. He reported "over six thousand converted and two thousand people sanctified..." (Danford, 1913, 64) Revival had swept across the district and the Methodist Camp Meeting at Jamestown was at the heart of it all. That same year, Danford reported:

> This camp meeting has been the rallying ground for old time religion on this district and has been one of the strongest factors in spreading "Scriptural Holiness..." No fads or side tracks have been allowed and some of our best and wealthiest people look forward of this annual feast of tabernacles with great delight. (Danford, 1913, 54)

Reporting again following his first year as Superintendent of the Bismarck District (1910), Danford notes:

> The Jamestown Camp Meeting continues to grow in power and is the rallying ground of the entire district. Thirty-two pastors attended the meeting this year and caught the fire that burst into

> revival on many to the charges (in churches) when they went home. (Danford, 1913, 77)

In his 1911 report he declared the Jamestown Meeting was a "Methodist camp meeting straight down the middle of the road..." Danford believed the meeting taught nothing except the gospel and enunciated it in Wesleyan terms. (Danford, 1913, 84) By 1912 he declared that the total results of the Jamestown Camp Meeting, the "heart throb" of Methodism, could never be told. The testimonies of spectacular conversions of local colorful personalities like "Pool Hall Jack", "Rattlesnake Dick" and others, who turned their lives away from "wicked living," convinced the revivalists' supporters it had God's blessing. The dynamic preaching of popular evangelists such as "Uncle Bud" Robinson, Dr. Beverly Carradine, and Rev. C. W. Ruth kept the camp meeting alive with seekers after old-fashioned Wesleyan "holiness." Following the meeting, pastors and people returned home in all directions spreading "revival fires" back to their local churches. Hammer indicates, "but for the fervent experience, generalship, and heaven-blessed ability of Dr. S. A. Danford, the movement would have ended where it began, and never would have spread further." (Hammer, 1955, 13-14)

IV. THE JAMESTOWN MOVEMENT BECOMES DIVISIVE

However, it is at this point that tensions begin to build between the Holiness and Anti-revival groups. One

indication is the declaration by Danford that "no fanaticism or come-out-ism" would be tolerated by the Jamestown Methodist Camp Meeting. Armstrong notes a division being created in the conference:

> The trouble began at about the turn of the century. One group of ministers believed that the evangelistic meeting, or revival meeting type of program, was a major method in winning converts and building the churches. Most of them believed and preached with great zeal the doctrine of sanctification, scriptural holiness, or second blessing as it was sometimes called. They were not indifferent to the values of the Sunday School, Epworth League, training classes, and pastoral work; but they placed a lesser value upon them than upon the evangelistic campaign. (Armstrong, 1960, 52)

A division began on the North Dakota Conference between two groups of ministers. One group stressed the pastoral duties and educational aspects of the ministry. The other group stressed the evangelistic and holiness teachings of "old fashioned" Methodism. The Jamestown Camp Meeting was, in fact, at the heart of the issue.

Furthermore, each group tried to control the Conference Meetings. If the meeting was held in the church of a non-holiness pastor, the special speakers were to their liking and criticize the holiness group. If the meeting was in the church of a holiness advocate, the special speakers were holiness evangelists and the services were evangelistic. Armstrong notes from personal experience:

> The first Annual Conference the writer attended was held at Bismarck. The first evening session featured a very gifted evangelist and advocate of seeking the second blessing. The writer was stirred and went forward in the altar service.

> After the meeting was over, one of the more liberal members of the Conference took him out for a walk, warning him that he had better watch his step and telling him his side of the Conference controversy. The next night the writer did not go forward in response to the altar call. Then after the meeting, one of the holiness faction took him out for a walk and warned him of the danger of losing his soul if he followed the other faction... Many of the young ministers were likewise puzzled. (Armstrong, 1960, 54)

At this point, I see no difference in this controversy than in those of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Then the divisions were New Lights versus Old Lights, pro-revivalists versus anti-revivalists, New School versus Old School. (See Gaustad, 1957; Goen, 1962) However, while Armstrong interpreted the issues to be educational rather than theological, the accounts of the holiness revivalists show the issues to be theological. In fact, they centered their attack on the influence of "German rationalism," "higher criticism," and "modernism." (Morrison, 1910; Hammer, 1955, 28) These, they believed, had a grip upon the Methodist schools and seminaries. Summarizing the position of the holiness advocates Hammer states:

> Notwithstanding there was much of the modernistic literature coming from Methodist presses, scattered through the Sunday-school literature and was (sic) prominent in the required course of study for young ministers...

He further notes:

> ... instructors in Methodist educational institutions were advocates of "new theories," ridiculing Blood (sic) atonement for sin, denied the necessity of the new birth, and scoffed at the "Baptism (sic) with the Holy Ghost" for heart cleansing..." (Hammer, 1955, 28-29)

In 1915 Danford gave his eleventh report as a North Dakota Conference District Superintendent, and his sixth and final to the Bismarck District. Methodist conference rules dictated that a district superintendent could not serve the same district more than six consecutive years. He had been promoting the holiness cause as a District Superintendent since 1905. However, he had been experiencing increased "opposition from his neighboring district superintendents, and from the new presiding bishop," for his stand on the doctrine of holiness. (Smith, 1962, 301)

In his report, which appeared somewhat guarded, he credits the revivals on the district for giving it the membership gains it had enjoyed. He indicated, in no uncertain terms, the Jamestown Camp Meeting was owned and run by the Camp Meeting Association. Furthermore, it had been the rallying ground for the work on the district over the past decade (According to Hammer, the holiness doctrine had not been preached much in the North Dakota territory until Danford made it his priority). He indicated the camp that summer had an attendance of nearly 1,500 people, over 500 people professed definite experiences. He was obviously silent as to what kinds of experiences they received. (Danford, 1915) A very successful career in North Dakota was coming to a close and Danford seemed to be aware of the impending storm for the "old fashioned Methodist" work.

The holiness and liberal groups had grown further apart and the district was clearly divided between the liberal and

conservative forces. The breach had developed to a critical stage. (Armstrong, 1960, 56) The liberal forces had the backing of many wealthy and powerful laymen in the conference. In addition, they had the sympathy of the presiding Conference Bishop William A. Quayle. (While I could not find official statements concerning a division or cleavage between liberal and conservative forces in the conference, Armstrong, Hammer, and Morrison all agree that a tension did in fact exist.)

Quayle, a renowned orator, outstanding scholar, former educator and president of Baker University in Baldwin, Kansas (Holt, 1974, 1971), was the 1915 Conference Bishop. That year he ordained the Conference's "second largest group of Deacons and Elders, in the history of the Conference. (Armstrong, 1960, 56) Many of these ordinands, were a result of the work of Danford.

The 1915 Fall Conference for North Dakota was held at Fargo. As mentioned above, there was a show down during this Conference, between the "conservative" and the "liberal" forces. Hammer states The Bishop took the side of the liberal forces in the Conference vowing to "destroy the holiness element." (Hammer, 1955; Corbett, 1955) The pro-holiness forces knew this Danford's last year so they secured the signatures of over 1,000 laymen and gained the support of 40 ministers, and requested the appointment of Dr. J. G. Morrison as district superintendent of the Bismarck District. Morrison had been an active supporter

and officer of the Jamestown Camp Meeting Association. He had been a successful evangelistic pastor and strong advocate of the holiness doctrine. However, instead of appointing Morrison, Bishop Quayle appointed Rev. J. G. Moore, District Superintendent of the Grand Forks District. Moore, according to Hammer, was an outspoken critic of the holiness cause in the Conference. (Hammer, 1955, 44) (Smith [1962] states this occurred in 1917 following Morrison's return to North Dakota from Florida. This does not seem likely in that he returned to North Dakota to assume the position of President of the LHA. Furthermore, the Methodist annual conference minutes and Armstrong place this event at the fall conference in 1915. No doubt Smith was relying on Hammer's account of the situation. I found Hammer's recollection of dates often unreliable.)

According to the 1915 North Dakota Annual Conference Minutes, Danford took a temporary position with the state as a Humane and Juvenile Officer. His name appears in the 1916 minutes as transferred to Oregon. Smith notes he was appointed to the First Methodist Church in Eugene, Oregon, a church with several hundred members. (The Methodist, July, 1917, vol.X, no.1; Smith, 1962, 301)

Morrison was transferred to Larimore in eastern North Dakota. (North Dakota Conference Minutes, 1915) He observes:

> At this conference the bishop took me out of my good "station" appointment, and sent me clear across the state putting me back onto a "circuit." Greatly disappointed, I nevertheless went, and

> started some holiness fires in that North Dakota village, to which I had been appointed. (Corbett, 1955, 41)

The Bishop also appointed Rev. J. M. Taylor, Rev. A. M. Wiley, and Rev. Ira Hammer, all leaders in the holiness movement on the district, to non-supporting charges and on other districts, out of state, and under district superintendents who were not supportive of the holiness cause. (Hammer, 1955; Armstrong, 1960)

Concerning the appointment of Moore, Hammer notes:

> He had long been an outspoken opposer of the Wesleyan doctrine of holiness. Soon after taking the work on the Bismarck District, he declared he would kill holiness on that district (sic). Accordingly, he forbade any church or pastor on the district to engage an evangelist that preached holiness as a second work of grace. He ridiculed the doctrine to his pastors and discouraged them from preaching it... (Hammer, 1955, 44)

Soon after coming into office, Moore attempted to gain control of the Jamestown Camp Meeting, however, because the camp grounds were owned and operated by the association and not the Methodist Church, he was legally restrained from doing so. (Hammer, 1955, 44) The final move in attempting to rub out the holiness element was to establish a conference rule that would bring to trial any minister who refused to take his appointment. (Hammer, 1955) This resulted in two men being suspended from the conference.

Hammer strongly indicated the Bishop's authority of appointment had been recklessly abused and focused its wrath upon the proponents of holiness movement. (Hammer, 1936) Two articles "A Revolt Against Despotic Bishops" and

"Episcopal Tyranny" published in the December 1917 issue of The Methodist, a holiness paper printed by the Laymen's Holiness Association, focused on the efforts of the Bishops to control the church through autocratic rule and to forbid Methodists from attending the Jamestown Camp Meeting, stating that "it was a dangerous place." (The Methodist, December, 1917, vol.X, no.6) These were strong charges against the bishopric, but this same sentiment existed among many Methodist holiness advocates across the nation as well as those who had aborted from Methodism in previous years. (Smith, 1962; Norwood, 1970; Alstrom, 1973)

The liberal element had used the power of the appointment system and had influenced the Bishop to select someone more to their favor with the intent to disperse the holiness element out of the Conference. To those not accustomed to the appointment system, the power of the bishopric to appoint pastors as they pleased may seem strange. However, it has been a part of Methodist polity since its earliest days. It began with Wesley and was maintained as part of the American Methodist system. Since itinerancy was fundamental to Methodism's means of growth and maintenance of the frontier church, preachers would generally change circuits "every six months, by the order of the presiding elder..." (Bucke, 1964, 9) Originally Francis Asbury made all the appointments, "changing men or leaving men placed as seemed best to him." (Bucke, 1964, 9) By 1836 the General Conference changed the appointments to two

years in length. It was changed again to three years in 1864 and to five years in 1888. Appointments were generally made in consultation with the district superintendent for the good of the pastor and the congregation. However, as stated above, the 1915 North Dakota Conference appointments, in my opinion, were proof of the abuse of power for the expressed purpose of dismantling the holiness movement. This only served to drive a wedge between the two groups and intensify their differences. This action helped stimulate the plan for a independent association outside the power of ecclesiastical authorities.

The turmoil on the North Dakota Conference over the holiness question, ecclesiastical authority, liberal trends in theology, and revivalistic methodology were no different than those confronted by the Methodists on other districts in the late 1890's and early twentieth century. The origins of the Church of the Nazarene were based on a similar issue but more focused on one individual, Dr. P. F. Bresee. In the North Dakota, the issues focused on theological questions of a more Fundamentalistic nature. Modernism, German Rationalism, and higher criticism were direct assaults on the authority of the scriptures -- the very foundation of orthodox conservative faith. For the holiness advocates, it was more than the defense of the "old-fashioned" Methodist doctrine of perfection. They had been dragged into the Modernist - Fundamentalist controversy as well. More than a thousand laymen and many pastors would

not allow the church they had fought to establish to be swallowed up by Modernism. They were convinced holiness revivals, which had given them their past success, would enable them to maintain their success. If they could not save "old-fashioned" Methodism through its leadership, then they would revive it though the work of associations. By 1917 the laymen of the Jamestown Camp Meeting Movement had organized themselves into an association for the expressed purpose of reforming the Methodist church. Next I will discuss the rise and development of the Laymen's Holiness Association and its president, Dr. Joseph G. Morrison.

CHAPTER FIVE

JOSEPH GRANT MORRISON

AND THE LAYMEN'S HOLINESS ASSOCIATION

The evolution of the Laymen's Holiness Association (LHA) from the Jamestown Camp Meeting was not surprising. The tough prairie farmers and the equally tough North Dakota circuit riders had braved the elements and suffered great privations to establish the Methodist work in the young territory. The leadership of S. A. Danford and his right-hand man Jamestown pastor, Rev. J. G. Morrison, continued to champion the success of holiness evangelism on the Fargo and Bismarck Districts.

The Jamestown Meeting was becoming a well known holiness camp. (Hammer, 1955; Smith, 1962) Smith notes:

> Visitors to the camp meeting rarely failed to report in some journal the unusual fact that at Jamestown the superintendent of a district as large as the state of Ohio stood at the head of the work, and that all of his fifty-six pastors were advocates of the "second blessing." (Smith, 1962, 301)

While church growth was resulting from holiness evangelism, many anti-holiness clergy and lay leaders from the conference felt its emotionalism and excesses were becoming an embarrassment. Furthermore, The North Dakota Methodist, a holiness newspaper established (1908) by Danford, edited by Morrison, and supported by the Jamestown Camp Meeting, sharply criticized the influence of liberalism

within Methodist educational institutions. (The earliest copy to survive calls for the preaching of the "gospel fundamental" and a return to "old doctrines of Methodism" which had made her "great and strong" in the past. [North Dakota Methodist, Aug. 1, 1910, Vol.II, no.14])

Before the end of the 1915 North Dakota Conference, it was conjectured the Bishop might attempt to dissolve the holiness confederacy, and indeed he did. In 1916 Danford was appointed to a pastorate in Eugene, Oregon and Morrison was appointed to Ft. Lauderdale, Florida (St. Johns River Conference Minutes, 1916) (Smith states Morrison was appointed to Sebring. That is incorrect, Sebring was the sight of the next Annual Conference, 1917, but Morrison was never appointed there to pastor.) Pastors of the strongest holiness works were transferred to obscure country circuits. (Hammer, 1955; Smith, 1962, 301) However, both Danford and Morrison retained their positions with the camp meeting, although the former resigned his post as president of the association in 1917. It is at this time that Rev. J. G. Morrison, editor-preacher, left his Florida pastorate to assume full-time responsibility for the leadership of the budding independent work of the LHA.

I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A LEADER

Joseph Grant Morrison (1871-1939), was born the tenth child of his Scotch-Irish, Congregationalist parents, James and Amanda Shaw Morrison. The New Hampshire, ancestral farm

adjoined the farm that marked the birthplace of Daniel Webster, the hero of New England. (Morrison, 1934, 10) Joseph's parents, who married in the 1850's, were "grub-staked" by Grandfather Morrison and moved to Oskaloosa, Iowa, in the land rush of that decade. Joseph's father invested in a soft coal mine and began to work it to earn a living for his growing family. Joseph was the final child of the family, born March 27, 1871, following his father's military service in the Civil War. (Corbett, 1955; Hammer, 1955) According to Morrison, those were "raw pioneer days" and his parents had to "root, hog, or die." (Morrison, 1934, 10) In those early days on the frontier, families were often without religious influence. Morrison relates his parent's lack of religiosity:

> They were irreligious in those days. Reared in a stiff New England Congregationalism, out of which they secured no personal Christian experiences, they drifted utterly away from all Churches (sic) in their early western life. All longings for some sort of religious comfort and all homesick yearnings for white painted neatness of New Hampshire farmsteads, were smothered in the frantic scramble for mere existence. (Morrison, 1934, 10)

Following the Civil War, Methodism began to make its impact on the Oskaloosa area. Mrs. Morrison took the family to a local Methodist revival and was converted.

Mr. Morrison, though hardened by his war experiences, soon followed his wife's example and was also converted in the same Methodist church. (Morrison, 1934, 10) The Morrisons were pious Methodists who maintained strict

religious observances such as regular family devotions, prayer, and Bible reading, and regular attendance at Sunday and revival services. However, they suffered a financial disaster in 1873 when their coal mine was flooded with water. Therefore, forced to start over, they relocated.

The Morrisons moved to Dakota territory, which was just opening up for homesteading. Moving the family 400 miles north, James settled his family near Sioux Falls and, like their neighbors, built a sod hut for a dwelling place. The trials and tribulations of this new location included harsh winter blizzards, grasshopper plagues which ruined their crops, and a prairie fire that destroyed their new barn, killed their horses, and burned their haystacks. Yet, their phenomenal courage enabled them to continue to wrestle a living from the land. Their faith undaunted, James and Amanda continued to point their children toward the goodness and faithfulness of the Lord. Although there were times when the family did not see a potato for three months, nor earn more than a hundred dollars for the entire year, they never complained nor failed to pay their "quarterage" tithe for the support of the church. These would be special memories for Joseph and no doubt helped shape his "achieving faith" philosophy of life. (Morrison, Boyhood, n.d.; Corbett, 1955)

Young Joe grew up a hardworking cowboy and was in demand by local ranchers for his labor. However, from a very early age he knew the Lord was calling him to preach.

When his older brothers and sisters would tease him and call him "mamma's little preacher boy" he would become very angry. At the age of sixteen Joseph was converted in a Methodist revival and this sealed his call. In 1887 the family moved to DeSmet, Dakota Territory where Joe entered the local high school. To assist with expenses of going to high school he worked for the DeSmet News and learned the printer's trade. The next year (1888) he was ready to go to college.

While his father believed young Joseph should put his hand to the plow and stay on the farm, it was his mother who interceded, believing that a preacher needed all the training he could receive. In 1888 he entered the new "struggling" university at Vermillion, Dakota Territory. During his second year at the University, Congress granted statehood to the territory. He was now a resident of South Dakota. It was during his student days he met Henrietta Robertson, a music teacher and member of the faculty. Soon after his university career (it is not certain he graduated), he married Miss Robertson and moved back to DeSmet to work in the newspaper office. Corbett notes that God was preparing Morrison through his experiences in the newspaper office. His work "in the field of journalism during this period were of untold value to Morrison, and left him an understanding in this field that served him the rest of his life." (Corbett, 1955, 18)

Morrison gleaned many lessons of co-operation and

helpfulness from being raised in a large family and as a prairie farmer. He faced hardships and learned to be frugal. The atmosphere of the family altar, Bible reading and prayer in the home, created a faith in God to face difficulties. This prepared Morrison for the different roles he would play in his adult life. Those would includea Methodist pastor-evangelist, president of the Laymen's Holiness Association, district superintendent in the Church of the Nazarene, president of Northwest Nazarene College, General Secretary of the Foreign Missionary Society, and General Superintendent of the Church of the Nazarene.

Morrison received a call from the Lord to be a minister when he was sixteen year old. While in college he struggled with other choices. He wanted to be a attorney or jounalist. He even qualified for an appointment to West Point to start a career in the Army. His struggle ended when he chose to obey the call of the Lord he received years before. With the support and encouragement of his wife, he wrote the presiding elder of the area for an appointment.

Morrison began his ministry in 1893 at the Methodist Episcopal Church in Webster, South Dakota. His second pastorate was a circuit of five preaching places, and his third was a pastorate at Faulkton, South Dakota. (South Dakota Conference Minutes, 1893) It was at this pastorate that Rev. Morrison was sanctified, following his angry outburst and rough treatment of a team of horses. It appears a farmer's wife pointed out his "unsanctified" anger

and this put him under conviction. She taught him how to seek the experience of sanctification. Morrison explains:

> Seated there in the kitchen of a South Dakota farm home, I saw as by the illumination of the Spirit the truth of the second work of grace. That there was a gunpowdery, carnal disposition left in my heart after conversion; that it was the purpose of God to cleanse this away... (Morrison, How I Found, n.d.)

Morrison tells how he sought after the experience for many months following that occurrence in the farm house kitchen. He not only sought after the experience, he preached its attainability and testified he was seeking after it. After many weeks of seeking, God "baptized" his heart with fire while he was praying in his study. It came upon him like a "great spiritual light" and "melted away all the feverish, gunpowdery, carnal disposition" that he had. (Morrison, How I found.., n.d.) This sanctifying experience occurred in 1895, about the same time he was ordained a Deacon by Bishop Isaac Joyce. (South Dakota Conference Minutes, 1895)

Morrison served the Methodist Episcopal Church for twenty-two years. During that time he served pastorates in North Dakota, South Dakota, and Minnesota. Furthermore, Morrison never failed to preach the doctrine of a second work of grace. He notes:

> After receiving the blessing of entire sanctification, I continued to serve in the Methodist Church as pastor for twenty years. At the beginning of each new pastorate I cautiously but systematically and faithfully preached the definite second work of grace. I clearly outlined the doctrine, showed how it belonged to Methodism,

> and was the central truth proclaimed by John and Charles Wesley... When I left each pastorate for a new one there remained a devoted band of sanctified people at each place. These bands later became churches when the Nazarene movement came our way. (Corbett, 1955, 38)

Morrison made a reputation for himself as a "holiness" preacher. When Danford was appointed superintendent of the Fargo District by Bishop Joyce, an advocate of Wesleyan Holiness, the two worked together to move Morrison from Minnesota to North Dakota. When the Bishop appointed Morrison (1910) to the Fargo District it was to the strongest Methodist church on the district, Jamestown, the home of the Jamestown Methodist Camp Meeting.

Morrison, with his bias for the second work of grace, quickly became immersed in the promotion and operation of the Camp Meeting. "S. A. Danford was president for about ten years; Morrison was his close collaborator, serving on important committees and having offices through the years as secretary, treasurer, and vice-president." (Corbett, 1955, 39) At times, Morrison, who was musically talented, lead the singing at the camp meeting as well.

In 1911 Taylor University, an independent holiness college in Indiana, conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity upon Morrison. (Corbett Correspondance, Ayres, Oct. 5, 1954) This honor was bestowed because of his work as a holiness preacher, his involvement with the Jamestown Methodist Camp Meeting, and Danford's influence. However, that same year Danford was appointed to the Bismarck District and soon arranged for his friend Morrison, the hard

working holiness preacher, to come to the Dickerson Methodist Church on that district. He served this charge from 1911 to 1915. This was the high water mark of his Methodist career.

II. THE EVOLUTION OF A MOVEMENT

Following his failure to be appointed District Superintendent, Morrison was transferred to Larimore, a small circuit in eastern North Dakota. (North Dakota Conference Minutes, 1915) The next year, 1916, Morrison was appointed to a church on the Miami District (Saint Johns River Conference, 1916) at Fort Lauderdale, Florida. He was dissatisfied with his Larimore charge and was seeking a warmer and healthier climate. When Danford and Morrison both moved out of state, the anti-holiness forces appeared to have the advantage. These two men were the most influential leaders of the Jamestown Camp Meeting Movement, the president and the editor of the newspaper. Now each of them were thousands of miles from the holiness work they were so instrumental in promoting.

The holiness work in the conference was more than just the preaching of sanctification in the local churches. The Bismarck District had a rallying point for its holiness work, the Jamestown Camp Meeting. The camp meeting at Jamestown had grown from the sparse attendance of the first meeting at White Rock, South Dakota to a large annual event

which brought in nearly 1800 people and some of the best evangelists in the holiness movement. In 1908 Dr. Danford started a monthly paper, entitled North Dakota Methodist, (The name of the paper was changed to The Little Methodist and by 1917 it was renamed The Methodist, in 1919, The Holiness Layman, and finally in 1924, The Holiness Messenger. The paper was dissolved in 1925 and the subscription list given to the Nazarene publication, Herald of Holiness; Morrison was promised one page per issue for the LHA readers.) to promote the holiness doctrine and the work of the Jamestown Camp Meeting. Morrison, with his newspaper experience, was a natural choice for the job of editor (1910). At the time of the showdown at the 1915 North Dakota Conference, the movement was well organized and well supported by the Methodist laymen in the state. Furthermore, the Camp Meeting Association was independent of the Methodist church and would continue to operate with or without the approval of the Conference. However, with the turn of events (the refusal of the Bishop to appoint Morrison as Bismarck District Superintendent), the laymen of the Association were determined not to yield to the pressures of the Bishop and those who opposed the holiness revival. At the 1917 Camp Meeting the laymen formed an alliance of their own. Morrison notes:

> The laymen in attendance at camp called a meeting composed only of their own number. They organized a "Methodist Laymen's Holiness League," financed a new extension department of the camp meeting and prepared for aggressive work. This movement on the part of the laity is taken to conserve

> orthodoxy, prevent come-out-ism, and promote the interests of the Methodist Episcopal church. (The Methodist, July, 1917, vol.X, no.1)

In July, during the camp meeting Morrison resigned as editor of The Methodist, and planned to stay in Florida "for health reasons." (The Methodist, July, 1917, vol.X, no.1) The laymen of the camp meeting, however, pledged a "salary and expenses to support an executive field secretary position, and asked Morrison to fill the post." (Smith, 1962, 301) After much prayer, he responded favorably to the offer. He returned to North Dakota to assume the duties of the new office and left his Ft. Lauderdale pastorate in the hands of a "well qualified elder from North Dakota... for the remainder of the year." (The Methodist, Jan., 1918, Vol.X, no.7; Hammer, 1955, 49) This however, was a breach of conference rules, not in leaving, but in failing to receive the permission of the Bishop. (The Methodist, Jan., 1918, Vol.X, no.7)

Enthusiasm and excitement filled the July issue of The Methodist as Morrison announced his three part plan for the work of the Extension Department of the Laymen's Holiness League. Its primary mission was to "fight for orthodoxy." Morrison criticized the Methodist Sunday School literature calling it poison. It was his firm conviction it was causing the spiritual ruin of boys and girls. (I surveyed several issues of The Christian Advocate's Sunday School papers for youth and found one article that suggested an evolutionary teaching.) Although he had attacked it before,

his critique of the Methodist Preachers' Course of Study was much sharper this time. He accused it of being filled with "the poison gas of destructive criticism." (William Sweet [1933] confirms that this was a concern within the church and the issue was more widespread than North Dakota. He notes "conservative attack(s)" came at the General Conferences of 1916, 1920, and 1924. He also indicates the main centers of "agitation" were in the New Jersey, Philadelphia and Baltimore Conferences. [Sweet, 1933, 392]) Morrison indicated that the LHA would be fighting for the removal of the influence of "modernism" from the training institutions and the publications of Methodism. In October The Methodist stated, "Let every earnest layman solicit his neighbor laymen for the good fight for orthodoxy and old-fashioned Methodism." (The Methodist, October, 1917, vol.X, no.4) Morrison believed the great heart of Methodism was sound but the principles of the "old-fashioned faith" would need to be fought for if they were to be maintained. He notes:

> This fight is one to the death. The orthodox people in the Methodist Episcopal church are the REAL Methodists. THE HIGHER CRITICS AND THEIR SYMPATHIZERS ARE NOT METHODIST. We propose to wage a tremendous warfare to drive the critics out of control of the church. (The Methodist, Oct, 1917, Vol.X, no.4)

The second part of the extension plan was to teach and preach the doctrine of sanctification as second work of grace. This, Morrison proposed, could be accomplished though "conventions, parlor meetings (a mimic of Palmer's

'Tuesday Meeting'), chair talks, revivals, and 'gum shoe' (house-to-house work) campaigns anywhere and everywhere." (The Methodist, July, 1917, vol.X, No. 1)

"Holiness Revivals" (Meetings where the message of sanctification as a second work of grace was stressed.) were made the primary evangelistic tool of the Association." Holiness meetings were the strategy of former District Superintendent Danford and were conducted with great success on the Fargo and Bismarck Districts. Because this program (Smith coined it the "North Dakota Idea") initially worked so well, it was Morrison's intent to continue using it. As he perceived the mission of the Association, the LHA would continue to utilize John Wesley's methodology for building the Kingdom of God. This technique was holiness revivalism; in his opinion the method the mother church and its leadership had rejected. Now, through the work of the LHA, holiness revivalism would be orchestrated outside the control of the Methodist Bishops and antagonistic district superintendents.

Between the years of 1917 and 1922 the work of the LHA expanded until it employed nine association evangelists, (most of whom joined the Church of the Nazarene in 1922). Calls for holiness revival meetings came from Methodist churches in the Midwest and on the West Coast. Therefore, Morrison organized the work into districts, (Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, and a Wisconsin Scandinavian work) and appointed

superintendent evangelists over each district. Although each evangelist was supported by the Association, they were expected to raise money for their support equal to the amount guaranteed by the Association. According to Hammer (1936), the plan was successful.

The third aspect focused on the publication of The Methodist. This organ served as the voice of those who advocated a return to "Methodist orthodoxy" (The belief that sanctification was experienced as a second definite work of grace). Morrison believed the LHA publication would counter the "liberal" literature coming from the presses of Methodism. He also inferred that The Methodist would help generate the reforms needed in the great mother church.

It should be noted that the members of the LHA did not view themselves as a sect, in fact, they deplored the idea. Morrison was emphatic that his organization would not tolerate "come-out-ism." He recommended all new converts be channeled to local Methodist churches for nurturing and care. To answer the critics' accusations of extremism Morrison wrote a challenge.

> We challenge anybody to show instances where the promoter of the North Dakota Methodist Holiness movement have indulged, tolerated or allowed any kind of fanaticism. No "Tongues," no "Third Blessing," no "Come-out-ism," no strange contortions, no fanaticism of any kind has been given aid or comfort. Our only line of regeneration and entire satisfaction, both witnessed by the Holy Ghost. (The Methodist, October, 1917, Vol.X, no.4)

Morrison and the LHA were intent on reforming the

Methodist church. They wished to return to the theme of Wesley's "grand depositum," the message and experience of entire sanctification as a second work of grace. They believed this would correct the liberal course of the church and, like Phoebe Palmer believed, correct national social ills as well.

Smith notes three institutions that gradually linked this Association with the National Holiness Association; the camp meetings, the holiness colleges, and the holiness papers. (Smith, 1962, 300) However, the main thrust of National Holiness Association's work and influence as a feeder organization was in the latter half of its most successful era. As noted above, Gaddis (1929) saw 1893-1907 as a period of "sect formation". Furthermore, as an Association, the proponents of the North Dakota Idea would fail to realize their dream. Morrison and other LHA members began to discuss merging with a holiness denomination as a viable alternative for the continuation of their methodology of holiness evangelism.

The euphoria of the July 1917 issue of The Methodist and the later distress of the January and February 1918 issues of the paper are noteworthy. Morrison's decision to accept the position of Executive Field Secretary meant he would need to take a leave of absence from his appointment in Ft. Lauderdale until the next conference. While he made his district superintendent aware of his leave of absence, he did not obtain permission from Bishop Leethe. The Spring

Conference was over and it would be nine months before the conference would convene again. Even though Morrison found a replacement for his church, his leave and a complaint from a district superintendent in North Dakota, brought down the wrath of the Bishop.

In November Morrison received Miami District Superintendent, L. S. Rader's letter. The Bishop brought charges of desertion against him. Rader outlined the charges:

> Miama (sic),Fla., Nov. 22, 1917
>
> Dear Brother Morrison: I had tried to arrange a way out for you with Bishop Leethe and the brethren, but a District superintendent (sic) in North Dakota complains to Bishop Leethe that "you are harming their work." So Bishop Leethe wrote me to "notify Dr. Morrison that he will be tried at Sebring, Fla., January 9, for deserting his work without my permission. Also, inform him that the trial will go on whether he is there or not, unless he can get the Bishop in North Dakota to transfer him back, and do you (sic) prepare charges as to his leaving without my knowledge or consent."
>
> Yours Fraternally,
> L. S. Rader, District Supt.
>
> (The Methodist, January,1918, vol.X, no.7)

Morrison responded to this letter and wrote his defense which he sent to Rev. Rader. Because he believed this to be another form of antagonism of the Bishopric toward the holiness work in North Dakota, he published his response in the January 1918 issue of The Methodist. His defense was as follows: first, he had the approval of the district superintendent and was on a "leave of absence" from his

charge and he had every intention of returning; second, he had a "spotless" record of twenty-four years with the church and the charges seemed overly severe for a first offense; third, he had properly notified the district superintendent and supplied him a preacher for the charge in his absence; fourth, the laymen of the Dakota Holiness Movement urged him "to accept a position of (overseeing)... for the purpose of keeping it (the LHA) loyal to the Methodist Episcopal Church"; fifth, if the Bishop insisted on pursuing the charges against him, it would offend 2,000 laymen in North Dakota who were responsible for the outstanding numerical and financial growth the conference witnessed over the past six years. They had been offended once by Bishop R. J. Cooke and this additional misdeed would have a "very unhappy effect upon this influential body of members of the Methodist Episcopal Church"; and sixth, the verdict of a trial, would in no way affect Morrison's relationship with the Jamestown Camp Meeting Association or the Methodist Laymen's Holiness Movement. (The Methodist, January, 1918, vol.X, no.7)

The Bishop responded to Morrison's letter, stating he viewed the letter as a threat and out of order. Morrison realized his situation was tenuous and petitioned the Conference for a supernumery relationship (a retirement from active ministry in which the minister maintains his credentials). However, during the January 1918 Saint John's River Conference at Sebring, Florida, Dr. Joseph Grant

Morrison was given a location (put out of the ministry with no credentials). Thus his twenty-four year career as a Methodist clergyman ended, but the second half of his career and contribution to the holiness movement began.

III. A PROFILE OF THE LAYMEN'S HOLINESS ASSOCIATION

Church-Sect theories state that those who join sects are generally from the lower social class. (Weber,1963; Niebuhr, 1929; Pope, 1942; Troeltsch, 1950) In order to test the social status and other sectarian characteristics of the LHA, the author needed to obtain a representative sample of the population. This was not an easy task. Hammer stated the members of the LHA were in the thousands and Morrison indicated the same. However, neither Hammer nor Morrison ever gave an exact number. The only figures mentioned was the approximate attendance at the Jamestown Camp Meeting. Theses figure varied from 1,000 to 1,800. And, Morrison used the statement of "2,000 laymen" in his letter of defense to Bishop Leethe in December, 1917. The final estimate of those LHA members who joined the Church of the Nazarene in 1922 was 1,000. (Smith [1962] says several thousand.)

The author's research revealed a comment by Morrison stating the subscription list of the Holiness Layman, (formerly The Methodist) was turned over to the publishing house of the Church of the Nazarene when the LHA dissolved in 1925. Unfortunately, it was later discovered the old

subscription records were lost in a fire. Therefore, the author concluded no complete list of LHA members survived. However, further research at the archives of the Church of the Nazarene uncovered a 1920 list of approximately 150 "share holders" in the LHA publishing company and a listing of names in the Journal of the Second Annual Meeting of 1920 and 1921. (A share holder paid ten dollars per share to support the publishing of the weekly holiness paper and buy and maintain its equipment.)

Because these are the only list of names known to exist, the author presumed that the shareholders were a representative sample of the membership of the LHA. Furthermore, it was believed these names represented a more financially committed (possibility wealthier, one doctor included) segment, who could afford to provide the support the movement.

The author examined the most recent United States manuscript census (1910) for the state of North Dakota to cross check the 150 names on the stock holders list (The 1920 manuscript census was not yet released for public access). Thirty names were found to correspond with the census records. The descent and occupation divisions are as follows:

Farmers	11	(U.S. descent)
Children	3	(all children of farmers, U.S. descent)
Livery	2	(U.S. descent)
Housewives	2	(husbands were farmers, one from Denmark, one from Norway)
Merchants	2	(Druggist, Furniture dealer, U.S. descent)
Ministers	2	(Morrison and Hammer)
Bank Cashier	1	(descent unknown, possibly Scandinavian)
Harness Maker	1	(Swedish descent)
Hired Man	1	(Farm helper, Norwegian descent)
Mechanic	1	(U.S. descent)
Office clerk	1	(Canadian descent)
Printer	1	(U.S. descent)
Student	1	(Canadian descent, 21 year old son of farmer still in college)
Teacher	1	(Norwegian descent)
Doctor	1	(U.S. descent)

The average age in this 1910 census was 31.8, the oldest in the sample was 56 years old and the youngest, 12 years old. The shareholders' records reflect a population sample ten (10) years older.

This profile, while ten years younger than the lists, reveals the kinds of people who were a part of the Laymen's movement. As noted above, (Armstrong, 1960) the people moving into the territory in the late 1800's were of the lower economic status, more foreign born than of native born, with the Lutherans being the dominant religious group. The LHA would most likely be of the same ethnic distribution as the Methodists, with one exception, it did have a Scandinavian work. The latter would underscore the five or six on the list of Scandinavian descent. The farm population information from the 1920 United States Bureau of Census indicated that 57.9% of the population of North Dakota, ten years of age and over, was gainfully employed in agricultural occupations. The LHA sample list of 30

indicated that 18 or 60% were connected with the farm occupations (this includes the farmers, wives, children, and the hired man noted on the above list). The census percentage for the farm population sample nearly matches the LHA occupational break down. This distribution gives strong support to the hypothesis that the sample may be reliable. On the other hand, one might draw the conclusion the sample is skewed due its small size and the ten year lapse between the census and the LHA records. I believe the risk of error is overshadowed by the results and therefore I have used the sample for my demographic statistics.

The small variance between the LHA population distribution and the state distribution indicates the work of the LHA was urban as well as rural in its basic appeal. As indicated earlier, this was not true of the early Nazarene work. Around the turn of the century, Breese's Church of the Nazarene was primary an inner city mission for the poor. While Morrison's philosophy of evangelism was "go anywhere," neither the LHA minutes nor Morrison's writings in the Holiness Layman indicate any focus on the poor or inner city work. One must also consider the population concentrations even in Bismarck and Fargo were not the same as those of Breese's work in Los Angeles. Furthermore, the "Laymen's Movement" was focused primarily on the Methodist Church, and I would conclude those most comfortable with status quo would be the wealthier class attending the churches.

The occupational distribution of the other 40% show lower to middle class trades and professions. Twelve percent, the druggist, the furniture dealer, the teacher, and the bank cashier were middle class occupations and the doctor would be upper middle class. This reflects a second generation of Methodists who were upwardly mobile. (Niebuhr, 1929) However, one cannot help but notice (with the exception of one doctor) the occupations of the upper middle and upper classes are conspicuously missing from the sample list. This fact would conform to Weber's and Troeltsch's theory that sects were more favored by the lower classes. Furthermore, in reviewing the 1930 plat book for Stutsman County (home to the Jamestown Camp Meeting) The author checked the four townships (Bloom, Homer, Midway, and Woodbury) surrounding Jamestown, as well as Montpelier township to the south, and could not find a single farm listed in the name of any of the 21 Stutsman County share-holders. The 1910 census listed W. A. Huffman and A. M. Wiley as farmers (both became ministers in the LHA), yet they were not listed as property owners in the 1930 plat book. Other plat books were not available for the counties where most of the designated farmers of the 1910 census were found. While there was a lapse of twenty years between Huffman's and Wiley's listing in the 1910 census and the property listings in 1930 plat book, it still seems strange that there was not one property owner listed from the area having the greatest concentration of contributors to the

Holiness Laymen. Regardless of the small sample, the lack of property ownership, again, appears to point to the lower class standing of the followers of the Laymen's Holiness Association.

The contribution of Morrison to the development of the LHA cannot be overlooked. His tireless energy, personal sacrifice, pungent editorials and organizational genius helped establish the work in the Central Northwest Region of the United States. The development of the LHA as a protest movement within North Dakota Methodism can be compared to the development of earlier holiness works. This would be true of the sects which joined the Church of the Nazarene in 1908, even though the LHA started two decades later. Comparing the LHA to the National Holiness Association, its first attempt was to become a holiness feeder organization and to prevent come-out-ism. There is no doubt in my mind that Morrison and the members of the LHA wanted to prevent a rupture in the church. He was a "loyalist" and would have remained in the church as a Methodist clergyman had he not been given a location. The mission of the LHA was, from the beginning, an attempt to reform the Methodist Episcopal Church, destroy liberalism, and move it back to, what the LHA believed to be, John Wesley's grand old doctrine, sanctification as a second work of grace. In the next chapter I will discuss the Wesleyan-fundamentalist emphasis of the LHA.

CHAPTER SIX

THE LAYMAN'S HOLINESS ASSOCIATION

ADVOCATES OF WESLEYAN FUNDAMENTALISM

In the span of just one generation the residents of North Dakota had witnessed rapid change. In less than 40 years many of them had moved from primitive sod huts and ox drawn covered wagons to a modern world with motor cars, moving pictures, and radios. By 1920 the semi-isolated communities of this rural region had begun to feel the negative affects of the devastation of the World War. Furthermore, a neo-Populist attitude was sweeping across the region (see chapter four). Many farmers were attempting to break the grip of the big cities over their countryside. (Wiebe, 1967, 289)

The North Dakota Holiness Revival (1905-1915) on the Fargo and Bismarck Districts had been similar to that which flourished within Methodism in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Three aspects of this revival served as its catalyst: first, the charismatic personalities of S. A. Danford and J. G. Morrison; second, an emphasis upon holiness revivalism. Not unlike the prevailing attitudes of the times, the revival in some sense was an attempt to preserve that which was orthodox and traditional. "Return to old fashion Methodism" was a repetitive theme of the LHA publication. Holiness revivalism or old fashion Methodism,

stressed sanctification as a second definite work of grace. In the revival meetings evangelists invited the converted to make a "second trip" to the altar and have the "old man" (better known as the carnal nature, depravity, or original sin) crucified. The gift or baptism of the Holy Spirit was received by faith and would give the seeker an internal (subjective) confirmation. The reformation of the individual from a "carnal Christian" to "entirely sanctified," promised freedom from passion and pride, and a host of external sins. It was preparation for heaven and the second coming of Christ. Finally, its focus was decidedly rural. There was no announced plans to enter the cities of the upper Mississippi valley or the Midwest. The Association seem most comfortable with its focus on the rural folk. They believed in a Jeffersonian way that farmers were the backbone of the nation. In an article "Saving The Country People," Morrison writes:

> If the country people become lost to God and salvation, there is nothing can (sic) save America from certain revolution and inevitable judgment. The quiet, conservative farmer folk are the anchor to windward of our nation. When the anchor drags, the ship of state is in danger.... There is not a more patriotic effort that can be made than to attempt to bring salvation to the people in the rural portions of the land. If they are saved, they can steady the awful trend of the city folk from national and individual perdition. (The Holiness Layman, Oct. 28, 1922, vol. XIV, no. 42)

For those living in the prairie states of the north central region, this was an answer, as simplistic as it may have been, to what they perceived to be the destructive

changes taking place in society as a whole. The people involved in the Laymen's Movement believed "holiness" would rescue the backslidden Methodist Church and, for that matter, the nation from its apostasy.

When the euphoria of the World War victory subsided, the LHA and other major conservative religious groups woke up to a new world. The subtle changes taking place in society before the war created major rifts in the postwar post-Victorian rural culture. Marsden notes that the sense of cultural crisis following the World War shaped and modified the religious response of the 1920's. This sense of crisis intensified feelings, increased militancy and hardened resistance to change. (Marsden, 1980, 201) Marsden and Sandeen both recognized the rural-urban tensions that were a part of the cultural conflict of that era. As that tension pertained to fundamentalism, they are correct in asserting it was not the essential issue. However, from my perspective, rural cultural, religious traditions, and pietistic moral values played a vital role in shaping the attitudes of the LHA -- particularly as it pertained to the maintenance of the holiness revival.

Since 1908 the holiness paper of the Laymen's movement had warned that modernist professors at church colleges and seminaries were corrupting the minds of the youth. They believed young preachers fresh out of seminary were no longer preaching John Wesley's holiness message but advocating a rationalistic modern theology. Furthermore,

the ecclesiastical leadership had all but stopped the rapid progress of their movement. In such a threatening environment the Holiness Laymen were reaching out for help. Fundamentalism offered solutions that were attractive to the movement. The apocalyptic return of Christ would save the world from certain destruction and the bride would be dressed in a spotless robe. However, the wedding was not between Christ and his church. It was between Fundamentalism and Wesleyanism.

I will use three characteristics of fundamentalism to demonstrate its adoption by the LHA. Those characteristics are the rejection of the teachings of higher criticism and evolution, the stress upon premillennialism and the second coming of Christ, and the embracing of a pessimistic world view which called for separation. The third implies a clash between rural and urban cultures.

I. PROTESTING THE LIBERAL CAUSE

In studying the publications of the LHA I found elements of protest, preservation, cultural conflict, millenarianism and separatism. The LHA was waving the banners of both Wesleyan holiness and fundamentalism. The two are often linked together in such a way that it is difficult to see where one ends and the other begins. The LHA believed that the results of the teaching of Modernism, higher criticism, and evolution were profuse. The descriptions the The Holiness Layman gave to the theories

were replete: Godless, damning, atheistic an well as leading to atheism, contributing to crime and violence in the nation, the principle destroyers of Sabbath day observation, the reason the Methodist Church was no longer revivalistic, the reason for the World War, leading to rebellion and Bolshevism, leading to the great apostasy predicted by Christ, and fighting against Holiness.

The LHA imitated militant fundamentalist techniques and focused them on the Methodist Church and the Bishopric. A constant stream of articles filled the issues of The Methodist (later The Holiness Layman) condemning the teaching of evolutionary theory, modernism, and the liberal direction the of the Church. The titles ranged from "A Decadent Methodism" to "Does Methodism Need A Pentecost?" During the World War, Morrison's articles often linked anti-German and patriotic themes to his condemnation of higher criticism in the church. For example: "Pitch the Pro-Germans out of the Pulpits," "Made In Germany," "Piety and Patriotism," and "German Poison." Using the national concern over the advance of Communism (the red scare) as a theme, L. N. Anderson wrote on "Methodist Bolsheviki," in which he condemned the educated leadership of the Methodist schools. He notes:

> ... Methodists are not naturally destructionists - Bolsheviki - but are inclined to follow "the old landmarks" of the gospel message. However, by persistence and posing as "Advance" thinkers, and having a brand of "higher" learning, the thoughtless who are easily attracted by the spectacular, began following them in droves and

> bands. This Bolshevism is now in undisputed possession of the greater part of our Church educational system, and particularly our Theological Seminaries. And to make matters worse, they... wrested the power to prescribe the "Course of Study" from our Bishops... (The Holiness Layman, February, 1920, Vol. XIII, no. 8)

Morrison and his followers searched Methodist Sunday School literature and the Preacher's Course of Study for traces of Modernism. When found they would blast away with their "holiness batteries," and condemn the teaching. A common phrase of ridicule was "Modernistic Poison." Between 1910 and 1921 the articles indicated the antidote for these tragic conditions was holiness revivals.

The September 1917 issue of The Methodist featured its disapproval of the Methodist Preacher's Course of Study. In the article "There's Death In The Pot," Morrison states "Poison has been introduced into the food for young Methodist prophets." What could one do about it? He answers, "Little can be expected from the preachers themselves. They are brow-beaten by the ecclesiastics." He advises that the laymen must speak out. "They," he notes, "are unterrified by ecclesiastical frowns." (The Methodist, Sept. 1917, Vol.X, no.3)

Morrison was not the only voice crying out against modernist teaching. His former evangelist, turned Nazarene, W. G. Bennett wrote his warning in Modernism With the Mask Off. He states:

> This leaven of the Pharisees is fast leavening the Church, the youth, the institutions of learning, and the State. Wherever this poison streams flows, moral and spiritual death creeps on like

> fever follows the miasma of the swamps. (Bennett, 1928, 47)

Higher citicism was not alone in facing the pungent pen of Morrison and the writers of The Holiness Layman. Evolution was equally condemned in the holiness paper. "Evolution Up Or Down?" stated that evolution had been "repudiated by many hundreds of leading scientists and scholars." Furthermore, some scientists claimed the race was "actually evoluting downward." (The Holiness Layman, Sept. 28, 1922, Vol. XIV, no. 38) In April, 1923 W. B. Riley wrote "The Theory Of Evolution: Does It Tend To Atheism?" In decrying the teaching of this theory in Methodist Seminaries he notes:

> It can be easily shown that many of our seminaries throughout the Nation are so affected with the theories of evolution and destructive criticism that their graduates are sent forth with a message that will have a tendency to destroy the simple faith of the people in the Bible, the saving power of Jesus, rather than with the spirit of true evangelism to kindle revival fires and rescue the perishing. (The Holiness Layman, March 3, 1921, Vol.XIII, no.15)

In a December 1923 article, Rev. Levi Bird, Ph.D. warned a Methodist professor who wrote a pro-evolution article for the Detroit News, "If you hold such views and are teaching them in a Methodist college, then you ought to resign at once and no any longer disgrace old Wesleyan with any such pernicious nonsense." (The Holiness Layman, Dec. 1923) The LHA's diatribes against Evolution and Higher Criticism were only one of the three features which linked it to fundamentalism.

II. THE PREMILLENNIAL FACTOR

The LHA's second feature was its premillennial emphasis which developed in sequence with its separatist attitude toward Methodism and the world. The LHA maintained the view that the Methodist Bishops generally, and the educators for the most part were anti-orthodox. By 1920 there were indications the LHA was losing hope of reviving the Church. Morrison's 1917 enthusiasm and attitude of optimism gradually shifted. In 1920 he was reflecting guarded optimism and by 1922 advocating come-out-ism. I discovered this growing pessimism coincided with the frequency with which second coming articles began to appear in The Holiness Layman. Out of twenty-one articles given to issues on eschatology between January 1919 and December 1923, fifteen were written in the last two year. The earlier articles covered topics on millennialism, while the later articles were more apocalyptic in nature. For example, "The Imminent Return of Jesus," "Is the Time Short?," "Help Bring Back the King," "The Mid-Night Cry."

The LHA, unlike the Church of the Nazarene with whom they would unite, taught unabashed premillennialism. In taking a jab at the mother Church, "Is Methodism Rejecting Premillennialism?", Morrison writes, "We earnestly trust that he (Bishop C. B. Mitchell) will not lead Methodism to reject so plain a teaching of the Scripture as the premillennial coming of Jesus." He then quickly adds "Methodism has enough burdens to carry in her sorry decline

from original and burning holiness teaching without adding this also." (The Holiness Layman, Oct. 27, 1921, Vol.XIII, no.41)

LHA Evangelist J. M. Taylor, an author of three books on the second coming, a frequent writer for the monthly, and a preacher who made the Second Coming his hobby, ended a long January 1919 article on premillenarianism by stating "WE SHALL REIGN WITH HIM ON THE EARTH, or Jesus' death and the prophets' voice are vain." (The Methodist, Jan. 1919, Vol.XI, no.7) Taylor strongly protested post-millennial views calling them unscriptural and stating they had "again and again been revealed as the 'Villain' of every historical tragedy," and had caused the "wreckage of the lives and ministry of ten thousand prophets, preachers and theologians." (The Holiness Layman, March 1920, Vol. XIII, no.9) In January 1921 he called postmillennialism "the supreme heresy of modern times" and "it is Satan's supreme and final effort to seize the kingdom of God and defeat the purpose of God to crown our Lord 'King of Kings.'" (The Holiness Layman, Jan. 1921, Vol.XIII, no.8) By assaulting and disavowing Methodism's nineteenth century position on postmillennialism the LHA firmly positioned itself as premillennial association who expected the imminent return of Jesus Christ.

Smith notes this created a conflict between the pre and post millennial advocates within the holiness ranks. He notes:

> Thereafter, premillennialists attacked even holiness people who shared the traditional Methodist view that Christians must prepare a Kingdom for their King. The editor's effort to mediate this controversy collapsed in 1920 and 1921, when leading articles declared flatly the postmillennialism had "no foundation in the Scriptures,"... (Smith, 1962, 309)

The LHA not only held to the position of premillennialism but also subscribed to the teachings of the secret pre-tribulation rapture of the church. Morrison writes in "Behold He Cometh," "The Rapture, or catching away of the Bride of Christ (I Thess. 4:16,17.) may take place at any time." and again "We are liable to witness at any moment the mighty miracle of the First Resurrection and the Rapture of the saints." (The Holiness Layman, March 31, 1923, Vol.XV, no.12) Morrison follows with "The Mid-Night Cry" in which he states Christ will "stoop down to catch His waiting Bride away, when calamities become so fearful that we can no longer exist among them." (The Holiness Layman, Nov. 17, 1923, Vol.XV, no.42) The premillennial position also holds that the great tribulation follows the rapture of the church. Morrison taught this also.

> After the catching away of the overcomers, we read that an angel proclaimed in the midst of heaven, "The hour of His judgment is come." This is the great Tribulation. Plagues will be poured out upon the ungodly. (Rev. 8; 9; 16.) The Anti-Christ will reign and during that awful time will compel men to serve him and bow down to him as a god, and will cause that as many as will not worship him shall be killed. (The Holiness Layman, March 31, 1923, Vol.XV, no.12)

The LHA's view of the world and Methodism grew more pessimistic. By adopting the teachings of fundamentalism,

Morrison also painted a bleak picture of the times. This negative view-point focused on the apostasy of the Methodist Church, the degradation of contemporary society, and threats of world disorder.

In 1921 Morrison warned "WE ARE HEADED FOR ANOTHER SPIRITUAL DARK AGES." He continues "Earnest Methodists are viewing, with breaking hearts, the conditions prevailing in that once fiery company of God's saints. (The Holiness Layman, May 14, 1921, Vol.XIII, no.36) In "What Of The Future?" his concern seems more like a nostalgic backward glance:

> The past forty years has seen the passing, to a large extent among modern Christians, of the family altar, the earnest prayer meeting that included the bulk of the church members, and the class meeting where Christian experience was the chief topic, and exhortation waited on every straying soul. (The Holiness Layman, December 1, 1921, Vol.XIII, no.46)

Morrison, Taylor, Bennett and reprinted articles from God's Revivalist of God's Bible School, the Pentecostal Herald, edited by Henry Clay Morrison, the Fundamentalist, and The Presbyterian intensified the LHA's branding aspects of the current apostasy and identifying signs of the imminent return of Jesus. Romanism, Mormanism, and Christian Science were identified as shams, and frauds of the last days. Major world events were viewed as important pieces of a giant puzzles all fitting together and signaling the rise of the ten nation confederacy spoken of in the book of Revelation. The April 6, 1922 issue of The Holiness

Layman announced:

> The fulfillment of Nahum's prophecy, the returning of the Jews to the Holy Land, and the crying of peace, "when there is no peace," the League of Nations, and the results of the Disarmament Conference at Washington, all go to prove that those who want to be ready for Christ's coming should get on the "wedding garment." (The Holiness Layman, April 6, 1922, Vol.XIV, no.13)

III. SEPARATION FROM THE WORLD

For five years Morrison defended the position of the LHA as an association of Holiness laymen within the Methodist church. It was a holiness revival movement that attempted to keep alive what Danford had started in 1905. In 1917 he wrote "...once more, let us say, we are not going to separate from the Methodist Church." (The Methodist, Sept. 1917, Vol.X, no.3) By 1920 Morrison's appeal was for revivals in any out-of-the-way place. The LHA wished to maintain the Wesleyan standard of entire sanctification and revive it within the Church. However, if the Methodists would not accept the message, they would "reap where they had not sown." I must point out that by 1918 the North Dakota Conference was firmly in the hands of the anti-holiness forces. The pastors who had been sympathetic to the holiness revival were gone. The "North Dakota Idea" of establishing holiness bands and holding holiness revivals began to expand into other states. Methodist Conference Evangelists, however, had been commissioned in North Dakota. By 1921 Morrison's work was beginning to feel the financial

pinch. Following the World War boom, farm income had fallen on hard times. He had increased the number of evangelists in the field to eight and increased the issues of his publication by making it a weekly. While their mission was a fight for the "faith of the fathers," the salvation of souls, and the rescue of the Church, a spirit of pessimism was coming through the articles.

Morrison shifted to his new position in 1922. The Holiness Layman was recommending separation. In an interesting article entitled "Hatching Chickens for the Hawks," Morrison quite pointedly implies it was immoral "to get people converted and then induce them to unite with a cold, dead, unspiritual church..." His recommendation was "Come ye out from among them..." and "Either find a real spiritual church where there can be found the necessary experiences that will lead you to heaven, or make one of your own." (The Holiness Layman, April 20, 1922, Vol. XIV, no. 14)

In May of 1922 J. G. Morrison united with the Church of the Nazarene in Minneapolis, Minnesota. A year later he was adamant in his attitude about separation from Methodism.

> What is the sad lesson to be learned? That we cannot depend on the Christianity of the present civilization. We must head back to the Bible, and to Bible experiences. It is simply face to face with this generation to get back to Jesus Christ. Back to genuine salvation experiences. We must get away from the modern religion that characterizes the society, the business, the education and the church life of to-day.
>
> The Bible says that God's people MUST BE SEPARATE. Let the separation begin here and now. Let it be

> pronounced. Let it suffer no lapse. Let it continue to be in force and effect. Separate from sin. Separate from the world. Separate from the ideals of society. Separate from the standards and spirit of the average business man. Separate from the view and teachings of the modern educationalist. Separate from the death struck churches. Separated unto Holiness. Separated in anticipation of Heaven! (The Holiness Layman, July 14, 1923, Vol. XV, no. 26)

The calls for separation from Modernist churches paralleled Morrison's intensification on social separation. As the flapper era of the "Roaring Twenties" picked up its momentum externals (movies, card playing, immodest dress, bobbed hair, lipstick, and rogue) became a continual topic of the LHA publication. The articles began in 1919 and reached their apex in 1924.

As the new decade of the twenties began the LHA published attacks upon the movie industry. However, as the decade deepened, the attacks focused on the developing new life style as well. Morrison's first alert to the encroachment of evil was an announcement the Methodist Church had "formally approved" the viewing of sacred moving pictures. He warns, "'The Layman' believes that such a course spells calamity for Methodism. This means that pool, dancing, cards, etc., will speedily be approved of. Alas how our beloved church has fallen!" (The Holiness Layman, Aug. 1919, Vol.XII, no.2)

Evangelist Joseph Smith answered a question concerning the showing of movies at the church to "hold the young people." His response was pointed:

That preacher is fooled who thinks he has to hold

> frolics to get folks, and he is worse than fooled when he, for the love of popularity or fear of the powers above him, panders these to the pleasure madness of this age, rather than warn men, young and old, to flee the wrath to come. (The Holiness Layman, Jan. 30, 1921)

In an article entitled "Church Apostasy Deepens," Morrison reflects on the direction in which the Church has drifted. In its showing of moving pictures and installing "smokers," it had appeared to have "struck bottom in its descent toward apostasy." He continues:

> This writer does not wonder that worldlings and unsaved people who now-a-days constitute the bulk of the membership of the great denominations can see no farther than to patronize church movies, church smokers, church courting companies and church dances. They are lost souls anyhow, and have no spiritual perception. They must amuse themselves as they slide steadily toward eternity's fearful disclosures. (The Holiness Layman, May 7, 1922, Vol.XIV, no.19)

He continued his campaign in "America On The Rocks."

> The moving pictures are reported to be so vile, so nasty, so contemptibly beneath decency, that the attitude of one who professes salvation at all, can only be that of open hostility." (The Holiness Layman, Sept. 21, 1922, Vol.XIV, no.37)

But Morrison also advocated a cure for this spiritual disease. "Salvation of the incipient type, will completely cure you of the moving picture show habit..." He believe one could not be saved until "...the soul has realized what a salacious, foul, filthy thing the average film is, and refuses no longer to witness one..." (THe Holiness Layman, July 21, 1923)

The LHA's concern also focused on what was happening to the young people of their movement. They believed the

situation was alarming and immorality was rapidly spreading among the youth. Teachers in public school and colleges were seen as poor models and teaching modernistic themes. In his article "The Menace Of The Public School," Morrison condemned public school teachers stating:

> They have their heads crammed with book knowledge, and their hearts surfeited on the cold east wind of modern evolution and prevalent infidelity. They are, largely speaking devotees of the dance, constant patrons of the filthy film, and in many instances, (if they are females) they have their clothing abbreviated at both ends, hair bobbed like a la Fiji Islander, and faces bedaubed like the demi-monde "of gay Paree!" And these are the instructors of our boys and girls for the bulk of the week! (The Holiness Layman, Dec. 23, 1923)

He continues "...public school teachers lead the way in the frenzied march toward a discard of all moral restraint and a plunge into licentiousness." He predicted that in twenty years the nation would "reap the whirlwind of revolution, chaos and old night." (The Holiness Layman, Dec. 23, 1923, Vol.XIV, no.50)

The LHA not only condemned the educational system and its teachers but it attempted to provide a holiness alternative. Holiness colleges made regular appearances at the Jamestown meeting and ads were run in The Holiness Layman on a regular basis. Those school sited most often were: Asbury College, Wilmore, Kentucky; Central Holiness University, Oskaloosa, Iowa; God's Bible School, Cincinnati; and Taylor University, Upland, Indiana. The LHA even attempted to start its own academy but it merged with the Church of the Nazarene before the struggling school could

establish itself.

The LHA was also concerned about worldliness creeping into the holiness churches. In "Flirting With The World," one of the writers attacked immodest dress on women. He believed those who profess holiness should not wear their necklines "too low" and their "skirts too high." Furthermore, if they were painted and powered too much "the blessed Holy Ghost wouldn't be able to shine out through them, even if He should come into their hearts." It was obvious to this writer fashionable women would not be saved. (The Holiness Layman, April 21, 1923, Vol.XV, no.15)

During 1924 Morrison's pen continued to chastise the American society. Articles entitled "The Present Day Civilization," "Nakedness Gone Mad," and "These Are Days That Try Men's Souls" all focused on the level of national morals and his evaluation of the outcome. In "Men Needed" he focused his desire for a called ministry of "red-blooded men" who would realize they could "change the present trend of things... (for) If the nation is not to become demoralized and break into warring socialistic factions..." it will take real men and "the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount" to save it. He continues:

> We must have people with big souls these days... What a to a godly man or woman are the present day fashions. The semi-nude women, the paint be-daubed, the lip-stick besmirched, the pattering, mincing, chattering, half-human creatures with their affected ways and cigarette stench - what a should burden they are to the man or woman who is big enough to see the end thereof... We need MEN these days, who can scan the heavenly signs and call men and women to

> repentance and to holiness lest the judgments that the sings portend shall visit the earth. God give us MEN! (The Holiness Layman, Oct. 18, 1924, Vol.XVI, no.20)

While Morrison attacked the "flapper" he also called on holiness women to separate themselves from worldly fashions and the worldly crowd. (Morrison would define "worldly" as anything that denied biblical teachings and conformed to the teachings of the age whether secular or religious.) He told them to practice piety, and imitate biblical models. His attacks sharply focused in his booklet Satan's Subtle Attack on Woman. After several pages of repetitious denouncations against bobbed hair (hair cut short), jewerly, bare arms, etc. Morrison declares, "...it is not so much just the cutting of your hair, in itself, as it is that you followed a multitude who hate God... and laugh at religion, and sneer at the Bible, when you had yours cut." He continues:

> What must He (Jesus Christ) think of the insane anxiety of His holiness women who have tumbled over themselves, in order to dress like those who have sneeringly declared that He is a bastard, and that His Word is myth, folk lore and legend... What must He think of His so-called folks who have rushed to spend their money haveing their hair cut like the worst strumpets in the world? For shame, for shame! (Morrison, Satan's..., n.d., 20-22)

To help further the cause of its Wesleyan-fundamentalism the publishing concern offered books, five of which pertained to second coming doctrine. The best known book on the list was Blackstone's Jesus Is Coming. In addition Morrison would feature books by Holiness writers such as Henry Clay Morrison, and association evangelist J. M. Taylor. Reading materials spread out to his

subscribers helped propagate fundamentalism to the Wesleyan readers of the rural mid-west.

In one of the last issues of the LHA publication Morrison, now a Nazarene District Superintendent, saw hope for the young people of the Church. In "We're Different" he commends Nazarene young people by stating:

> THE REAL NAZARENE YOUNG PEOPLE ARE DIFFERENT. Instead of bobbed hair they have burdened hearts. Instead of lip-stick and rouge they have prayer laden lips and tear wet cheeks. Instead of hankering after the beauty parlor they are longing for the fragrance and beauty of soul that goes with a sanctified life. They can even turn happily and cheerfully away from legitimate pleasures, and choose the prayer meeting, the watch night service and the revival instead. What could induce a young man to leave his tennis court, his croquet set, his base ball diamond, etc., etc., for prayer meetings and watch night service? Why, only that he has been born again, and set on fire of the Holy Ghost. AND THAT MAKES HIM DIFFERENT!
> (The Holiness Messenger, Feb. 1925)

As I have indicated above, Dr. J. G. Morrison and the LHA were deeply influenced by the Fundamentalist Movement. The only variation in standard fundamentalist expressions was the attachment of Wesleyan pietism and doctrine to the concepts of preparedness. The fact that the writers of the LHA were eclectic and influenced by the premillennial teachings of fundamentalism seems obvious. Morrison and Taylor read the Fundamentalist and parroted back to the LHA the terminology of the Fundamentalist Movement, often couching it in Wesleyan holiness experience. (The Holiness Laymen, Sept. 22, 1923, Vol.XV, no.36) This method, whether intentional or not, certainly made fundamentalism attractive

to those of the LHA. Particularly those North Dakota who felt the culture of the times was closing in on them.

Following The General Holiness Convention of national holiness organizations in Indianapolis, September 11-16, 1923, Morrison, who sat on the committee for the publishing of a unified statement of faith, published that statement in The Holiness Layman. This is the first and only time Morrison takes a stand on his relationship to fundamentalism. The essence of the declaration indicated the group was sympathetic with the cause. However, feeling the majority who followed the movement were devoid of the power of the Holy Ghost, they would be powerless to effect a real change. In regard to the conflict with modernism the Holiness Convention gave its fullest support, but believed the real need of the hour was for a spiritual church filled with the Holy Spirit to illuminate and inspire the world and convict and confound the adversary. (The Holiness Layman, Oct. 13, 1923, Vol.XV, no.39)

The main difference between the Fundamentalist and the Wesleyans was the latter's emphasis upon sanctification as a second work of grace. In principle there was no disagreement with the other doctrinal statements of the that movement. Marsden (1980) points out the Bible Conferences led by D. L. Moody taught a Keswickian Holiness. This doctrine emphasized sanctification as a work of grace subsequent to conversion. However, it suppressed the carnal nature in man rather than destroying it as the Wesleyans

taught.

Morrison clearly taught the necessity of a purified heart as the proper preparation for the coming of Christ. He notes: "That the preparation for His coming is to obtain the cleaning of the heart from all inbred sin, by the sanctifying power of the Spirit is very clearly taught in the Word." (The Holiness Layman, Oct. 1920, Vol.XIII, no.4) Again he stresses this teaching in "The Imminent Return Of Jesus,"

> It (Bible) further teaches the need of a clean, sanctified heart, as the necessary preparation for His appearing... Thus holiness of heart and life becomes the very center of the teaching of the imminent coming of Jesus Christ. (The Holiness Layman, Sept.15, 1921, Vol.XIII, no.35)

In "Behold He Cometh," he states: "The only way to be ready is to go down before God in a complete consecration, and let Him fill us with His Holy Spirit." (The Holiness Layman, March 31, 1923, Vol.XV, no.12) This particular emphasis is what gave the LHA a Wesleyan version of fundamentalism.

The Wesleyan plainsmen called upon the nation to return to its pietistic heritage, repent, and forsake the godless teaching of the liberals. However, the pessimistic outlook and the mood of those who wrote for The Holiness Layman strongly communicated a spirit of separatism. Referring to this period, Timothy Smith notes "The mood of protest and withdrawal evident in all farming communities was to dominate evangelical religion in America for the next thirty years. (Smith, 1962, 310) Morrison, feeling Methodism would

not be revived, finally separated himself from the Methodist Church and joined the Church of the Nazarene. Now he would attempt to draw the LHA into its ranks. I will discuss the merger in the following chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LAYMAN'S HOLINESS ASSOCIATION: MERGER WITH THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE

The LHA came into existence for the purpose of providing support to the Methodist laymen of North Dakota who had experienced or sought sanctification as a second work of grace. Those people, now sympathetic to holiness, wanted the doctrine taught and preached in their local churches. The "North Dakota Idea" was an effort to establish holiness bands similar to the Methodist class meeting of the previous century and collectively sponsor and support holiness evangelists to do the work their pastors were unwilling to do. By 1922 the LHA had become a large organization supporting nine full-time field evangelists. (Corbett states there were 36 registered with the organization [Corbett, 1956, 47]) In addition, the "Idea" had penetrated beyond its origins into other states of the Upper Mississippi Valley. The LHA divided North Dakota into four districts, three were formed in Michigan, groups were organized in Kansas, Missouri, Montana, Indiana, it began holding meetings in Ohio, and organized a Scandinavian work in Wisconsin. It supported and published a weekly holiness paper, The Holiness Layman which, according to Morrison had a mailing list of 1,500. Some of the holiness bands organized into independent missions and churches, while most

others maintained an association status. The yearly Jamestown Camp Meeting was the heart throb of the organization. At its peak it boasted an attendance of over 1,800. However, at the January, 1921, Mid-Winter Convention, Nazarene General Superintendent J. W. Goodwin was ask to be the special speaker. Corbett notes:

> That convention proved to be the turning point from an association to the organized Church of the Nazarene. Dr. Goodwin preached seven times. He made no effort to influence the group into church membership; his crystal-clear preaching and his tender, mellow spirit so captivated his hearers that the consensus was, "if this is Nazarenism, we want to be part of the organization." (Corbett, 1956, 47)

At the July, 1921 camp meeting, the crowds were strongly questioning their present course of action and wondering if they could do their work better by organizing a denomination or joining one. (Hammer, 1955; Smith, 1962) The idea of joining another denomination or creating one of their own had been suggested as early as 1920. However, this seemed repugnant to Morrison. Apparently his bitter experience with the Bishops was still fresh in his mind and he wanted no part of that kind of bureaucracy. Smith notes Morrison started a heavy campaign of endorsing and promoting the "Idea."

In 1921 "Morrison crowded every issue of The Holiness Layman with arguments against organizing or joining a new church." (Smith, 1962, 311) He also believed the spirit of the age was against the idea of denominationalism. He believed some groups may be replaced by missions but the

purpose of the Association was to "'populate the land with holiness bands; the field agents could provide the 'general oversight' required." (Smith, 1962, 311) However, after joining the Nazarenes, Morrison confessed it had been difficult to conserve the fruit of the association's labors. While a Nazarene District Superintendent, he reflected on that dilemma:

> Those of you who came directly out of another denomination, into the Church of the Nazarene, or who came directly out of the world into its fellowship, can never know how blessed it seems, to be in a real church of the Holy Ghost, after having spent years in an independent interdenominational movement. Such was the fortune of the writer. Our best efforts were often expended in vain, and we had no way (except to become another denomination ourselves) to conserve the fruit of our labors. With a heart throb of deep gratitude, and a sigh of genuine relief, we found a home in the Church of the Nazarene. (Minutes, Third Assembly of Minneapolis District, 1925, 32)

The origins of the Nazarene work in North Dakota began with an inquiry from Horace G. Cowan, a former Methodist pastor. Cowan came west from Virginia as a missionary for the Christian Church. (This church had Methodist roots dating back to the James O'Kelly schism in 1794. It later merged with the Disciples of Christ.) In time his good friend Layman Brough also came west to North Dakota to find work. Both men experienced the Second Blessing and began to preach its attainability. Brough, pastor of a Christian Church in Surrey, North Dakota was terminated by the congregation for preaching on holiness. Cowan, who agreed with Brough, attempted to find him a church that "stood

four-square for holiness." (Cowan, 1928, 13) Cowan wrote Dr. G. A. McLaughlin, editor of The Christian Witness. McLaughlin responded to Cowan's letter giving him the names of Dr. P. F. Bresee and Rev. H. D. Brown. He also told him "'In my opinion the Nazarene Church is doing more good than any church I know of. This is unbiased, as I am a Methodist.'" (Cowan, 1928, 14)

Cowan was soon in contact with Brown, who sent him materials on the church. After reading them both he and Brough agreed this was the church for which they were looking. He sent word to Brown to help them organize a Nazarene work.

Rev. and Mrs. Brown arrived in Surrey, North Dakota in November 1908 just following the union meeting at Pilot Point, Texas. Brown preached a revival at Surrey and organized the first Nazarene Church in the state with sixteen members. Brough continued holding revivals and organizing churches when he could. One year later General Superintendent Dr. H. F. Reynolds organized the Dakotas and Montana District of the Church of the Nazarene. Brough was appointed the District Superintendent. The first District Assembly was held August 11-14, 1910 and Brough reported five churches and a total membership of 127. (Dakota and Montana District Minutes, 1910)

The continued development of the Church of the Nazarene in North Dakota was slow and difficult. According to Cowan there was much opposition to the holiness work, often it was

viewed as a extremist sect of "holy rollers." (This as a derogatory term used to identify extremist groups whose worship services were intensely emotional.) At the time of the merger with the LHA, Montana had been transferred to the Northwest District and Minnesota was given to North Dakota and South Dakota was a separate District. The North Dakota-Minnesota District in 1922 had seventeen churches and 519 members.

The process of the positional movement of the LHA and Morrison from anti-denominationalism to joining the Church of the Nazarene is an interesting one. The Nazarenes and the LHA were practically first cousins. Methodism was the religious parent from which both had sprung. Both groups emphasized a Wesleyan fundamentalism that opposed modernism, higher criticism, and evolution. And, both were separatists and advocated other worldly (holy) attitudes. The groups had an intense dislike for ecclesiastical authoritarianism and were seeking some kind of balance between it and the extreme independence of congregationalism.

They were not inclined to propagate fanaticism. (There is a fine line to be drawn at this point. They would want their services to be emotional but not out of control. They wanted "organized enthusiasm." [Morrison, "Making the Nazarene Church a 'Head Fire,'" Herald of Holiness, July, 30, 1924, p.5]) Even though both groups were accused of extremism, and isolated extremist practices would have cropped up from time to time, both denied any affiliation

with extremist practices such as handling snakes, speaking in tongues, martial celibacy, slain in the spirit (fainting). Morrison and the Nazarenes encouraged "Holy Enthusiasm" and "getting the glory down." This habit often encouraged lively singing, running up and down the aisles of the sanctuary, waving or raising the arms and hands, and enlisting an emotional, "cheery," or demonstrative response (Amen!, Hallelujah!, etc. were commonly used) from the congregation during a service. (This has been the personal observation of the author and oral history of older Nazarene Church members; also see "Firing the Heart," Herald of Holiness, September 19, 1923, p.4; and "A Grave Danger," Herald of Holiness, June 4, 1924, p.4) Morrison stated:

> To be filled with holy enthusiasm, is to be filled with the holy breath of God. That is why it inspires electrifies, makes men victorious over all baseness, ease, sloth, sin, failure, discouragements, world-pull, anger, impatience unbelief, and the terrors of death." (The Holiness Layman, June, 9, 1921, Vol.XIII, no.30)

Morrison and the Nazarenes desired enthusiasm over unemotional "dead formality" and risked fanaticism in order to keep the "spirit" on their services. It is not surprising that Armstrong (1960) called them divisive. However, Smith notes the members of the LHA had a "deeply ingrained fear of ecclesiastical compromise, and an abhorrence of personal worldliness and fashionable forms of worship." (Smith, 1962, 315) Furthermore, Morrison opposed the extremes of the Tongues Movement (specifically speaking in tongues) as did the Church of the Nazarene. The

Nazarenes dropped "Pentecostal" from their name in 1915 for fear they would be associated with the Tongues Movement. Morrison stated in The Holiness Layman:

> We have lately had association with some people who claim to have received the gift of tongues at the same time they claim to have received the Holy Ghost.... We fail to find any such teaching in our Bible. (The Holiness Layman, Sept. 29, 1923, Vol.XV, no. 37)

Morrison, with some reluctance, had allowed evangelist James Taylor to publish articles in The Holiness Layman on the McPherson Movement (The International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, founded by Mrs. Aimee Semple McPherson) at the Angelus Temple in Los Angeles, California. Taylor had boasted the blessings and divine healings taking place in her services. However, when Taylor was swept up in the movement Morrison disavowed any connection with the McPherson Movement. In "An Adverse Opinion" he connected McPherson with the Tongues Movement. He states, "Our concern is mainly for the doctrine advanced and supported by this movement (meaning the LHA). And more particularly as it bears upon the doctrine of entire sanctification and the Holiness Movement for which we ourselves are set." (The Holiness Layman, April 27, 1922, Vol.XIV, no.17) Smith makes this issue one of the reasons Morrison decided to personally join the Church of the Nazarene in 1922. "To him, order and superintendency in a holiness church were preferable in every way to the freedom which could lead to such alliances as Taylor proposed." (Smith, 1962, 312)

Finally, Wesley's "grand depositum," was the

theological theme of both organizations. Palmer's style of seeking sanctification through faith at the altar combined with Finney's baptism of power for holy living was their common experiential base.

The commonality of their theological footings and agreement on sanctification as a second work of grace was a primary factor doctrinally for the uniting of the two organizations. A second factor had to do with conserving the converts. Morrison was apparently beginning to sense frustration with regard to the conservation of new LHA converts. The growing threat of liberalism within the Methodist Church no longer made it a safe haven for the those the LHA were winning. His article "Hatching Chickens for the Hawks" demonstrated his desire to publish those concerns to his readers after he became a Nazarene.

In reflecting on the state of affairs within the Laymen's movement, Morrison told E. E. Wordsworth, his pastor and personal friend, in "25 years their loses about equaled their gains. It was a treadmill or merry-go-round arrangement..." Wordsworth reflects:

> Frankly, he was very weary of this quite unsatisfactory effort. He saw no worthy future for the laymen's movement (sic), and this is why he was devoutly interested and deeply concern about coming into the Church of the Nazarene in order that the work done should be conserved. (Corbett - Wordsworth correspondence, January 17, 1955)

According to Hammer, there was an increasing demand during the Jamestown Camp Meeting for the Association to

provide regular Sunday services and Sunday School operations, prayer meetings and young people's services. The people were vigorously discussing the question of denominationalism. Hammer notes:

> The demand for services at length became so insistent, that small groups were planning to leave the Association and unite with fanatical, so-called holiness bodies. Something had to be done quickly to save the splendid following that had been gathered through the years. A crisis came just after one of the great annual conventions (1921). It was join a denomination, or organize into one. Some five months must elapse before a decision could be made... Finally the decision to effect a union with the Church of the Nazarene, fell largely upon the president of the Association. Doctor Morrison made the choice and called upon all the leaders of the Laymen's Association to go with him. (Hammer, 1936, 3)

A third factor, previously noted was the financial hardships created by the postwar economy. In the fall of 1921 Morrison was asking some to take his salary support on as part of their tithe. In January 1922 Morrison pleas "So many and serious are the vicissitudes that have crossed the path of the printing plant, that it is deemed advisable to ask for special prayer that God will send in the finances to see it to a success." (The Holiness Layman, January 12, 1922, Vol.XIV, no.2) This concern was preceded with "A Thanksgiving Thank-Offering," Morrison begins the article, "In spite of the burdens that are resting so heavily upon the people because of the pressure of financial conditions throughout the country..." (The Holiness Layman, November 17, 1921, Vol.XIII, no.44) (Also see The Holiness Layman, "Worse Than Wasted," October 27, 1921; "Money and Bread,"

October 20, 1921; "Let The Laymen Awake," November 3, 1921) Morrison may have found one way to help with the expenses, business ads began to appear in the paper by April 1922.

The Nazarenes were a larger (35,041 members and 999 churches in 1919, [Chapman, 1926, 159]) and more mature organization, but they had concentrated their evangelization among the lower classes of the coastal urban areas of the east and west. Urban economies were still thriving in the postwar expansion and gave some financial stability to the church. This was no doubt desirable to Morrison as he saw the financial difficulties that were coming upon the LHA.

Nazarene expansion was beginning to shift. As early as 1916 the "trend was away from the metropolitan areas and into the small towns and more rural farm lands of the Midwest..." (Ingle, 1973, 30) This shift in the concentration of Nazarenes to the Midwest (one third of the national membership gain in the 1920's was in the four states of Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois [Ingle, 1973, 43]) was attracting a more conservative population. The Nazarene attachment to fundamentalism, as noted above, elevated its appeal to this conservative rural class. Thus the Nazarenes were breaking into rural areas at the right time with the right emphasis to attract members of the LHA.

In the major mergers of 1907, 1908, and 1915 the groups forming the church brought with them thousands of members, hundreds of churches, schools and colleges, and missionaries. The LHA could boast none of that. Redford notes:

> Inasmuch as the Association was definitely interdenominational and its members held membership in the church of their choice at that time, it was not possible to have an official group union, with approval by regional and local ratification. It was not, therefore, a union in which one official body negotiated with another official body, finally agreeing and uniting on specific terms. (Redford, 1961, 169)

The resolution given at the 1922 North Dakota-Minnesota District Assembly read by Wordsworth, Morrison's pastor, listed the property and holdings coming into the Church of the Nazarene. These included five tabernacle tents for evangelization, The Holiness Layman and its 1500 subscribers, church properties in several towns (no specific number given), the possibility of 1,000 members in two years, and twenty ministers of the LHA. The resolution went on to note that six churches had already united with the Church of the Nazarene and then extended its welcome to the Association by stating:

> ...we heartily welcome any and all of the Laymen bands who are organizing themselves into Churches of the Nazarene, and will do all that we can to unite in every desire they have to further spread the gospel in their immediate localities, assuring them, that as far as we can learn, both they and we stand for the same standards and experiences in the Christian life. (North Dakota-Minnesota District Minutes, 1922, 49)

Cowan notes that the first LHA group to join the Church of the Nazarene was at Maysville (possibly in 1921). District Superintendent Rev. W. L. Brewer was invited to hold a revival meeting in that town. As a result of the success of that meeting, a church was organized with fourteen members.

The next effort came through the assistance of Morrison. He helped Brewer organize five new churches from LHA members in the months just preceding the 1922 District Assembly at Velva, North Dakota. This resulted in a gain of 116 new members to report to the District Assembly. In his report, Rev. Brewer acknowledged the assistance he had received from Morrison. This give the District a total of seventeen churches, six of which had come from the LHA. (North Dakota-Minnesota District Assembly Minutes, July 12-16, 1922, 43)

Corbett indicates that Rev. N. B. Herrell, General Secretary of the Department of Home Missions of the Church of the Nazarene was sent to the upper Midwest to survey the conditions to better establish the church in that area. Upon his return to Kansas City he reported on the LHA. "Take Morrison into the Church of the Nazarene, appoint him superintendent of that area, and he in turn can bring hundreds into our movement." (Corbett, 1956, 48)

During the Assembly, Dr. Morrison was nominated for the District Superintendent's post and ran against the incumbent W. L. Brewer. After six ballots neither man had enough votes to win the election. The LHA members had formed a voting block for Dr. Morrison and would not yield. Presiding General Superintendent Dr. H. F. Reynolds made the decision with the support of the Assembly to divide the district north and south. Brewer received nine churches in the northern half of North Dakota and Minnesota and Morrison

received eight churches in the southern half. Morrison, however, receive Jamestown and Minneapolis First, Wordsworth's church and the largest on the district. This division of the District caused some hard feelings on the district. Charles Culp recalls:

> That was a stirring time for Bro. Brewer (current District Superintendent) and his crowd tried to prevent the Laymen from coming in until after the Supt. was elected, fearing no doubt that the Supt. job would go to Dr. Morrison. I remember Dr. Morrison saying after they got in. "Well we finally got in." (Corbett-Culp correspondence, January 27, 1955)

Morrison started with eight churches, six in North Dakota and two in Minnesota. His membership totaled 245, however, before the end of the summer because the South Dakota District Assembly voted to merge forces with Morrison's Minneapolis-Jamestown District. As a result Morrison picked up eleven more churches and 285 members. Now his district, 700 miles long and 400 miles wide had 19 churches and 530 members. During the year Morrison organized ten new churches out of LHA members increasing his total to 29 churches and 874 members. This was a 60% increase in membership for the district. At the second District Assembly (1924) of the new Minneapolis District, Morrison had added 16 new congregations and district membership reached 1,121. This was impressive to say the least, but this was the end of such rapid growth. The next year Morrison somewhat discouraged could only report five new churches; however, his district now totaled 45 churches

with a combined membership of 1,212. His two strongest churches were Jamestown, 100 members and Minneapolis First, 150 members.

Morrison was in a unique position, he was both a Nazarene District Superintendent and the President of the LHA. By using his position in both he was able to draw many of his followers into the Nazarene fold. The 1922 District Assembly at Velva recognized the interdenominational character of the LHA work and was quite willing to allow its paper, The Holiness Layman, the Jamestown Camp Meeting, and the new holiness academy just starting at Jamestown to continue to function as they were. After joining the Nazarenes, Morrison stepped up his campaign of promoting Nazarene revivals, the work of local churches, Assemblies, and Nazarene evangelists.

Morrison's articles on separating from the Methodist Church also intensified. Articles entitled "Hatching Chickens for the Hawks," and "A Decadent Methodism," were soon to appear. In June he published Association evangelist W. G. Bennett's article "Seven Reasons Why I Can Remain No Longer In The Methodist Episcopal Church and Ministry." Bennett accuses the Church of forsaking the fundamental teachings of the Bible by allowing higher criticism to infiltrate the schools and colleges and goes on to list six other reasons. In the same issue Morrison writes on "Poisoning Babies' Food." Morrison decries the Modernist teachings found in the Sunday School literature and closes

by stating:

> When editors and writers will poison the food of Methodist babies, and bishops and district superintendents will connive at it, or laugh it off, the trouble with the church is no longer a matter of difference in thinking. It indicates rather that infidelity and unbelief has reached the heart. (The Holiness Layman June 1, 1922, Vol.XIV, no.22)

It seems obvious (and Smith agrees) not all those connected with the LHA joined the Church of the Nazarene. "The Laymen's Holiness Association's union with the Church of the Nazarene in 1922-23 resulted in the growth of the Minnesota and North Plains to 65 churches." (Ingles, 1973, 43) And, it gave "the denomination a foothold in the territory stretching from Michigan to the mountains of Montana. (Smith, 1962, 314)

Morrison's hard work paid dividends for him. His fervor as a holiness preacher made him a popular evangelist in both Nazarene and interdenominational circles. As a result of his position as District Superintendent and the successful growth on his district, he was elected to the position of President of Northwest Nazarene College in 1925. In 1927 he was elected General Secretary of the Foreign Missionary work. This was a difficult time for the Church; it had expanded its missionary work into new world area just before the Great Depression. It became Morrison's task to keep the missionaries encouraged regardless of how short the revenues, and at the same time compel the Nazarenes at home the do "just a little bit more." Basil Miller notes:

For the following nine years he threw himself into

> this work with a spiritual zest scarcely equaled by any other. He was constantly preaching achieving faith in missions, writing achieving faith in his The Other Sheep editorials, until his achieving faith became contagious and others caught the vision and achieved through faith for God. (Miller, 1941, 63)

Dr. Morrison was elected to the highest post in the Church of the Nazarene at the 1936 General Assembly, General Superintendent. Morrison served this post with the same enthusiasm he had served his other assignments. In 1939 on a return trip from Africa where he was holding District Assemblies and viewing the missionary work, his boat was diverted to South America. The out break of the Second World War in Europe had made trip more dangerous. As a result he picked up dysentery. He never recovered from this shock to his system and died suddenly on Thanksgiving Day, 1939. Because of his term of service in the Spanish American War, his organizational abilities, his hard work, and his ability to lead others, the church dubbed him "A Soldier of the Cross."

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

To study church history is to realize the existence of three reoccurring themes: first, the clarification and redefinition of traditional theses of biblical and theological dogma; second, the development of the church's structure from primitive and simplistic to a mature and complex hierarchical organizational structure laced with bureaucracy; finally, the impact of religion upon society and the reverse impact of society upon the church. Any change within the church, however slight, is generally met with resistance and opposition from some portion of its membership. Especially when the change appears to alter orthodox and even folk traditions. Therefore, when the leadership becomes too authoritarian, changes become too overwhelming and complex, worship services progress too far from the simplistic and emotional, or the organization imitates rather than opposes secular evils, some form of schism occurs.

The factors in the development of early American religion were many. While in some cases dogmas were created to bring about control, the issues were always dynamic. It soon became apparent that Old World procedures were not practical in this creative New World environment. Adaptation had become the key to survival for American Protestantism. Theology's role in the development of early

American religion was to record what the people were experiencing. It was then placed within or measured against the context of divine revelation. Experimentation and human experience shaped American theology during the early period of our nation's history.

The development of the Holiness Movement with the Methodist Church in North Dakota seemed a natural by-product of the "old-fashioned" Wesleyan doctrine of sanctification as a second work of grace. Danford's revivalistic movement fired by the Jamestown camp meeting moved across the Fargo and Bismarck districts like a prairie fire. District membership increased and the converted and sanctified joined Methodist churches. However, like the effects of the first and second great awakening the North Dakota Conference was sharply divided between those for the revival and those against the revival. The latter group emphasized a more rationalistic and educational approach for the recruitment of members and the former a revivalistic and emotional approach.

The first and second awakenings prospered on the wilderness frontier where wild emotions were often confused with religious experience. Rationalism, on the other hand, settled in the urban and educational centers. This scenario describes the conditions on the North Dakota Conference in 1915. Niebuhr makes the following observation about Methodism:

> Religious enthusiasm declined in the later days because Methodist Christianity became more

> literate and rational and because, with increasing wealth and culture, other escapes from the monotony and exhaustion of hard labor became available. The substitution of education for conversion, finally, played its part in making revivalism less important... for successive generations. (Niebuhr, 1929, 63)

I note that Methodism was in a state of transition as a denomination. It was attempting to accommodate new fields of scientific discovery within its theological system while still clinging to its traditional teachings. This was one of the major issues the LHA was battling. Any accommodation to the teaching of higher criticism and evolution was, for the LHA, a transgression from orthodoxy. They believed in the truthfulness of the entire Word of God. Since the fundamentalists were fighting the same issue against liberalism nationally. The LHA found a friend in fundamentalism as it fought for the inspiration and integrity of the Bible and against the trends of modernism.

The issues of debate between the teachings of Methodism and the LHA were deeper than just theology. The rural people of this former frontier were facing major sociological changes. Their familiar surroundings and secure traditions were being uprooted. Korth notes the prevailing attitude of among the North Dakota farmers in 1920 was an attempt to find a new myth or image to replace the old inorder to give meaning to changes in their world. (Korth, 1970, 137) However, the members of the LHA were conservative, stubborn individualists who would rather fight change than switch. The LHA agreed to the tenets of

fundamentalism because it was fighting the changes of its rural culture, a defense of a dying way of life. (Marsden, 1980)

Holt (1940) noted that sects are a natural product of:

> ...the social disorganization and cultural conflict which have attended the over-rapid urbanward migration and concomitant urbanization of an intensely rural, and religioulsy fundamentalist population. (Holt, 1940, 742)

If a religious group feels overwhelmed by the circumstances of change it will either abort and start a new group (sect), (Weber, et al.), withdrawal into "isolation" or hold on and "insulate" itself. (Wilson, 1967, 37) At first the LHA chose to stay within the structure and change it. They soon began to realize it would be next to impossible to change Methodism; so they chose to abort and join an organized sect (the Church of the Nazarene) that best fit their theological and ecclesiastical needs.

As I noted above Weber and Niebuhr believe the more "agrarian" the social patterns of a people the more likely they will seek a traditional, emotional, less rational and salvation prone religious group. This group or sect will have an exclusive membership and maintain a non-compromising, separatistic attitude toward the world. (Niebuhr, 1929, Pope, 1942; Weber, 1963) 60% of the members of the LHA population were farmers or in agriculturally related occupations. Furthermore, the constant barrage of denunciations against social trends and changing social mores reinforced its separatist attitudes.

The idea of losing holiness of heart and life (backsliding) by imitation of the world was a real fear. "Come out from among them and be ye separate and touch not the unclean thing and I will receive you" (2Cor. 6:17) was a standard verse used by holiness sects. (The author has personal knowledge of this fact having served in a holiness church for twenty-two years.) Again, as Marsden has noted protest and separation were aspects of the fundamentalists and the LHA was comfortable with this emphasis.

Another uniqueness of the LHA was the way it adopted fundamentalist creeds, divorced itself from the post-millennial teachings of its Methodist tradition, and attached the Wesleyan doctrine of holiness to its message of preparedness for the second coming of Christ. This attachment drove a wedge between themselves and other second coming advocates (Calvinist fundamentalists and Seventh Day Adventists). As Holiness advocates they came to their conclusion quite naturally. They interpreted "...holiness without which no man shall see the Lord..." (Heb. 12:14) as meaning one would need to be sanctified to be ready for the great coming of the Lord.

The LHA was a protest sect with a separatist emphasis. Its rural characteristics, population demographics, and desire to preserve the traditional teachings of the church gave it all the necessary elements to make it a candidate to adopt the fundamentalist's creed. What it lacked was leadership and a method. The leadership was provided by

Samuel Danford and Joseph Morrison. The method was holiness revivalism. The result was a remarkable rally of rural conservatism under the banner of Wesleyan-fundamentalism.

APPENDIX

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Listed below are key dates for Methodism, North Dakota Methodism, the Church of the Nazarene, and primary American and North Dakota history.

1703 - John Wesley born.
1724 - Wesley graduates from Christ Church College, Oxford University.
1735 - Wesley arrives in the American Colony of Georgia as a missionary to the Indians.
1737 - Wesley leaves America.
1738 - Wesley's Aldersgate experience, May 24.
- Pierre de la Verendrye, first white man to enter North Dakota, visits Mandan Indians on the Missouri.
1740-1 The First Great Awakening in America.
1744 - The first Methodist conference in London.
1766 - Robert Strawbridge begins first Methodist society in America.
1771 - Francis Asbury arrives in America.
1776 - The signing of the Declaration of Independence, July.
1784 - Christmas Conference, Baltimore, Maryland - The official beginning of the Methodist Church in America.
- Asbury ordained General Superintendent of American Methodist work.
1785 - John Fletcher dies.
1791 - John Wesley dies.
1800-1 Second Great Awakening in America.
1803 - Louisiana Purchase makes southwestern North Dakota part of the United States.
1804-5 Lewis and Clark cross North Dakota on journey to the Pacific.
1812 - Selkirk colonists come to Permbina, North Dakota, to make first attempt at a permanent white settlement.
- The United States declares war on England.
1816 - Francis Asbury dies.
1818 - First church and school in North Dakota -- a Catholic Mission at Permbina.
1832 - The Yellowstone is the first river boat steamer to navigate the Missouri River in North Dakota.
- Adam Clarke dies a victim of a Cholera epidemic in England.
1833 - Richard Watson dies.
1836 - The first Tuesday Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness begins in New York under the leadership of Sarah Lankford and Phoebe Palmer.
1837 - Smallpox epidemic nearly annihilates Mandan Indians.

1838 - Phineas Bresee is born, December 31.
1848 - James tanner conducts the first Protestant church service in North Dakota at Permbina.
1855 - J. G. Morrison's father moves the family from New Hampshire to Iowa.
1857 - Fort Abercrombie, the first military post in North Dakota is built on Red River.
- Phineas Bresee's father moves his family from New York to Iowa.
- Phineas Bresee pastors his first Methodist circuit.
1861 - William Jayse is appointed the first Governor for the Dakota Territory.
1861 - The Civil War begins.
1863 - Laramie Treaty defines reservation boundaries for Sioux Indians.
- Dakota Territory opened for homesteading.
- Gold discovered in Montana.
1865 - Civil War comes to an end.
1867 - The first camp meeting of the National Holiness Camp Meeting Association, Vineland, New Jersey.
1870 - Treaty with the Chippewa, Sioux and whites brings permanent peace to eastern area of the state.
1871 - The Northern Pacific Railway reaches Fargo, ND.
- First Methodist sermon preached in North Dakota.
- J. G. Morrison is born.
1874 - Phoebe Palmer dies.
1875 - Charles Finney dies.
- White settlers in North Dakota violate Laramie treaty which results in an Indian uprising.
1876 - General Custer is defeated at the battle of the Little Big Horn.
1881 - The Northern Pacific Railroad reaches Montana border.
1882 - The Great Northern Railroad completes its line from the Red River in eastern North Dakota to Canada.
1883 - The territorial capital is established at Bismarck.
- The first state university opens at Grand Forks.
- Theodore Roosevelt moves to Medora, North Dakota for health reasons.
- Rev. Bresee leaves Iowa for California.
1884 - The first Methodist Mission Conference held in the state.
1885 - Samuel Danford begins his ministry in North Dakota.
- The first Methodist North Dakota Annual Conference is held.
1888 - North Dakota Conference organizes into three districts.
1889 - North Dakota Conference organizes fourth district.
- North Dakota is admitted to statehood, November 2.
1891 - Rev. Bresee appointed Presiding Elder of the Los Angeles District, Southern California Conference.
1893 - J. G. Morrison begins his Methodist ministry.
1895 - Rev. Bresee withdraws from conference and begins the Church of the Nazarene, October 20.

1898 - America declares war with Spain.
- J. G. Morrison commissioned Captain in the Army.
1904 - Samuel Danford appointed Presiding Elder of Fargo District, North Dakota Conference.
1905 - White Rock, South Dakota camp meeting.
1907 - First Jamestown camp meeting.
- First union meeting of the Church of the Nazarene and the Association of Pentecostal Churches of America forming the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene.
1908 - The Holiness Church of Christ joins the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene at Pilot Point, Texas on October 13. This date is considered the natal date of the Church of the Nazarene.
- First Nazarene church organized in North Dakota.
1910 - J. G. Morrison made editor of The North Dakota Methodist.
- First Nazarene District Assembly in North Dakota.
1915 - Samuel Danford's last North Dakota Conference report.
- The high water mark of Methodist Sunday school attendance in North Dakota.
- Dr. Phineas F. Bresee dies.
- The closure of the Dakota frontier to homesteading.
1916 - Rev. J. G. Morrison appointed to Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.
1917 - J. G. Morrison accepts position as president of Laymen's Holiness Association.
- America enters the First World War.
1918 - J. G. Morrison given "location" by the Saint John's River Conference.
- Germany signs the Armistice to end the war, Nov. 11.
1920 - Laymen's Holiness Association incorporated.
1922 - J. G. Morrison joins the Church of the Nazarene.
- J. G. Morrison is elected District Superintendent of the newly organized Minneapolis-Jamestown District.
1925 - Laymen's Holiness Association officially dissolved.
- J. G. Morrison elected President of Northwest Nazarene College, Nampa, Idaho.
- Scopes trial in Dayton, Tennessee.
1927 - J. G. Morrison elected General Secretary of Foreign Missionary work.
1929 - Stock market crashes, the great depression begins.
1936 - J. G. Morrison elected General Superintendent of the Church of the Nazarene.
1939 - J. G. Morrison dies on Thanksgiving Day.

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