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Discipliana Vol-56-Nos-1-4-1996

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DISCIPLIANA

The Quarterly Historical Journal of the
DISCIPLES OF CHRIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CONTENTS

SILENA MOORE HOLMAN (1850-1915), VOICE OF THE "NEW
WOMAN" AMONG CHURCHES OF CHRIST

C. Leonard Allen

THE WORK OF WOMEN: BIRTHING AND RAISING A CHURCH IN
BEE COUNTY, TEXAS

Geraldine Reeve Huckman

THE SISTERHOOD OF DISCIPLES

Debra B. Hull

JUST AS I LIVED IT

Lester G. McAllister

Third Annual Forrest H. Kirkpatrick Historians' Seminar

May 3-4, 1996

at the

Historical Society's Phillips Memorial Building

in Nashville, TN

The Stone-Campbell Movement Faces the Twenty-First Century

1996 Focus

From Anglo-American Traditions to a Multicultural World

Presenters:

Daisy L. Machado, Texas Christian University

Rondal B. Smith, Pioneer Bible Translators

DeWayne Winrow, Pepperdine University



Volume 56 • Number 1 • Spring, 1996

Published by	DISCIPLES OF CHRIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY Peter M. Morgan, President (morganpm@aol.com)	
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STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The Disciples of Christ Historical Society was established in 1941 "to maintain and further interest in religious heritage, backgrounds, origins, development, and general history of Disciples of Christ, Christian Churches, Churches of Christ and related groups."

Members of the Society receive *DISCIPLIANA* quarterly, along with other benefits. Annual membership categories are: Sustaining - \$50 to \$249, Participating - \$25 to \$49, Regular - \$15, Students - \$7.50, Canadian and Overseas - \$20. Single payment Life Memberships are: Life - \$250, Life Link - \$500, Life Patron - \$1,000.

Contributors should submit manuscripts on 3.5 floppy disk in Wordperfect 5.1 or "text" format. Electronic manuscript submission via "text only" formatted e-mail or attached file accepted at DisHistSoc@aol.com.

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Indexed by Restoration Serials Index
ISSN 0732-9881

DISCIPLIANA (USPS 9950-060) is published quarterly for \$15 per year by the Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1101 Nineteenth Avenue, South, Nashville, TN 37212-2196. Phone: (615) 327-1444. Fax: (615) 327-1445. E-mail: DisHistSoc@aol.com. Second-class postage paid at Nashville, TN. World Wide Web Home Page: <http://users.aol.com/dishistsoc/index.htm>

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *DISCIPLIANA*, 1101 - 19th Avenue, South, Nashville, TN 37212-2196. Please give both old and new addresses and attach a mailing label from an old issue. USA: Please provide nine-digit code (ZIP+4).

—From the Editor's Desk

As Peter Morgan, new president of the Historical Society notes on the following page, this issue of *Discipliana* celebrates contributions of women of the Stone-Campbell tradition. In so doing, it helps to provide historical perspective to contemporary considerations of the roles of women and men in church and society.

Churches of Christ woman, Selena Moore Holman, was a physician's wife, mother of eight children, public advocate of women's suffrage, and crusader for the prohibition of the sale and manufacture of alcoholic beverages. In the 1880s, she participated in a published exchange with David Lipscomb, editor of the *Gospel Advocate*, regarding the right of women to speak in church and related concerns. As C. Leonard Allen states, this exchange provides an extraordinary glimpse into tensions in church and society during the latter years of the nineteenth century. These tensions focused on gender roles and the related issues of the social role of the family and the character of leadership required in the public sphere.

"The Work of Women: Birthing and Raising a Church in Bee County, Texas" traces the history of a Texas congregation in which women have played a prominent leadership role since its founding over a century ago on the then Texas frontier. Geraldine Reeve Huckman shows that the character and identity of the congregation, and especially its relation to what was once known as the "cooperative" work of the Disciples of Christ, is rooted in the lives and Christian witness of the congregation's women leaders. In many cases, these women were widowed or single and/or had careers outside their homes.

Debra Hull has surveyed the work of Disciples women as educators, prophets, missionaries, pastors, evangelists and writers. She shows that the Stone-Campbell movement, and in particular that branch known as the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), would not have become what it is today apart from "the Sisterhood of Disciples." Along the way, she tells stories of remarkable dedication and achievement of women both black and white representing a wide range of social and economic classes.

With this issue the Editorial Committee welcomes Peter Morgan as president of the Society. May his personal faith, rich life experience and vision for the whole church bear fruit through the work of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society.

—From the President's Desk

Discipliana celebrates the strong and good gifts of church women. This issue witnesses to the enduring faith of the women who led the congregation of Beeville, Texas. It brings us the courage of Silena Moore Holman who stood for her convictions against the intimidating power of David Lipscomb. We sing in celebration of a virtual catalogue of leading Disciples sisters. Good reading is in store for you.

The Disciples of Christ Historical Society celebrates sisters in the faith past and present. I celebrate that two of the three women's stories in this issue are told by women. We also thank God for the women who serve so ably at the Historical Society. Many of you know and join my praises of May Reed and Helen Kyger for the help they give in our research. And what would we do without our volunteers? Betty Schweikert keeps up with all the year-end collections of church newsletters which pour into the Society each January. Lynne Morgan is a second secretary to the president. Donna McWhirter donates much of her acquired skill as archivist.

I'm pleased also to announce that the chair of our Board of Trustees is Debra Hull. Debra teaches psychology at Wheeling Jesuit College. She is a Bethanian who authored *Christian Church Women* as well as one of the pieces in this issue of *Discipliana*.

This year the Historical Society celebrates a woman, Vicky Fuqua, by presenting her with our 1996 Faithful Servant Award. The award was formerly called the Unsung Hero Award. Debra Hull and I had the honor of announcing the award at Bethany College's Founder's Day. Vicky's story is the inspirational account of her service to the whole range of the Stone-Campbell movement. She was perceptive of the priceless heritage in the sites of Bethany. She lived out her vision in the founding and forming of Historic Bethany—a center of hospitality, research and teaching.

I am new as president of the Historical Society. For forty-nine years of my life I have lived in homes with only women. With all of these women at the Historical Society, I am right at home.

**Silena Moore Holman (1850-1915),
Voice of the “New Woman” among Churches of Christ**
by C. Leonard Allen*

“Shall the sisters pray and speak in public?” Throughout 1888 and for several years that followed, that question was one of the most pressing among Churches of Christ. It aroused controversy and debate across the pages of the *Gospel Advocate* and other periodicals.

In March of 1888 a man wrote to David Lipscomb, editor of the *Advocate*, suggesting that the command, “Let your women keep silence in the churches” (1 Cor. 14:34), prohibited women even from teaching children in the Sunday school. Lipscomb responded that they could teach children and even their husbands but only in a “modest deferential manner,” not in “an assuming, authoritative way.” And certainly, he added, women must never stand “before promiscuous [or mixed assemblies]” but rather teach only in private.¹

Silena Moore Holman (1850-1915), an elder’s wife from Fayetteville, Tennessee, and mother of eight children, responded to Lipscomb and the question of woman’s place. She boldly challenged some of the traditional assumptions, provoking sharp and lively exchanges with Lipscomb that continued on and off for many years. These exchanges provide an extraordinary glimpse into the tensions in church and society in the late nineteenth century.

Silena Holman was born on July 9, 1850 on a farm near Lynchburg in Moore County, Tennessee. Her father served in the Confederate Army and died when she was fourteen from a battle wound. Her family lived in poverty following the war. At age fourteen she began teaching school to supplement the family’s meager income. In January 1875 she married T. P. Holman, a young physician who had attended her during an illness. In the 1880s, in the midst of raising her eight children, she began a public career that would span nearly thirty-five years.

Her response to David Lipscomb in 1888 on the question of a woman’s place in church and society was a sign of things to come. In an article entitled “Let Your Women Keep Silence,” published in August 1888, Holman admitted that there would be little doubt about Paul’s view of women in the church if all we had was his injunction in I Cor. 14:34-35. But there are other passages indicating that women were prominent workers in the early church, “and others still, seeming to teach differently from 1 Cor. 14:34.” It is these passages, she said, that raise doubts about the traditional view of Paul’s meaning.²

In several lengthy articles she examined these passages, underscoring the active and public ministries of women like Deborah the judge of Israel (Judges 4-6), Anna the prophetess (Lk. 2:37-38), Priscilla who taught Apollos (Acts 18:26), the women assembled with the apostles on Pentecost (Acts 2), and Phillip’s four daughters who prophesied (Acts 2:8-9). All of these provided biblical examples, she thought, of a public role for women that did not “usurp authority” over men.

She made clear her agreement with Lipscomb on one thing: “the man is the head of the woman, and should take the lead, most especially in the family relation.” But she strongly disagreed that women were thereby completely removed from public leadership roles and confined entirely to the private and domestic sphere. The home was a woman’s primary focus, she agreed, and public activity should never displace that; but women who possessed the God-given gifts should be allowed “to go out in the world and tell of the unsearchable riches of the gospel and to combat the social evils that threatened the home.”³

Holman in fact rejected the distinction between private and public spheres that Lipscomb and most others sought to maintain. A woman could teach a man privately, they insisted, but not publicly, in her parlor but not in the assembly. Such a distinction, she argued, was much more cultural than scriptural. “Suppose a dozen men and women were in my parlor and I talked to them of the gospel and exhorted them to obey it? Exactly how many would have to be added to the number,” she asked, “to make my talk and exhortation a public instead of a private one?”

She made her own answer to that question very clear. “I believe that a learned Christian woman may expound the scriptures and urge obedience to them,” she stated, “to one hundred men and women at one time, as well as to one hundred, one at a time, and do much good, and no more violate a scriptural command in one instance than the other.”⁴

In numerous articles, Holman developed her views with considerable skill and verve. She dealt extensively with biblical passages, and often affirmed her commitment to biblical authority. Lipscomb’s responses were usually sharp, sometimes patronizing, and occasionally marked by exasperation. Her responses to him—and to other male critics—were firm, carefully reasoned, and respectful.

Lipscomb’s basic response was that God assigned woman to the domestic sphere and when she oversteps that realm she rebels against God and threatens the stability of society. By nature and temperament, Lipscomb believed, woman was suited to this realm and no other. God had made her more emotional and less rational than man. As a result she was wonderfully suited for nurturing children but not for public teaching or leadership.

Eve’s attempt to instruct Adam in the Garden of Eden provided proof. In that story, Lipscomb asserted, the Holy Spirit was saying, “I suffered you to take the lead once; your strong emotional nature led you to violate God’s word and to shipwreck a world. I cannot again trust you to lead.” God gave woman “heart-power” to fit her for being a wife and mother. But this very trait unfit her for leadership in society and church, Lipscomb stated, for it tends to “blind her to facts, shut out reason and lead her headlong where her emotions prompt her.”⁵

Silena Holman’s own writings, Lipscomb charged, provided a case in point. “When she wants a thing so, her strong emotional nature and intense love will see and have it that way any how.” She can no more see the plain teaching of scripture regarding woman’s place than “mother Eve could see death in the goodly fruit that pleased her.” In this way,

Lipscomb concluded, Holman “thoroughly vindicates her womanly nature,” offering living proof why God forbids women to teach and lead in the church.⁶

In his exchanges with Holman, Lipscomb revealed clearly his deep allegiance to what historians of the period have called the “cult of true womanhood” or the “cult of domesticity.” This vision of the ideal woman emerged in America between 1820 and 1860 and remained dominant until near the end of the century.⁷ As America became industrialized, fathers steadily left the homes or the farm for the workplace. With men newly caught up in careers, women were left with the chief responsibility for maintaining the home and providing spiritual and moral training for the children. As a result, the roles of wife, mother, and homemaker were heightened and idealized, and the model of “true womanhood” emerged.

This ideal permeated the women’s magazines, popular books, and religious literature of the period. Four attributes stood out: purity, piety, submissiveness, and domesticity. With their superior moral purity and spiritual sensibilities women were to restrain the natural lust and aggressiveness of husbands and sons. They were to make their homes havens of stability and nurture.

At the same time, the ideal woman was passive, dependent, deferential, and childlike. As one Christian woman put it in 1870, “God has so made the sexes that women, like children, cling to men; lean upon them as though they were superior in mind and body.” Women could exert an enormous leavening, uplifting, and nurturing influence, but only by remaining properly submissive. Indeed by remaining strictly within their ordained sphere, women served as the backbone of society.⁸

David Lipscomb and many other leaders of the Disciples/Churches of Christ in the 1880s held this ideal of “true womanhood” without question. It deeply shaped their interpretation of biblical teaching about the role of women. On this basis, for example, Lipscomb, his co-editor E. G. Sewell, and most other leaders condemned the “strong-minded women” who sought the right to vote. Women voting, Sewell wrote, was based on “a principle which, if allowed to spread, threatens to destroy the most sacred of all institutions, and make America a homeless nation.” Women who sought the vote, he warned, would break the bond of subjection divinely laid upon them and assert their independence; vote, hold office, electioneer and, if necessary, fight their way to the ballot box.⁹

By stepping beyond their divinely ordained sphere, women threatened the whole moral order of things. When women entered the public sphere, Lipscomb proclaimed, chaos resulted--loose marriage, easy divorce, indisposition to bear children, and...attendant social impurity.¹⁰

Silena Holman also assumed the cultural ideal of “true womanhood” in certain ways but begged to differ with Lipscomb at major points. Against Lipscomb, she denied that women were unfit for leadership due to their emotional nature. “The Bible nowhere intimates,” she retorted, “that the mind of woman is inferior to that of man (and it is the mind that makes the leader).” Indeed, in the fields of science, the arts, education,

literature, journalism, business, and the professions, “woman has come to the front and proven her ability to cope with man, in anything she may undertake.”¹¹

Further, when Lipscomb charged that much of the moral disarray of American society was to be laid at the feet of women who neglected their domestic duties and sought public roles, Holman took sharp exception. “My dear sister,” Lipscomb had written, “man is what his mother makes him. The great and good men are always conceded to be the work of their mothers. The bad men [too] are just as much the work of their hands.” Preposterous, replied Holman; women do not possess all the goodness in the world, and neither should they “shoulder the responsibility for all the bad.” Man is the head of the woman, she argued, and he has an obligation to keep her on the right path. When she fails in her duty, he cannot excuse himself by blaming her.¹²

With such critique, Silena Holman stood among those who in the 1890s promoted the ideal of what they called the “new woman.” Proponents of the new woman accepted neither the passivity of the “true woman” nor the militancy of the emerging “women’s rights” movement. They supported women’s suffrage, women’s reform societies (like the Women’s Christian Temperance Union), higher education for women, and a more public role for women in the churches. They stressed loyalty to home and family and did not reject male headship. They did not promote rejection of the domestic sphere, but rather believed that more opportunities for women would make better wives and mothers.¹³

In 1895 the *Gospel Advocate* printed an attack on the “new woman.” Six months later Holman published a spirited reply. “The days of the ‘clinging vine woman’ are gone forever,” she proclaimed. In her place a “husband will find walking by his side the bright, wide-awake companion,...a helpmeet in the best possible sense of the term.” The “new woman” is well educated, and her education has not “impaired her feminine grace or lovable qualities in the slightest degree.” She will probably marry, but will not have to “marry for a living.” She knows the world around her and takes an active part in it. And she will vote when that right is granted her (only three states gave full suffrage to women at the time). “When the ‘new woman’...comes into her kingdom, wide-awake, alert, thoughtful, and up to date,” Holman wrote, “she will not depreciate, but...magnify and glorify the profession of motherhood.”¹⁴

David Lipscomb and the *Advocate* remained a staunch foe of this “new woman.” She was a usurper of male prerogatives and dangerous to society, he said in 1897. As for Silena Holman, he wrote: “It gives a body the blues to read Sister Holman’s article[s].”¹⁵

Holman herself modeled the “new woman” in many ways. Besides raising seven sons and one daughter and serving as the wife of a physician, she worked faithfully in her church, wrote hundreds of articles for publication, and served for almost sixteen years as president of the Tennessee Women’s Christian Temperance Union. Her work with the WCTU became perhaps the central commitment of her life outside of her family. Understanding that commitment helps explain her

progressive views on the role of women in society and church.

The Women's Christian Temperance Union was established in 1874 as an outgrowth of the women's crusade in New York and Ohio in 1873-74. It was a response to the social ills arising in late nineteenth-century America from rapid urbanization and industrialization. In addition to combatting alcohol abuse, it worked for improved police forces and prisons; sought to aid indigent children, unwed mothers, and working women; supported the women's suffrage movement; and attended to problems of public health. It did not confine itself to the single issue of temperance but rather saw temperance as part of a complex of related social issues. By the 1890s the WCTU had become the largest women's organization in America. By 1897 its membership stood at over two million.¹⁶

Through the WCTU thousands of churchwomen gained both a heightened social awareness and a sense of new possibilities for their role in society. In the WCTU women served as fundraisers, lecturers, organizers, lobbyists, and writers. Through traveling and speaking to organize union chapters, many women discovered their hidden talents for public speaking. They exercised all sorts of local, state, and national leadership roles. And in these new roles many women experienced awakening and transformation. They became no longer willing to leave such roles to men in the churches.

The WCTU thus played a key role in the rising movement calling for the equal status of women in society. This new status, WCTU leaders insisted, should begin in the woman's own family. A woman was entitled to a share of her husband's income, and a dollar value should be placed on her homemaking chores. Women had the right to refuse sex in marriage and the right of legal possession of her own children [in 36 states in 1890, a married mother was not the legal "owner" of her children].¹⁷

In general the WCTU occupied the front ranks of those calling for the enlargement of "woman's sphere." As Ann Scott put it, the WCTU provided a respectable framework in which southern women could pursue their own development and social reform without drastically offending the prevailing views of the community about ladylike behavior.

Silena Holman's temperance involvement began in the early 1880s when she joined the Band of Good Templars. In 1887 she joined the WCTU and served for ten years as state reporter for the national WCTU publication, *The Union Signal*. In 1899 she was elected the fifth president of the Tennessee WCTU and served in that position until her death in 1915. Under her dynamic leadership the membership of that organization grew from fewer than 200 to over 4,000.¹⁹

The issue of prohibition became a frequent point of discussion and debate in the pages of the *Gospel Advocate* in the 1880s and 1890s. Just as with the issue of woman's role, Holman and Lipscomb squared off on this issue too.

One significant question was whether wine or grape juice ought to be used in the Lord's supper. In a May 1885 issue of the *Advocate*, Holman

wrote: "I come with an humble plea to the Christian churches scattered abroad through our country to abandon the use of the drunkard's drink in the celebration of the Lord's Supper." Her argument, developed at great length, centered around three points: first, that people of Bible times knew how to make both intoxicating and non-intoxicating wines; second, that Jesus and the early Christians would have used only non-intoxicating wine since Jesus would not have sanctioned anything that was harmful; and third, that grape juice should be used for the sake of reformed alcoholics who might have the old desire revived at the taste of alcohol.²⁰

In his response Lipscomb would not admit that use of fermented wine was wrong, though he did not object to grape juice. He also would not concede that Jesus and the earliest disciples used only unfermented wine. And in response to Holman's argument that wine might tempt reformed alcoholics, Lipscomb wrote: "God does not propose to raise hot-house plants on earth and transplant them to heaven. A man that cannot learn to endure and resist temptation is not fit for heaven. The earth is a scene of trial and probation to test the worthy and separate the worthy from the unworthy." Lipscomb did not think that people were actually tempted to drunkenness at the Lord's table. But even if they were, he argued, many temptations will indeed come in this life, "and the removal of one temptation will not make the world Christian. God intends temptation to meet us; those who love the flesh rather than the Spirit, will find other ways then to gratify it."²¹ Under Lipscomb's influence, Churches of Christ in Tennessee never entirely gave up the use of wine at the Lord's supper.

Holman also argued vigorously for outlawing the sale and manufacture of alcoholic beverages in Tennessee. She put forward her arguments in extensive writings for the secular press. But she also pressed them in the pages of the *Advocate*, where she urged members of Churches of Christ to join in the crusade. The liquor traffic, she argued, is the greatest enemy the church has ever known; "intemperance more than anything else stands in the way of the evangelization of the world." She wrote: "give us the prohibition of the liquor traffic, give the universal practice of abstinence among the followers of Jesus, and, with the blessing of God, we predict a speedy revival of religion in the church and a rapid extension of it over the world." Christians should take the lead in this struggle because the church could not "do without the temperance reform if she wishes to convert the world to Christianity."²²

Holman's views found favor with many Christians, but not with David Lipscomb. He practiced abstinence (except for medicinal purposes) and believed all Christians should follow suit, but he often criticized the cause of prohibition. He thought the evils of whiskey were exaggerated and rejected the frequently heard argument that "all ungodliness comes from intoxicating liquor, and if we destroy it, the world will become Christian." He saw Christians exercising a "one-sided zeal" which often let the temperance cause overshadow the teaching of faith in God. Most basically, Lipscomb denied that Christians should take part in political

activities, and affirmed that the church was “sufficient as a sphere for all Christian work.” God could take care of the evils of liquor, he thought, without Christians mounting political crusades.²³

In October 1907 the Tennessee Anti-Saloon League and the Tennessee chapter of the WCTU began an ardent drive for state-wide prohibition. Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and many heirs of the Stone/Campbell movement joined the fight. Silena Holman became an outspoken and widely respected figure in the front ranks of this drive. As president of the Tennessee chapter, Holman closely monitored the intense political battles. She endorsed prohibitionist officeholders and candidates, and often wrote letters to state newspapers expressing her views.

For example, when the prohibitionist candidate for governor was defeated by a narrow margin in June 1908, Holman charged that the winner had misled the public regarding his position and that his supporters had stuffed ballot boxes and engaged in repeat voting.²⁴ A few months later when the losing prohibitionist candidate Edward W. Carmack was murdered, Holman wrote to a national WCTU audience that the “bullet that ended Carmack’s life will write prohibition on the statute books of Tennessee.” In early 1909, as the state legislature was debating a new state-wide prohibition law, Holman placed on each prohibitionist senator’s desk a letter admonishing that “as we sit in the galleries looking down upon you we are praying that every man may stand true in the hour of trial.”²⁵

During her long tenure as WCTU state president, Holman wrote thousands of letters each year promoting temperance and other social concerns. After her death a coworker judged that the achievement of prohibition in Tennessee was “due more to her wise, brave, untiring efforts than to those of any other one human being.”²⁶

Silena Holman’s broad-ranging work with the WCTU and her ardent concern for larger roles for women in society and church were closely connected. In 1913, two years before her death, she was still addressing “The Woman Question” in the *Gospel Advocate*, still arguing for a woman’s rights to teach publicly before “mixed audiences.” “Men may change with the changing conditions of modern life,” she wrote; “but when women find themselves trying to keep step with their fathers, brothers, and husbands in the new order of things, the brethren stand in front of them with a drawn sword and demand a halt, because, they say, the Bible forbids, when it does nothing of the kind.”²⁷

Silena Holman died on September 18, 1915. According to one report, her parting words to her children were: “Always stand by the Women’s Christian Temperance Union and lose no opportunity to help the work.”²⁸ Her funeral was held on the lawn of her Fayetteville, Tennessee home. Over 1,000 people attended, among them many prominent people from throughout the state.

Well-known evangelist T. B. Larimore preached her funeral. She had requested Larimore, she said, because “I want no man to apologize for my work, and I know he will never do that.” Larimore did not apologize.

He praised her “honorable and industrious life,” mentioning both her devotion to her family and her “wonderful intelligence” as a public leader. “In her last conversation with me,” Larimore concluded, “she spoke of men who had been bitter foes of her work, speaking not unkindly, but in the spirit of charity, and I want to commend that spirit to all who are here.”²⁹

Two years later, on May 10, 1917, a portrait of Silena Holman was unveiled at the State Capitol and hung in the Capitol Library. It was only the second time a woman had been granted that honor.³⁰

*C. Leonard Allen is associate professor in the Graduate Bible Department at Abilene Christian University, Abilene, Texas. A section of this article is adapted from Leonard Allen, *Distant Voices: Discovering a Forgotten Past for a Changing Church* (Abilene Christian University Press, 1993).

Notes

¹David Lipscomb, “Woman’s Work in the Church,” *Gospel Advocate* 30 (March 14, 1888), 6-7.

²Silena Moore Holman, “Let Your Women Keep Silent,” *Gospel Advocate* 30 (August 1, 1888), 8.

³Silena Holman, “Woman’s Scriptural Status Again,” *Gospel Advocate* 30 (November 21, 1888), 8.

⁴Ibid.

⁵David Lipscomb, “Woman’s Station and Work,” *Gospel Advocate* 30 (October 10, 1888), 6.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Barbara Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860,” *American Quarterly* (1966), 151-174.

⁸Fred Bailey, “Disciple Images of Victorian Womanhood,” *Discipliana* 40 (Spring 1980), 7-12.

⁹E. G. Sewell, “Woman and Politics,” *Gospel Advocate* 26 (October 22, 1884), 674.

¹⁰Lipscomb, “Woman’s Station and Work,” 6.

¹¹Holman, “Woman’s Scriptural Status Again,” 8.

¹²Silena Holman, “A Protest,” *Gospel Advocate* 34 (November 17, 1892), 729.

¹³On the “new woman” see Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930*. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1970), 212-231.

¹⁴Silena Holman, “The ‘New Woman,’” *Gospel Advocate* 38 (July 9, 1896), 438, and “The New Woman, No. 2,” *Gospel Advocate* 38 (July 16, 1896), 452-53.

¹⁵David Lipscomb, “Response to ‘The New Woman,’” *Gospel Advocate* 38 (July 9, 1896), 438.

¹⁶Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*. (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1981), 95-116.

¹⁷Bordin, *Woman and Temperance*, 114-116.

¹⁸Scott, *Southern Lady*, 147.

¹⁹*Standard Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem* (1926), 1239.

²⁰Silena Moore Holman, “Wines of the Bible and of the Ancients. Communion Wine—No. 1,” *Gospel Advocate* 27 (May 27, 1885), 326; Holman, “Communion Wine—No. 2,” *Gospel Advocate* 27 (June 10, 1885), 360.

²¹David Lipscomb, “Bible Wine,” *Gospel Advocate* 27 (June 24, 1885), 386.

²²Silena Holman, “Communion Wine—No. 3,” *Gospel Advocate* 27 (June 17, 1885), 378; Holman, “The Church and the Temperance Question,” *Gospel Advocate* 27 (December 30, 1885), 818.

²³David Lipscomb, “Bible Wine,” 386; Lipscomb, “Reply to Sister Holman,” *Gospel Advocate* 27 (July 8, 1885), 422. See also Paul E. Isaac, *Prohibition and Politics: Turbulent Decades in Tennessee, 1885-1920*. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1965), 24-27.

²⁴Silena Holman, "The Situation in Tennessee," *Union Signal* 34 (August 27, 1908), 3; Isaacs, *Prohibition and Politics*, 153-154.

²⁵Silena Holman, *Union Signal* 34 (December 3, 1908), 2; *Union Signal* 35 (February 11, 1909), 3.

²⁶Mary B. Bang, "A Marvelous Leader—A Comrade Beloved," *Union Signal* (September 30, 1915).

²⁷Silena Holman, "The Woman Question, Again," *Gospel Advocate* 35 (April 10, 1913), 338.

²⁸Bang, "A Marvelous Leader."

²⁹"Brother Larimore's Tribute to Mrs. Silena Moore Holman," *Gospel Advocate* 57 (October 14, 1915), 1027-1028.

³⁰Mattie Duncan Beard, *The W.C.T.U. in the Volunteer State* (Kingsport, TN: Kingsport Press, 1962), 122-127.

Lester G. McAllister Named Fund

Lester McAllister has been a part of the work and ministry of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society during all of his adult life. Professor Emeritus of Modern Church History at Christian Theological Seminary, Indianapolis, IN, he has written a number of books. Two of his most recent works have been published by the Historical Society, *Just As I Heard It* and *Just As I Lived It*. Lester makes his home in Claremont, Ca, at Pilgrim Place and is a member of the First Christian Church of Pomona, CA. Presently he is serving as Adjunct Professor at the Disciples Seminary Foundation in Claremont and continues to write and speak frequently. He is a Life Member of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society. This Named Fund was established with a gift from the Reverend and Mrs. David A. Caldwell.



1920-1996

Roger Carstensen Named Unsung Leader

Dr. Carstensen was the founder of the Mission for Biblical Literacy, Inc., headquartered in Athens, GA. For twelve years he was associated with the Christian College of Georgia, both as Dean and as President. For twenty-five years prior to that he taught Bible and preaching at such institutions as Northwest Christian College and Phillips University. His rich credentials included five degrees. He authored books on the Old Testament characters of Job and Jonah as well as articles for the Interpreter's One-Volume Commentary on the Bible. His experience in ministry was vast, spanning all forms of media including preaching, speaking and performing at the piano. It was a pleasure for the Disciples of Christ Historical Society to name Roger N. Carstensen as an unsung leader in the life of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) and to also name him as Life Patron Member of the Historical Society. This presentation was made by Dr. James M. Seale at the 1995 General Assembly of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in Pittsburgh, PA.

The Work of Women: Birthing and Raising a Church in Bee County, Texas

by Geraldine Reeve Huckman*

Thesis

The character and identity of the First Christian Church, Beeville, Texas can be found in the lives and Christian witness of the women in the church. Women were recorded as early leaders in the spiritual, evangelistic, mission and stewardship efforts of the congregation. They brought into this church their connections to other congregations calling themselves Christian, Church of Christ, or Disciple, and their sense of connection to the agencies organized for cooperative work. The identity birthed by the early women has continued and been fulfilled in the present.

The Founding Women

The oral tradition predates the written records of the church by six years and insists the church was organized in 1885 at a meeting in the Bee County Courthouse. There are no existing records about the church or its organization until 1891.¹ The minutes of August 9, 1891, indicate a new beginning. "The undersigned desire our names enrolled as members of a local congregation of Church of Christ,"² followed by the names of thirty-four adults, twenty of whom were women. The oral tradition remembers the church as "the church of the widowed women."³

Four letters of transfer are preserved identifying those who came soon after the initial enrollment. The letters are from: the church of Christ at Terrell, Texas, introducing Brother J. F. Allen and Sister M. E. Allen; the Christian Church at Fair View, Garrard Co., Kentucky, introducing Ruth Best; the Christian Church at Kirksville, Madison County, Kentucky, introducing sister Fannie Adams; and the Jones Creek Church of Jasper County, Missouri, introducing sister Laura F. Owens.⁴ The letter of Sister Fannie Adams commends her "to the care and oversight of the saints wherever she may cast her lot." She came with four daughters and one son, adding one more widow to the congregation. Sister Laura F. Owens was sent to "any Body of Christians [sic] in christ Where Ever her Lot May be cast." The question of why these women were moving to South Texas unaccompanied cannot be answered by the written record nor the oral tradition. The letters do characterize the Beeville congregation as typical of the period; part of a loosely connected network who recognized each other's members despite inconsistency in the names of the congregations. Sisters Jones, Barefield, Whitney, Wofford and Brother Brumfield were named in the record of October, 1891, as the first stewards who made pledges to the "Christian church in support of pastor [unnamed]."⁵ Women were the majority. The first congregational activity was to buy one treasurer's book, one can of oil, two bottles of wine, four lamps, a church register, and one and one half dozen song books.⁶ These records revealed the

decisions that were shaping the identity of the congregation. The first roster named the congregation a Church of Christ, but already they had chosen the name, Christian Church, which continues to the present. Their priorities included light, heat, singing, keeping written records which continued almost unbroken to the present and communion with wine which continued until prohibition. "We often did not have a minister, but there has never been a time in the church's history that the doors have not been opened on the first day of the week for Bible School and Communion Service."⁷ Only four months later a report from Rev. T. D. Secrest included thirty visits, two additions, four sermons and \$19.00 receipts.⁸ Secrest preached in Skidmore, Clareville, and Mathis, all within thirty miles of Beeville. He appears to have been an evangelizing, itinerant preacher who collected his salary during pastoral visits one week of the month. Mesdames Adams, Hanna, Whitney, Wofford, Hodges, Owens, Jones and Bagley made regular contributions along with five men for the visits and for twenty-five sermons.⁹

Women Establish Their Role

A committee for solicitations for a building campaign was established by the board in December, 1891. The next month Mrs. Wofford and Brother Taylor were appointed members of the committee. They obtained pledges of \$65.00 by February and \$200.00 by March.¹⁰ Construction, begun in September, 1892, and completed in December, 1893, revealed the power of the women in the process.

A special board meeting was called on May 10, 1892. The issue was money held by the Ladies Aid Society. There was a question of some sort about whether or not the ladies "should pay Brother Secrest \$30.00."¹¹ No women attended the meeting and the men could not make a quorum without them. Brother Secrest was dependent on the women for the largest financial support of his work. Individual contributions generally ranged less than \$5.00. Together, the women held control of a large sum of money which they eventually contributed directly to the building campaign and not to Brother Secrest. The women were not dependent on the men to make a quorum for their decision making process or to take an action. They were clearly independent, but nonconfrontational.

In the final building campaign report, a group named the Aid Society contributed \$410.00.¹² The identity of the society and the source of the contribution can be deduced from correspondence by the women with the Church Extension Board, the Christian Woman's Board of Missions and the National Benevolent Association. The women were already meeting as part of both the national CWBM and the Ladies Aid Societies of the NBA. The offering on the second Sunday of March, 1892, was designated for foreign missions.¹³ Perhaps some of the women who came by letter of transfer brought this connection with them. Or, perhaps Secrest was an agent for the CWBM. The \$410.00 gift must have been a gift for a new church start on the frontier of South Texas from one of the national agencies of that time period. The church was established in a frontier area by a preacher who fit the model of an evangelizing church

developer. The church was organized before banks or schools were in place.¹⁴ The congregation shared the same frontier cultural contexts of other early Disciples churches. In contrast, the church may have differed in the significant numbers of women actively leading, shaping the mission of the church and contributing so quickly to the cooperative agencies at work in the country at that time.

Growth in the Second Decade

At the turn of the century the church was well established and attracting new members. Miss Jennie Rust arrived in Beeville in 1901 and became one of the group of women who would lead the church for more than fifty years. She was a single woman, a very active member of the Christian Church and a professional photographer. Miss Rust moved from Missouri to San Antonio to work for a well-known photographer. She came to Beeville to open a studio for the San Antonio firm. Soon she married local rancher, Mr. S. S. Dugat, whose family were charter members of First Presbyterian church. Neither ever attended the spouse's church.¹⁵

By that time the founding pastor was no longer named in the written records, yet the church held regular Sunday School and worship services. Teaching in the Sunday School were Sister Jones, primary class; Sister Whitney, second class; Sister Wofford, third class; Brother Brumfield, fourth class; and Sister Ramey, the fifth class.¹⁶ Perhaps it was more unusual for Brother Brumfield to be a teacher than for the women to be teachers, but it is clear the church contained enough children to require five full classes. Mabel Sturdivant Chapman remembers her father serving as a deacon, Mr. Messinger as Sunday School Superintendent, and Mr. Eeds teaching an adult Sunday School class as well as presiding at communion. The church seemed to be following common practice, in 1912, of lay persons presiding at the table even when a resident minister was present. Mrs. Chapman recalled the minister at the time was Brother Brown who married Ina Adams.¹⁷ During this period there were no women named in the minutes as leaders. They empowered and supported the men in roles defined by time and culture. Mrs. Dugat wrote of the period, "We have never been many in number, but God has promised [God's] reward to the faithful and if ever a church has been blessed with faithful members it has been this one".¹⁸

Women's Leadership Broadens

In 1913 Rev. H. Grady Tyman was called by a search committee composed of three men and two women. In February of the same year eight women were named deaconess: Sisters J. S. McCleary, F. F. Deats, J. W. Aycock, P. E. Dugat, Jennie Dugat, J. D. Stout, R. C. Barefield, and J. S. Hodges. Half of these women were widows or did not have a husband named in membership lists or church records. Eight men were named deacon and six men were named elder in the same meeting, making this one of the largest group of men to lead in the church's history.¹⁹

In this time period the women met as the Christian Women's Board of Missions, adjourned and reconvened as the Aid Society.²⁰ They studied prescribed lessons and followed program suggestions from the national boards of these agencies. During a study course on India the eleven women who attended came in costume.²¹ The women appear to have subscribed to every Disciples periodical available at that time or, at least, Mrs. Dugat subscribed and kept them all well informed.²²

There is evidence that women were recognized as spiritual leaders in roles that would be expected of elders. A series of critical meetings were held in 1914 surrounding the resignation of Brother Tyman. He had incurred substantial personal debt and had to leave town.

Sister Algea cautioned the church about being too hasty in accepting his resignation and thought the members should write Brother Tyman a letter asking him to come back and make the new start here. And, that we should be careful about what we said or did so that we would not hurt him in a spiritual way.²³

Brother Tyman did not return and provisions were made to terminate immediately any future minister who personally purchased anything on time. The policy was forgotten and never enforced. Sister Algea may have been the lone voice of pastoral care in the situation, but it was a voice recorded and kept in the record.

Reading the minutes of the period reveals more about the belief system of the church than they may have known they were preserving. They inquired about documents of incorporation, paid the Young People's Christian Endeavor \$1.00 per week to clean the church, organized the management of Sunday School with an enrollment of 70 in Junior Endeavor, organized a men's Bible class, paid to run water from the city water main to the baptistry, bought new song books and accepted a payment of \$40.00 from the YPCE toward the piano.²⁴ In twenty-eight years this congregation had become a full fledged member of the more liberal, instrumental loving, congregations found more typically in the north and certainly not in the conservative south of Texas. There was never a discussion in the record about the form of baptism, however the need for running water to the baptistry points toward immersion. This was a congregation who immersed, accepted by letter all who presented themselves as Christian, practiced communion weekly, studied the Bible at all ages, had a youth program, wanted a resident pastor and sang to a piano. There was even a Hispanic family named Ramirez active in the congregation, not at all typical of South Texas at that time. In one of her several attempts to write a history of the church, Mrs. Dugat noted, "First Christian Church has never been a popular church in Beeville numerically or socially, but has always had a few staunch faithful members."²⁵ Her observation may have been rooted in the idiosyncratic characteristics of this church which kept it slightly out of step with the culture and the social structure of the county. If that is the case, the birth of the church set the path for its future.

A Period of Decline

For more than a decade after the departure of Rev. Tyman the church could only support part time or visiting preachers. Membership dropped dramatically. There is little evidence of any program activity other than Sunday School and worship. By 1924, Mrs. Dugat began corresponding with and making arrangements for ministers to come and preach on Sundays without any other recorded help. She noted that she passed the cash monies of \$13.00 on to the next treasurer, Kate Jacobs. The records of January, 1925, name twelve contributors to the church, nine of whom were women.²⁶

A pattern began to appear. Mrs. Dugat paid for visiting ministers or met financial obligations on behalf of the church to ministers and the church paid her back.²⁷ The situation did not improve. The total financial activity for all of 1926 was to purchase grape juice every other month, pay to have the church cleaned twice during the year, pay the insurance premium on the building and pay the light bill. In December the lights were turned off and remained off until February, 1927.²⁸

Women Keep the Church Alive

In spite of the lack of pastoral leadership or even electricity, women who would be strong leaders in the congregation were drawn to the church. Mrs. T B. Knight (Lera) joined and was a leader by 1925. She was active in her family's insurance agency. After she was widowed she remained a professional business women in the community for more than forty years. Maude Rigall, a grass widow,²⁹ arrived in January, 1926, with her daughter, Ruth, and son, Raymond. Sister Rigall supported her family as an accountant in an office behind her home until the early 1970s.³⁰

This core group of women kept the church going. Raymond Rigall remembers that he and Toscoe Knight served as deacons at the communion table when they were about twelve years old, because there were not enough men to serve.³¹ His sister, Ruth, has vivid memories of Jennie Dugat and Lera Knight presiding and praying at the Lord's Table. She was impressed as a young girl because it was an unusual thing for women to do.³²

Mrs. Dugat continued to write letters and find preachers of good reputation. They appeared to be itinerant evangelical preachers following a circuit. Rev. C. M. Ashmore³³ wrote to Mrs. Dugat in April, 1927, telling her he would come to preach twice on Sunday, enclosed an announcement for the paper and inquired about the health of Sister Rigall. This preacher of some name recognition was known personally to at least two women in the congregation. He did not mention any men by name. Sister Dugat and Sister Rigall did not let the church fall out of the network, nor did they only take from the network. They supported and gave to other agencies of the church. A birthday party for Mrs Dugat included a request for gifts of used clothing or money for Jarvis Christian College at Hawkins, Texas.³⁴

The Foundational Story Solidifies

Comparing the early membership lists and the financial records of 1930 is surprising. Only Mrs. Barfield and Mrs. Hermes remain. None of the men from the early days are left. Some have died, but many have notations by their names indicating they have moved. In almost the same ratio as the founding group, seventeen women and five men pledged support of a new minister, Rev. J. C. Horton, in 1930. He served the church for two years and then twice more after absences of a year or more. The women did not leave clear records during this time, but a scrap of paper noted a payment to the Pension Fund in 1934 from eight women on behalf of Brother Horton.³⁵

Operating expenses were often paid for by loans from women in the church. Mrs. Rigall provided \$15.00 on one occasion. A woman named Miss Susie Porter loaned the women \$500.00 which was repaid. There was no mention of this woman before or after the entry, but they could not have continued without her.

From this evidence it is obvious that without any continuing male support they still considered themselves part of the larger church and felt a responsibility to participate in the work of the cooperative agencies including the Pension Fund. They understood their identity in the same fashion as those who founded the church. The story acquired its own momentum. The church was once again the church of widowed women and women whose husbands did not participate. The women were also business and professional women in a time when that was not the norm. These same women held leadership for the next thirty years.

The Story Begins to Repeat Itself

A new minister, a new building program, and increased growth were the storyline of the late 1930s and early 1940s. Mrs. Dugat and Mrs. Rigall alternately kept the records and were not only the de facto leaders, they were the leaders of record. Mrs. Dugat conducted a search for the next minister. With a pledge of \$10.00 a month from Patrick Henry and the Texas Christian Missionary Society she put together a yoked ministry with the church in Goliad for a salary of \$110.00 a month.³⁶

The Layman's League became active in South Texas during the early 1940s. The league must have developed strong male leaders for the Beeville church because the names of women drop from the records until World War II. After the war the church began the next building campaign for a parsonage financed by the Board of Church Extension, the Missionary Society (formerly the Aid Society) and by Mrs. Dugat.

A series of letters between Chester Crow of the TCMS and Mrs. Knight on behalf of a pulpit committee reads like an instant replay from the past. Another echo from the first decade was heard as the board spent considerable time considering where the authority to conduct the church's secular business should be placed: in the hands of the minister or the board.³⁷

The next ten to fifteen years were periods of tremendous growth in the county and city. New ministers tried to assert themselves and ignored the founding story. They did not stay long, nor produce lasting change.

New Faces, Same Story

I entered the story in 1968 with my husband, Dr. Michael Huckman. On our first Sunday the woman who was Sunday School Superintendent asked me when I would be ready to start working and which class did I want to have first. I did not know how rural towns learned all about newcomers, but my B.A. from TCU was in religious education and I expected to be an active member. I just did not know the script of the church's story.

Michael was elected deacon and I was placed on a search committee during the first year. I wrote Kenneth Teegarden, the Texas State Minister, asking if he thought it would be possible for Beeville and Pettus to share a pastor in order to offer a larger salary package. The Pettus minister had been murdered by a hitchhiker and I thought sharing might help both churches. I never dreamed Dr. Teegarden would knock on my door in response to a letter and it took three decades before I understood why everyone in the state office knew the women of Beeville.

Ministers in the decades of the seventies and eighties knew how to use the leadership of the women. The women seemed to have learned how to share the leadership with men by that time. I followed the script for women by actively participating in the district/area church. For the 100th Anniversary program I tried to reconstruct the history of the church.³⁸ As I was preparing to leave the role of laity and become a candidate for ordained ministry I chaired a capital fund campaign to raise monies for yet another building program. Though the story was repeating itself through me, the climax had yet to occur.

Birthing Leads to Fulfillment

The CWF of the 1970s was strong enough for two groups. Maude Rigall, one of only two women left from the early days, refused to attend the day meeting with the "old women." She came to the evening meeting with those of us who had small children. She was still an active leader in the church. On May 28, 1972, the minutes read,

Jerry Huckman explained other churches have been electing 'lady' elders and she nominated Maude Rigall to be elder. The motion was seconded by Mabel Johnson. All Aye.³⁹

It took 80 years for the record books to match the reality of the identity of First Christian Church, Beeville, Texas. Once acknowledged, the doors opened fully for all the women of the church. Ruth Rigall Dugat was the second woman elected elder. I was third. Since that time Winnie Chestnutt, Marcey Wilkins, Lou Powers, Rosemary Eeds and Andrea Gibbud have been elected. Several of us were invited to preach as lay women and a number of women clergy came as guest preachers.⁴⁰

It was 96 years before the congregation called Rev. Kimberly Campbell to ministry on April 1, 1987. The community received her well. She accepted many speaking invitations and even preached from the altar of St. Joseph's Catholic Church for the community Thanksgiving service. For the first time, the unusual character of the church was visible in the life and witness of its minister. She was not the last. Ruth Beal served the congregation in two extended interim ministries during the late eighties and early nineties.

Rev. Laura Odiorne is the present minister. She serves the yoked congregations of Beeville and Pettus. The Beeville church continues to be the home of women leaders. Kay Mix was elected to the city council. Andrea Gibbud is Bee County Tax Assessor Collector. Sandra Clark is County Clerk. Lou Powers teaches at the prison and manages a driver's education school. Lois Bowers is owner and operator of the B Beauty Haven. Diane Hirst is a local artisan, entrepreneur and director of The Vineyard, a local outreach ministry to the needy. Winnie Chestnutt writes for the Bee Picayune. Ruth Dugat operated the Dugat Gun Shop for several years after her husband, Byron, died. Teachers, teaching assistants, secretaries and retired women add to the list until it includes every woman in the church. It is still the church of business and professional women.

A significant change has occurred that must not be left out of the story. This group has husbands, including the minister, who participate and share the decision making process. It is no longer women or men, it is both.

Conclusion

The character and identity of the First Christian Church, Beeville, Texas, was, and is, most certainly found in the lives and Christian witness of the women in the church. It is a church birthed, shaped, supported and held together by a core of women leaders. Those women have passed on the heritage to the next generation of women without asking permission. The identity seems to have a life of its own and attracts women who will support it. It is a church which stays connected to other churches of like mind. It looks to the larger body of the church for support and understands itself to be a church which supports the cooperative work. It is a church which expects quality preachers and ministers and which is not afraid to step out of the norm to find those people. In fact, it is a church of women who write letters and seek out preachers of some recognition and stature to lead them when there is no local pastor. To know this church, one must know its women.

*Rev. Geraldine Reeve Huckman won the 1992 Lockridge Ward Wilson Award while under the tutelage of Dr. Mark G. Toulouse of Brite Divinity School, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas. She now ministers at Rolling Oaks Christian Church, San Antonio, Texas.

This paper is dedicated to the memory of Jennie Rust Dugat (Mrs. S. S. Dugat) and all the Emeritus Officers of the First Christian Church, Beeville, Texas.
 Mrs. S. S. Dugat, Honorary Lifetime Member of the Board, January 4, 1954;
 Honorary Deaconess, June 10, 1963
 Mr. T. J. Wood, Honorary Lifetime Member of the Board, January 4, 1954
 Mrs. Sadie Holland, Honorary Deaconess, June 10, 1963
 Mrs. A. H. Mallot, Honorary Deaconess, June 10, 1963
 Mrs. Perl Mietzen, Honorary Deaconess, June 10, 1963
 Mrs. T. J. Wood, Honorary Deaconess, June 10, 1963
 Mr. Waler Roberts, Elder Emeritus, August 14, 1968
 Mrs. Lera Knight, Honorary Deaconess, December 22, 1974
 Mrs. Maude Rigall, Elder Emeritus, June 25, 1978
 Mrs. Alice Kinkler, Deaconess Emeritus, July 9, 1978
 Mrs. Ann Wyckoff, Deaconess Emeritus, July 9, 1978
 Mr. Byron Dugat, Elder Emeritus, November 2, 1986
 Mrs. Vallie Mae Schilling, Deaconess Emeritus, November 2, 1986
 Mr. P. D. Gray, Deacon Emeritus, June 17, 1990

Notes

¹Elizabeth McCurdy is reported to have loaned her personal copies of the "Beeville Bee" newspaper, published by her husband in 1886, to Rev. Charles Reese who was writing a history of the church. No such history can be located and the location of those early papers is unknown. See "Beeville Bee-Picayune," Thursday, November 25, 1965.

²Minutes of the Official Board. Paper Record Book. 1891-1893.

³Isabel Love. Interviewed by author. Notes. Beeville, Texas, October 13, 1991.

⁴Membership Records. Bound Record Book and Loose Letters. 1892-1944. The next two quotations are from those letters.

⁵Minutes of the Official Board. Paper Book. 1891-1893.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Mrs. S. S. Dugat. Personal records. Notes for the 75th Anniversary Program. November, 1965.

⁸Minutes of the Official Board. Paper Record Book. 1891-1893.

⁹Reports dated October 18, 1891 to December 24, 1893. Loose pages in church records.

¹⁰Minutes of the Official Board. December, 1891. Paper Record Book, 1891-1893. The titles used for men and women vary during that time period. I use the titles assigned in the records to reflect the identity, marital status or the role of the persons being identified.

¹¹Minutes of the Official Board. May, 1892. Paper Record Book. 1891-1893.

¹²Pastor's Report. December, 1893. Loose Papers.

¹³Minutes of the Official Board. February, 1892. Paper Record Book. 1891-1893.

¹⁴Bee County is located about 30 miles north of the Nueces River, the border between Texas and Mexico until 1845. The railroad created towns in the frontier borderland. The Christian Church Building Association deposited money in Commercial National Bank in its first month of operation. The first graduating class from Beeville High School was 1898.

¹⁵Ruth Rigall Dugat. Interviewed by author. Notes. Beeville, Texas, January 11, 1992.

¹⁶Mabel Sturdivant Chapman. In personal correspondence to Mrs. S. S. Dugat. March 26, 1956.

¹⁷Ibid. Ina Adams was one of the four daughters of Fannie Adams.

¹⁸Mrs. S. S. Dugat. Personal records. Notes for the 75th Anniversary program. November, 1965.

¹⁹Minutes of the Official Board. Bound Record Book. 1913-1915.

²⁰Minutes of the CWBM. Loose Pages. June, 1916.

²¹Mrs. S. S. Dugat. Personal Records. Loose pages. 1916.

²²Her interests were broad. She received direct correspondence from and about mission work including the Ogdens and Sheltons in China and the Whitmers in Congo Belge.

²³Minutes of the Official Board. Paper Record Book. 1913-1915.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Mrs. S. S. Dugat. Personal Records. Loose pages. Undated.

²⁶Financial Records. Bound Ledger. 1925-1927.

²⁷She paid a Rev. R. H. Simmons \$90.00 in what appears to be a final payment because the church could no longer afford to pay him.

²⁸Financial Records. Bound Ledger. 1925-1927.

²⁹Grass widow was a term common in South Texas to describe women whose husbands left them. They may or may not have been divorced.

³⁰Raymond Rigall. Telephone interview by author. Notes. Beeville, Texas. December 8, 1991. He recalls Mrs. Matlock and Mrs. Woods as two other women who kept the church alive at that time. Their names are not in the written records until Mrs. Woods is made deaconess emeritus.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ruth Rigall. Personal interview by author. Notes. Beeville, Texas. January 4, 1992. Ruth's memory is sharpened by the fact she married Byron Dugat and inherited all of Jennie Dugat's personal materials that were used for this paper.

³³Ashmore was later the pastor of First Street Christian Church in Austin and an active leader in the Austin City Union of Christian Endeavor Societies.

³⁴Mrs. S. S. Dugat. Personal Records. Undated.

³⁵Financial records. Bound Ledger. 1931-1941. Minutes of meetings and loose pages are all found inside this ledger.

³⁶Patrick Henry. In personal correspondence to Mrs. S.S. Dugat. April 8, 1942 and April 24, 1942.

³⁷Minutes of the Official Board. April 4, 1954. Bound Record Book. 1951-1955.

³⁸This paper began as another attempt to write a church history. The extended version of the paper was awarded the 1992 Lockridge Ward Wilson Award given by the Disciples of Christ Historical Society.

³⁹Minutes of the Official Board. May 28, 1972. Typed pages.

⁴⁰Kathryn Williams, Margaret Zeise, Claudia Highbaugh and Cindy Bowman were among the ordained clergy who preached.

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The Sisterhood of Disciples¹

by Debra B. Hull*

A full understanding of the development of the restoration movement that today finds expression in the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) depends on a careful study of the significant contributions made by women—as pastors, evangelists, domestic and overseas missionaries, educators, authors, and editors. The Divisions of Homeland and Overseas Ministries and the National Benevolent Association (NBA) have strong roots in organizations established by women. Several Disciples-related colleges and seminaries owe their existence to women philanthropists, educators, and administrators. Disciples church women gave early ecumenical leadership through United Church Women, and 19th century social reform efforts were energized by the conviction of Disciple and other church women.

Although the publicly accessible record of Disciple women's history is incomplete, the contributions of some women have been recognized. In a supplement to a 1916 edition of the *Christian Standard* Isaac Errett published a composite picture of seventeen women he considered to be influential in the restoration movement.² In addition, Ida Withers Harrison, Imogene Reddell, Lorraine Lollis, and Marjorie and Hiram Lester have chronicled the early years of the Christian Woman's Board of Missions (CWBM), the Christian Women's Fellowship (CWF), and NBA.³

The recorded history of Disciples women is mostly a history of European-Americans, even though African-Americans participated actively as Disciples, especially after the Civil War. Particularly prominent African-American women about whom we do have information are Sarah Lue Howard Bostick (pastor, evangelist, and supporter of higher education), Rosa Brown Bracy (CWBM and National Christian Missionary Convention leader), Carnella Jamison Barnes (organizer of African-American women), Oletha Brown Blayton (National Missionary Society leader), Osceola Aleese Dawson (civil rights activist), and Rosa Page Welch (singing evangelist, ecumenist, and civil rights activist). Because there were few of them in North America before this century, Hispanic and Asian-American women did not play prominent roles in shaping the early Disciples church. Those who record the history of the church in this century will write a more colorful and diverse story, thanks to the growing influence of Native-, African-, Hispanic-, and Asian-American women in shaping the church of the 21st century.

Historical Roots

In the early years of the Disciples church, women did not have the vote (critical for full participation in a democracy) nor ready access to legal, financial, educational, employment, or church resources. The Declaration of Sentiments written in 1848 at the first Women's Rights Convention in the United States, held at Seneca Falls, NY, called for:

...the zealous and untiring efforts of both men and women for the overthrow of the monopoly of the pulpit and for the securing to women an equal participation with men in the various trades, professions, and commerce.⁴

Early women's church work was often in low-budget, grass-roots organizations that existed apart from established church structures. Ironically, by establishing successful church organizations and female seminaries, independent from male-dominated church structure, women eventually gained at least partial access to that very structure, and influenced its evolution. And because women's church work not only mirrored, but also shaped their participation in the larger public culture, the organizational, management, fund-raising, public-relations, and leadership skills they learned through their church work gave them better access to other facets of life. The latter half of the 19th century was particularly pivotal for women. During that time Disciples women established several institutions of higher education, began to publish, edit, and write for religious periodicals, formed CWBM and NBA, and were ordained for the first time.

Educators

In a number of ways, Disciples women created opportunities for young women to be educated in high schools and colleges with curricula patterned after male-only schools. In 1819, Jane Campbell (sister of Alexander) opened a home school for boys and girls in West Middleton, PA that evolved into Pleasant Hill Female Seminary, established in 1842, with Jane Campbell McKeever as principal. Pleasant Hill was for about 30 years the female counterpart of (then) all-male Bethany College. Because of the McKeever's strong abolitionist beliefs, Pleasant Hill Seminary was also an important station on the local underground railroad.⁵

In contrast, philanthropist Emily Harvie Thomas Tubman was a Southerner, a supporter of the Confederate cause during the Civil War, and a slave owner until 1836, when she offered her slaves their freedom and resettled those who wished in Liberia. She contributed substantial sums of money to Bethany, Hiram, Transylvania, Northwestern Christian University (now Butler) and Kentucky Female Orphan School (now Midway).⁶

Other early Disciples women active in establishing or guiding church-related institutions of higher education include Charlotte Fall Fanning (Franklin College and Girls' School and Hope Institute), Mattie Myers Carr (Hocker College, Floral Hill College, and Carr-Burdette College), Luella Wilcox St. Clair Moss and Emma Frederick Moore (Christian College, Hamilton College), Sarah Lue Bostick and Bertha Mason Fuller (Southern Christian Institute and Jarvis College).⁷

Albertina Allen Forrest was one of the first Disciples women scholars who in 1894 (while a graduate student in philosophy, psychology, and English literature at the University of Chicago) became the first administrator of what would become the Division of Higher Education.⁸

Prophets

Although rarely in possession of formal theological education, early Disciples women understood in their hearts the biblical call to a working faith. The strength of their convictions led them to make substantial contributions in temperance, suffrage, the abolition of slavery and education of freed blacks, better treatment for working women and children, care for immigrant families, and the early peace and ecumenical movements.

Change in one area often depended on progress in other areas at the same time. For example, attempts to improve the lives of women and children through local women's missionary societies led church women into the ecumenical temperance movement. Frustration in persuading male governmental leaders to pass temperance legislation led church women to the suffrage movement. Familiarity and admiration for the women who spoke for temperance from church pulpits helped pave the way for the ordination of women.⁹ The ecumenical experience women gained in temperance and suffrage groups helped lead to the founding of United Church Women (now Church Women United) in which Disciples women have been particularly prominent.

Often, Disciples women were pioneers in more than one area. For example, four early-ordained Disciples women, Clara Babcock, Jesse Monser, Sadie Crank, and Clara Hazelrigg, were all also active in the CWBM or the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) or both. Sadly, sometimes women worked their entire lives toward social change they did not live to see fulfilled.

Approaches to reform differed widely. Carry Nation used unconventional methods such as smashing liquor bottles in saloons to bring public attention to family disruption caused by alcohol abuse. Zerelda Wallace persuaded her church (and later most other Protestant churches) not to use alcoholic communion wine, founded temperance and suffrage organizations in Indiana, and provided her home for the first discussions of CWBM.¹⁰ Carry Nation was coarse, strident, outspoken, and on the edge of financial ruin and social ostracism; Zerelda Wallace was gentle, refined, and socially and financially secure. Both were effective in bringing about social change. Perhaps extremist reformers serve to energize social change movements while more conventional women work out the slower details and compromises that result in lasting reform.

Servants

Between 1868 (Congregationalists) and 1879 (Evangelical Lutherans), national women's missionary organizations were formed in 10 denominations. The Disciple who first heard the call to women's missionary work was Caroline Neville Pearre.

As when, on her knees, she pleaded for the nations that sit in darkness, there came to her a vision of an unawakened sisterhood, who must be aroused to a sense of the world's need. She rose from her knees and set herself earnestly to the task.¹¹

About 70 women gathered in the basement of the Richmond Street Christian Church in Cincinnati at the meeting of the American Christian Missionary Society on October 21, 1874 and drew up a constitution for the Christian Woman's Missionary Society, the first missionary organization in the country to be managed entirely by women.¹²

Several key male church leaders supported the fledgling organization. Thomas Munnell, secretary of the American Christian Missionary Society (ACMS) called the CWBM "a flame of the Lord's kindling, and no man can extinguish it." Isaac Errett, editor of the *Christian Standard*, called the movement "a new era of activity and spiritual growth for Christian women—a bright promise of the development of an immense wealth of resources hitherto largely neglected." As president of the ACMS, he also offered the supporting resolution at the convention. J. H. Garrison, editor of *The Christian-Evangelist*, favorably announced the October meeting in his paper.¹³

Marcia Goodwin, editor of the women's magazine *The Christian Monitor*, responding to the ineffectiveness of ACMS, said, "Dear sisters, while the brethren are talking about women's work in the church, show them that you know what it is by doing it."¹⁴ First officers were Maria Butler Jameson, president, Nannie Ledgerwood Burgess, treasurer, Sarah Wallace, recording secretary, and Caroline Neville Pearre, corresponding secretary. Nancy Burns Atkinson and Charlotte McGrew King were particularly devoted to children's work in the organization; Burgess, Elmira Dickinson, and Rosetta Butler Hastings were excellent fund-raisers; Sarah Lue Bostick and Rosa Brown Bracy organized local CWBM chapters among African-American churches; Carrie Angle organized the first Canadian CWBM missionary society; and Mrs. M. V. Romig was the longest-serving traveling secretary in Canada.¹⁵

In 1876 CWBM established its first overseas mission post in Jamaica at a former ACMS site, but the primary overseas missionary efforts of CWBM were in India. In 1881 Maria Graybiel, Ada Boyd, Mary Kingsbury, and Laura Kinsey (who among them eventually had 101 years of missionary service) left for the central provinces of India, where they established schools, orphanages, hospitals, and churches. In the United States as well as abroad, CWBM missionaries were particularly effective working with women and children in areas where it would be awkward or impossible for men to go.¹⁶

Although the founders of CWBM were relatively prominent women, they recognized their need to unite with all women in order for the organization to be successful. Rosetta Hastings, while tending five young children and caring for her farm, during the frequent absences of her evangelist husband, wrote to Kansas women asking for a pledge of 15 cents per month per member.

I know how many of our sisters live in small and inconvenient homes and wear nothing finer to meeting than calico dresses and sunbonnets. I know how drouth and grasshoppers have several times reduced the more needy of us to beggary, and the rest of us to such close economy as we had never before thought possible. Yet, in the face of these facts, I ask you to assist in missionary work.¹⁷

Most post-Civil War Disciples women had their first experience in life outside the home in a church missionary society. CWBM missionary magazines provided women, who still had little access to educational opportunities, with home and church study materials, and established a missions school in Indianapolis to provide the theological and practical training necessary for women to carry the gospel message abroad. Women whose opportunities were limited in the United States could respond to their calls to preach, evangelize, teach, or become doctors through missionary service.

In 1919, CWBM merged with several other groups to form the United Christian Missionary Society. CWBM brought the bulk of the financial resources and membership into the new organization and insisted that it have equal numbers of men and women on its committees.

In its 45 year history, the CWBM grew from local societies in 9 states to local societies in 43 states, from 75 members to more than 100,000 members, from contributions of 430 dollars to contributions over 7 million dollars, from one mission post in Jamaica to mission fields in 10 countries, with 974 missionaries serving 68 churches, 284 schools, and 9 hospitals.¹⁸

The same sensitivity to the plight of the less fortunate and the profound faith convictions that opened Caroline Neville Pearre to the call to found the CWBM, also inspired the work of Mattie Hart Younkins. On January 10, 1887, after almost a year of prayer and discussion, Younkins, the first ordained Disciples woman in Missouri, and six of her friends at Central Christian Church in St. Louis, formed the National Benevolent Association.¹⁹

In addition to Younkins, the chief evangelist and fund-raiser for the NBA, early NBA leaders include Laddonia Waters Hansborough, recording secretary for 51 years, Rowena Dozier Mason, publisher of the NBA newspaper the *Christian Philanthropist*, Emily Ivers Meier, under whose presidency several homes for the elderly and for children were established, and Judith Garrison, a founder and later president of the NBA. Unlike the CWBM that was from its beginning a woman's organization, the NBA was conceived as a church-wide effort. However, it took 21 years before the general convention adopted the NBA as the first denomination-wide benevolent association in the United States.

Pastors and Evangelists

Disciples of Christ began ordaining women almost 100 years before some other mainline Protestant churches, but were slower to recognize women in lay liturgical roles (particularly in the eldership). This somewhat unusual pattern occurred in part because elders rather than pastors often served the "priestly" role (presiding at the table), traditionally reserved for men. In addition, the organizational structure of the church allows for more congregational authority in ordination, and the rural nature of the church meant fewer male seminary-trained pastors were available.

Discussion of the ordination of women raged among early Disciples,

particularly in the pages of the *Christian Standard* from 1892-1893, when 29 different authors wrote about the issue. Debate centered on the proper interpretation and application of scripture, the role of culture in church polity, the critical need for evangelists in the church, the inherent status of women, and the authoritative function of preachers and evangelists.²⁰

Clara Hale Babcock was probably the first ordained woman in the Disciples tradition. She began her preaching ministry in 1888 at the Erie (Illinois) Christian Church and was ordained on August 2, 1889. In her 36 year ministry Babcock served primarily as an evangelist in Illinois and Iowa, and at her death, had conducted 28 successful revival meetings and baptized 1052.²¹

Jessie Coleman Monser is an example of one of many early Disciples women who found easier acceptance because they followed their husbands into the ministry. Also known as an author and lecturer for CWBM, Monser said, "Only as men and women seek truth together and together build for a complete humanity can either come to the fullness of life. Both men and women are needed to make the Church full-orbed and complete."²²

African-American Sarah Lue Bostick overcame the double bias of race and gender by becoming a well-respected preacher and evangelist, in both black and white churches, primarily in Arkansas. She organized the first African-American Christian Woman's Board of Missions auxiliary (at Pea Ridge, Arkansas) in 1896, was appointed by the "white sisters in Little Rock" to organize other African-American CWBM auxiliaries, and at some point in her long ministry, became ordained. At her death, Bostick had only meager income from the Pension Board, but she gave it to the church she loved, specifying in her will 100 dollars to Southern Christian Institute, 100 dollars to Jarvis, and 50 dollars to her home church.²³

During a Bible Institute Sadie McCoy, a Sunday School evangelist in Illinois, was conducting, 95 came forward to confess their faith. Church leaders had two choices—deny their confessions or recognize a woman's right to receive them. The matter was settled on March 17, 1892, when Sadie McCoy was ordained. In her long career, Sadie McCoy Crank baptized between 5,000 and 7,000 people, officiated at 361 weddings and more than 1,000 funerals, organized or reorganized 50 churches, and assisted in eighteen church building programs.²⁴

Bertha Mason Fuller, friend to Sarah Lue Bostick, pastor to struggling churches in Arkansas and Texas, and active in the founding of Jarvis Christian College, was ordained in 1896. Clara Espy Hazelrigg, ordained in 1897, served as an evangelist in the Midwest and West and is best remembered as the pastor who converted Jesse Bader, one of the most outstanding male evangelists of the church. In an address she gave before the Minneapolis Evangelistic Convention, Hazelrigg said, "Preparation, consecration, inclination, make up a call to the ministry, not sex or previous condition of servitude."²⁵

Disciples women who tried to follow the traditional path to ordination

were hampered by the lack of access to higher education and seminary training. In 1895, Gustine Courson Weaver, one of the first women to attend classes at the College of the Bible (now Lexington Theological Seminary) wrote,

The doors of the college of the Bible were opened wide enough for the slender Miss to squeeze through, that is, if, demanded Brother [J. W.] McGarvey, she sit on the back seat, next to the door, and if at the close of each session when I nod my head to her, she arises at once and leaves the room before I dismiss my class—also if on days when I decide our text is questionable and she finds a note written by me on her desk—she quietly withdraws, before the class begins—yes—if—also she always arrives—after the men students are all seated and we have started well in the lesson—and if—she speaks to none of the men students.²⁶

Several notable women carried out their ministry of evangelism through song. Edith Pelley began her work at the age of 17, in 1900, in Iowa. Princess Clark Long was a featured singer at the Centennial Convention in Pittsburgh in 1909 and praised by J. W. McGarvey, writing in *The Christian Evangelist*, for converting hundreds of people who heard her music.

Despite the discrimination she met throughout her life, African-American singer Rosa Page Welch faithfully carried her message of goodwill and ecumenism around the world and was at one time perhaps the most widely-known Disciple. Born in 1901 and a graduate of Southern Christian Institute, Welch worked on civil rights projects, served as a missionary, and was vice-president of Church Women United.²⁷

Writers

Early Disciples women authors and editors of religious works ministered to the church in a number of ways. Articles in periodicals contributed to the continuing education of church leaders, provided a forum for debate over critical theological and polity issues, and brought news of overseas and domestic mission efforts close to home, dispelling the myth and mystery of faraway places and bringing the reality of those efforts to heartland churches. Hymn, poetry, and prose writers inspired Disciples and brought spiritual enrichment to their lives.

Jennie Reader Errett was her father's assistant editor and later circulation manager for the *Christian Standard*, a magazine that has chronicled and shaped the church for more than 125 years. For 61 years Jennie Errett devoted herself to the mission of the paper—restoring the doctrine, ordinances, and fruits of primitive Christianity.²⁸

Disciples-related church papers included articles by and of interest to women from their beginnings. Most often women authors reported on women's work in the church or offered inspirational and program material for women. Sometimes, however, they also participated in critical theological debates. Peris Lemon Christian, who wrote a regular column for the *Christian Standard* called "Of Interest to Women" devoted one column to the controversy surrounding the ordination of

women, saying

While conferences and divines have been trying to decide whether women shall be allowed to preach or not, 722 of them in the United States (up to 1890) [and in all denominations] had settled the matter for themselves and accepted what was then a high and holy call to service of the Master.²⁹

In its first issue of the 20th century, the *Christian Standard* introduced five people who would be special contributors for the year; four were women, the most notable being Jessie Pounds and Mattie Boteler. Jessie Brown Pounds was the author of 600 gospel hymns, more than 1000 poems, books for young people, and an editorial writer and convention speaker. Mattie M. Boteler was the woman who probably had the most profound literary impact on shaping early Disciples thought and training leaders. Particularly outstanding were her Bible commentaries for midweek and Christian Endeavor prayer meetings, Sunday school commentaries and books of sermon notes for preachers. Her obituary writer said, “No preacher among us has a surer grasp upon the fundamentals of our message, or is a safer expounder of Scripture than was she.”³⁰

The first Disciples woman to serve as an editor was probably Marcia Melissa Bassett Goodwin who co-authored and edited (with her husband) *The American Housewife* from 1869-1872, edited and published the *Christian Companion*, which featured women’s mission work, from 1863-1888, edited and published *The Christian Monitor*, “the pioneer magazine devoted to the sisterhood of the current reformations,” and was chosen by the CWBM to edit its monthly magazine, *Missionary Tidings*. In her life, Goodwin lived up to her words, “Failure is a word which has never been written upon the banner of the sisters of the Church of Christ.”³¹

Early Disciples women authors and editors courageously confronted discriminatory church practices on theological grounds, proved wrong the naysayers who said women would not support a missionary magazine, in some cases gave up marriage, children, or health for their work, and were loved and inspired by countless people who never met them.

Suffer the Children

Man may start out alone in his quest of the Celestial City...but when woman goes the long journey...she takes the children with her.³²

Because women have been the primary nurturers of children, it is not surprising to find that early Disciples women ministered to children and youth. Women such as Nancy Burns Atkinson, Elizabeth Williams Ross and Alexandria Campbellina Pendelton expressed their commitment to children and to the future of the church by teaching—in missionary societies, in youth meetings, or in Disciples-related colleges and seminaries. Others such as Mae Yoho Ward, Charlotte McGrew King, and Cynthia Pearl Maus wrote inspirational prose and poetry or the missionary papers and Sunday school materials that laid the

foundations of Christianity for a generation of young people. Still others such as Eva Nichols Dye and Ada Boyd expressed their commitment to helping the youth of the world through work in CWBM and NBA. Countless women gave of their meager or extensive financial resources for the education of young people, particularly those preparing for the ministry.

The Impact of Women on the Church

A number of factors coalesced to bring about a profound change during the 19th century—the century of women. Economic development and industrialization led to better health and living conditions, to the need for fewer children, and thus, to longer lives for women. The Civil War gave a few women opportunities to provide nursing and other support services on the battle field and many women the chance to learn all the skills necessary to maintain homes, farms, business, churches, and communities. Emerging women’s rights activism in Europe and the growth of missionary societies in the Anglican church spread to North America. Women became increasingly dissatisfied with the largely ineffective response of the established church to those in need. Most importantly, courage to act was born of a deeply held faith commitment that led women to assert themselves, affirm their gifts, and serve the church.

Despite those who said their biblical obligation was to keep quiet, a few women began to preach, to convert their listeners, to establish churches, to capture the attention of official churchdom, and to be ordained. Recognizing the importance of education in the development of women’s opportunities to serve the church, industrious women established female seminaries and coeducational mission schools. Responding to needs they saw around them, other women joined together to form missionary societies and worked for social reform. Some women, such as Bettie Mae Stockton who stipulated in her will that a large contribution go to the Ministerial Relief Fund, understood the importance of philanthropy. All of these efforts were recorded by editors and publishers and inspired by authors of prose and poetry.

The Legacy

As we approach the 21st century, we build on the legacy of the women who went before us. Today women have full access to higher education and seminary training, but are underrepresented as pastors (especially as senior pastors of large congregations) and as seminary professors (especially in certain subject areas). The top leadership positions of the general church and regions continue to be mostly male and mostly white. Women, more than men, still face the difficult challenges of combining career (or significant church service) and family. Like Carry Nation and Zerelda Wallace, reformers still function as zealots and as compromisers. Women still lead the way in ecumenical work through Church Women United. We struggle today with effective youth ministry. Even the language we use to speak of our history is still evolving.

Women today continue to find great comfort and support from each other. Sisterhood transcends the boundaries of genetic relationship, personality, leadership style, and life experiences. We are less threatened than strengthened and broadened by our differences.

All of us, women and men alike, continue to reap the benefits of a faith broadened and deepened by the genuine and full participation of women. When we hear women preachers, we encounter the word in a different way, a way that adds to its significance for our lives. When we read the prose and poetry, and sing the hymns of women writers, we see the world and the impact of faithful people upon it with new eyes and new hearts. As we learn from women teachers and scholars, we gain important insights into the meaning of scripture in the lives of all people. When we consider portions of the scripture sometimes overlooked, we see Christian symbolism reflected in the day-to-day experiences of women. As we work to alleviate the needs of those oppressed and in poverty, we experience firsthand the morality of mutuality. In so doing, we come into closer communion with each other and with God, our mother and father.

May the legacy that our foremothers in the Disciples tradition left us continue in our lives and in the inheritance of faith we leave to our children. Let papers of the next century record the words of our mouths, the activity of our hands, and the meditations of our hearts as acceptable not only to the God whom we worship, but also to the church that we serve.

*Debra Hull is associate professor of psychology at Wheeling Jesuit College, Wheeling, West Virginia.

Notes

¹This paper is summarized and excerpted from Debra B. Hull, *Christian Church Women: Shapers of a Movement*. (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 1994) available by calling 1-800-366-3383.

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⁸Kristine A. Culp, "Disciples Women Scholars," *The Disciple* 131 (5) (May, 1993), pp. 16-17.

⁹Glenn Zuber, "The Gospel of Temperance: Early Disciple Women Preachers and the WCTU 1887-1912," *Discipliana* 53 (2) (Summer, 1993), pp. 47-60.

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¹²Reddel, "The Story," p. 1092.

¹³*Ibid.*; Isaac Errett, "Help Those Women," *Christian Standard Supplement* (April 8, 1916), p. 1011; and Lollis, "The Shape," p. 33.

¹⁴Lollis, "The Shape," p. 31.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶*Ibid.*

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¹⁹Lester and Lester, "The Saga," p. 21.

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²⁹Persis L. Christian, "Woman's Interest," *Christian Standard* 28 (April 9, 1892), p. 324.

³⁰"Mattie Boteler Goes on to Reward," *Christian Standard* 64 (September 28, 1929) p. 847.

³¹Lollis, "The Shape," pp. 65-69.

³²Harrison, "The CWBM," p. 52.

Alpha Scott Named Fund

Alpha Scott was a member of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society from its earliest beginnings. Teaching Sunday School, active in the Christian Womens Fellowship, serving as counselor for church campers at Bethany Hills in Tennessee were all part of her activities as a member of First Christian Church in Columbia, TN. She was a devoted Disciple of Christ throughout her life. This Named Fund was established by gifts from many of her friends. At the time of her death the family requested that memorial gifts be given to the Historical Society.

Just As I Lived It

by Lester G. McAllister

(Recalling events occurring during a 70-plus year fellowship in the Stone-Campbell Movement.)

In 1984 Prof. Patrick Kelly of Lynchburg College in Virginia and a leading authority on Dietrich Bonhoeffer had a good idea. Realizing that survivors of the Confessing Church in Germany were aging and in a few years would not be able to witness to their trials under Adolf Hitler and the Nazis, Kelly proposed to Thaddeus Crump and the foundation of the Seventh Street Christian Church*, Richmond, that he be given a grant for video equipment and travel funds to go to Europe and record for posterity the statements of these stalwart Christians.

Such a grant was made and five years later, in 1989, a great celebration was held at Lynchburg College as the videos were dedicated. Participants included Eberhart Bethe and his wife Renate (Dietrich Bonhoeffer's niece); Nobel prize winner, Elie Weisel and myself. We formed a panel to discuss those trying times from our various perspectives.

Professor Kelly created a library of the videos and copies are available on loan from the library of Lynchburg College. Requests should be addressed to the college. It is important that we remember those who have given much for their faith.

*Managing Editor note: this congregation also provided the funds which made the purchase of the Historical Society's "*Discipliana*" computer possible.

Churches of Christ Fund Inaugurated

Dr. Leroy Garrett presented to the Disciples of Christ Historical Society a check for \$5,000 representing the continuing ministry of Wynnewood Church of Christ, Dallas, TX. The congregation's history witnesses to its strong commitment to fellowship and unity among the branches of the Stone-Campbell movement.

Although Wynnewood no longer has a public ministry, its witness will continue through the Historical Society. The donors have asked that the Fund be left open for gifts from other members and congregations of the Churches of Christ who wish to support unity and fellowship. Within the first month two donors have added \$1550 to the Churches of Christ Fund.

The Historical Society now offers two general funds which honor the Churches of Christ specifically: the Churches of Christ Fund as well as the David Lipscomb Fund (\$815). In addition, several of the Society's sixty members who hold Churches of Christ membership have family named funds.

DISCIPLIANA

The Quarterly Historical Journal of the
DISCIPLES OF CHRIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CONTENTS

SHIFTING LEFT/SHIFTING RIGHT:
CHANGING EUCHARISTIC PRACTICES IN CHURCHES OF THE
STONE-CAMPBELL TRADITION

Keith Watkins

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE, ABOLITIONISM AND PACIFISM IN THE
THOUGHT OF ALEXANDER CAMPBELL

Craig M. Watts

CHURCH AND SECT APPLIED TO EARLY DISCIPLES:
LIMITATIONS OF TROELTSCH AND NIEBUHR

Newton B. Fowler, Jr.

JUST AS I LIVED IT

Lester G. McAllister



Volume 56 • Number 2 • Summer, 1996

Published by	DISCIPLES OF CHRIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY Peter M. Morgan, President (morganpm@aol.com)	
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DISCIPLIANA (USPS 9950-060) is published quarterly for \$20.00 per year by the Disciples of Christ Historical Society which was established in 1941 "to maintain and further interest in religious heritage, backgrounds, origins, development, and general history of Disciples of Christ, Christian Churches, Churches of Christ and related groups." Members of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society receive *DISCIPLIANA* quarterly, along with other benefits. Annual membership categories are: Sustaining - \$50 to \$249, Participating - \$30, Regular - \$20, Students - \$10.00, Non-U.S. - \$25. Life Memberships are: Life - \$250, Life Link - \$500, Life Patron - \$1,000.

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The Disciples of Christ Historical Society Home Page: <http://users.aol.com/dishistsoc/index.htm>

Copyright 1996. Disciples of Christ Historical Society
Indexed by Restoration Serials Index
ISSN 0732-9881
Second-class postage paid at Nashville, TN.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *DISCIPLIANA*, 1101 - 19th Avenue, South, Nashville, TN 37212-2196. Please give both old and new addresses and attach a mailing label from an old issue. USA: Please provide nine-digit code (ZIP+4).

—From the Editor's Desk

The topics addressed in this issue may at first seem only slightly related: emerging differences in the observance of the Lord's Supper by Disciples and (Independent) Christian Churches; the views of Alexander Campbell on civil disobedience, abolitionism and pacifism; the limitations of the church-sect typology for describing the early Stone-Campbell Movement; and Lester McAllister's recollection of a Disciple conscientious objector's efforts to be ordained in 1968. However, only a little reflection is required to see that each of these articles is a reminder that the Stone-Campbell Movement, like the church as a whole, is embedded in cultures (socially shared beliefs and values) and makes its witness in relation to cultures.

In the article on "Changing Eucharistic Practices in Churches of the Stone-Campbell Tradition," Keith Watkins observes that for two generations North American Protestant liturgical practice has been coalescing into two broad movements—one he identifies as "ecumenical" and the other he names "evangelical." Noting the relationship of Disciples to the ecumenical movement and (Independent) Christians to the evangelical movement since the separation of Disciples and Independents in the 1940s, Watkins discusses the distinctive influences of these movements on emerging practices of the Lord's Supper in Disciples and Independent churches. Watkins also observes that Disciples and Independents, because of their alignment with different wings of contemporary North American Protestantism, have the opportunity to model a popularistic pattern of celebrating the Lord's Supper to a wide spectrum of contemporary churches. He admonishes that this opportunity requires leaders in both groups to knowingly enter into a process of change rather than merely letting it come upon them.

Craig Watts discusses Alexander Campbell's views on civil disobedience, abolitionism and pacifism, exploring why Campbell advocated civil disobedience in the case of war but not in opposition to the laws that sustained slavery. Watts notes that among the critics of Campbell's views on civil disobedience, abolitionism and pacifism was Isaac Errett, an Ohio pastor and later founding editor of the *Christian Standard*. Campbell and Errett, both patriots in their own way, appealed not only to the Scriptures in their respective arguments regarding civil disobedience, abolitionism and pacifism, but also to the example of the "immortal Washington." Though Campbell is the subject of Watts' article, McAllister's recollection of the efforts of a Disciple conscientious objector to be ordained in 1968 suggests that by the 1960s, for Disciples at least, Errett's views on military service had prevailed over those of Campbell!

The inadequacies of the "from sect to church" theme in describing the social location and ecclesial character of the Stone-Campbell movement are identified in the article by Newton B. Fowler, Jr. Fowler discusses the origins of this theme and how it has been used to describe the history of the Stone-Campbell Movement. Far from denying the value of sociological analysis of the Stone-Campbell movement, Fowler shows that one must exercise care in identifying the social location and the ecclesiastical views and practices of the Stone-Campbell churches if the results of that analysis are to illumine rather than confuse!

Interesting and important in themselves, the articles in this issue together point to an underlying question. Does the relation of the Stone-Campbell churches to particular cultures, past and present, ultimately further or impede the faithfulness and effectiveness of their contemporary witness to the gospel?

— *From the President's Desk*

The Historical Society is a house of scholarship, a house of hospitality and a house of prayer. All aspects of the Historical Society came together in a powerful way the first weekend of May 1996. The house became a home.

Scholarship and hospitality stimulated and embraced those who gathered for the Third Kirkpatrick Historians' Seminar. We were a richly diverse community: African American, Hispanic, Asian, European American. We came to learn from each other as members of the Christian Churches, Churches of Christ and Disciples of Christ.

Prayer and song filled this house on May 4 when I was installed as President of the Society. On this high moment of my life I was surrounded by love and prayer. Richard Harrison, President of Lexington Seminary, broke open God's word. Trustee Karen Stroup designed the liturgy and presided at the breaking of bread. Dan Moseley, pastor of Vine Street Christian Church, and Richard Hamm, General Minister and President, led the acts of installation. Together we prayed for God's presence in fulfilling the Society's five sacred trusts: we are the Stone-Campbell movement's archival center; we foster a community and network of historians; we provide resources for today's church as it lives out Christ's ministry; we encourage understanding and reconciliation among branches of the Stone-Campbell movement; and we interpret the Stone-Campbell movement to the larger church.

Walking through this home of the Historical Society in the afterglow of a weekend of learning, hospitality and prayer I thanked God for our shared experience of Jesus' teaching. We loved God with all our heart, and with all our soul, and with all our mind and with all our strength. We also loved our neighbor as ourself. (Mark 12:30,31 paraphrase)

Westside Christian Church, Richmond, Virginia Named Fund Established by Dr. William and Miriam Blake on the occasion of their retirement

Westside Christian Church, Richmond, Virginia, was started in December, 1963, as a church extension project of the Fairmount Christian Church. In August, 1964, William E. Blake, and his wife, Miriam Snell Blake, began their work as minister and musician of the church. While ministering at Westside, Dr. Blake also served as Professor of History at Virginia Commonwealth University. Consequently, numbers of his students became members of Westside Church. One of the virtues of the congregation is that it has remained small enough for people to know each other as family and that it has remained open for people of the widest range of beliefs, gathered by a common loyalty to Christ. Dr. and Mrs. Blake retired at the end of May, 1996, after serving the church for over thirty-one years.

Shifting Left/Shifting Right: Changing Eucharistic Practices in Churches of the Stone-Campbell Tradition

by Keith Watkins*

For two generations the liturgical practice of protestant Christianity in North America has been coalescing into two broad movements. One can be called *the ecumenical movement*, and it draws together major elements of the Lutheran, Episcopal, Methodist, and Reformed traditions, along with aspects of the Roman Catholic liturgical tradition since Vatican Two. The second of these movements, which can be called *the evangelical movement*, draws together other elements of the protestant traditions mentioned above and links them with evangelical and charismatic churches of our time.

This paper shows how this shift toward the ecumenical left and the evangelical right has manifested itself in a group of American churches, with roots in the Reformed Tradition, that for nearly 200 years have included the Lord's supper as a normal part of the Sunday assembly. These churches developed out of a reform movement in the 1800s under the impetus of Barton W. Stone, Thomas Campbell, Alexander Campbell, and others. This movement, rooted in Scots-Irish Presbyterianism, spread rapidly across the middle west and held together in a relatively coherent way until close to 1900. They developed a unique ecclesial system which they believed to be a faithful replication of simple apostolic Christianity as described in the New Testament. Each congregation was an outcropping of the church universal, governed by elders chosen from its own membership, celebrating the Lord's supper each Sunday under the leadership of these elders, and committed to extemporaneous prayer in these weekly eucharistic gatherings.

Since 1900 two separations have occurred, both of them the result of theological responses to changing cultural and intellectual currents in American life. The first was formalized in 1906 when the movement divided into the Churches of Christ and the Christian Churches who also called themselves Disciples. In most regards the churches on both sides of the 1906 divide held similar convictions about worship, including the commitment to the every Lord's day Lord's supper. For a time, however, the Churches of Christ froze the process of liturgical development where it was at that time, while in the Christian Churches/Disciples portion of the movement the liturgical patterns continued to evolve.

By the 1940s the Christian Churches/Disciples formed two loosely-knit alliances which have gradually firmed up as the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) and the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ. Despite significant differences over ecclesial issues, these two groups of churches experienced little tension over the way that they understood and celebrated the Lord's supper. Over the years, however, the Disciples have participated fully in the ecumenical movement and the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ have moved toward participation in the evangelical movement of the 1970s and later. In both cases, their friendly associations have impacted their celebrations of the Lord's supper.

During the early and middle decades of this century a typical communion service in these churches consisted of a devotional hymn by the congregation, two brief prayers by elders from the congregation, one giving thanks for the bread (charac-

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teristically matsos wafers) and the other for the cup (which by this time was individual glasses filled with grape juice). Then deacons from the congregation would distribute trays with bread and wine to the people seated in the pews.

By the 1930s, however, a movement developed to include the pastor in the administration of the Lord's supper. Very little can be found in print to describe the transition; but a few people remember the changes. A major reason was the desire that the administration of communion be strengthened. In their gatherings pastors talked about ways of strengthening the service and created the *communion meditation*, a short comment on the meaning of the Lord's supper that was delivered before the prayers were offered. This meditation was an idea of the pastors, and the ordinary pattern at the beginning was for the pastor to give this statement, usually delivering it from the pulpit, which was the pastor's sphere of operation, rather than from the table which was the elders'.¹ By the time that Disciples and the more conservative Christian Churches and Churches of Christ began to divide from one another, the communion meditation, communion hymn, and brief prayers by the elders had become the standard liturgy of nearly all congregations of the movement. In more than half of the congregations, this communion service came early in the Sunday liturgy, with the sermon coming later as the climax of worship. In a smaller proportion of the congregations, the sermon was early and the communion service concluded the Sunday liturgy.

As one result of their associations in the ecumenical and evangelical movements, these two groups of churches are gradually changing their ways of conducting the Lord's supper. Each of these patterns of development will now be examined.

The Christian Churches and Churches of Christ

Although the custom of presenting a brief interpretation of communion began with the assumption that pastors would do it, in most congregations of the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ it now is normal that elders offer this statement of meaning and also offer the communion prayers. Many elders develop their own meditations and prayers; others draw upon examples published in religious magazines and small books. The pattern for these books, and the services they document, is straightforward: a scripture text, usually one or two verses in length; a 250-400 word comment on that text, connecting it to some aspect of the meaning of the Lord's supper; and a prayer about 50 words in length that expresses the central idea of the text and comment. It is common practice for one member of the congregation to read the text and deliver the comment and for a second member of the congregation to offer the prayer.

Although a wide range of themes appears in this meditative material, the center of gravity is Jesus' death upon the cross and the redemption that was accomplished by his sacrifice. The mood is very much like that in "Jesus, Keep Me Near the Cross," the classic hymn by Fanny J. Crosby and William H. Doane:

Jesus, keep me near the cross;
there a precious fountain,
free to all, a healing stream,
flows from Calvary's mountain.
In the cross, in the cross,
be my glory ever,
till my raptured soul shall find,
rest beyond the river.

If Christ's redemptive death on the cross is the center of gravity, the surrounding force field of these meditations is life in the world. The emphasis, however, is primarily spiritual struggles as Christians try to cope with the challenges facing them in daily experience. An illustration is this concluding paragraph from a meditation based on Isaiah 53:7 and the communion prayer that follows:

What does this mean to us as we meet around this table? We are to worship that unprotesting, sinless Lamb. But we must do more. We must accept the protective coat provided by the lamb of Calvary. Then we develop mature faith. With security of spiritual maturity, we may live victoriously in our icy, unsympathetic world.

Our Father God, we bow in humble adoration to your Son. We cannot fully comprehend your divine love that sent Jesus, nor His as He willingly died for us. But we are grateful and determined to leave here with greater commitment to Him and His Church. In Jesus' name, amen (Norris and Norris: p. 36).

The liturgical function of scripture, meditation, and prayer is to focus the attention of worshipers upon one of the meanings of Christ's redemptive work. Then the bread and grape juice are distributed to the congregation seated in the pews. This is done quietly, ordinarily with soft music played on organ or piano. Each person partakes of the elements, in many congregations, as the trays pass; in many others the cup is held and all partake in unison. The partaking of the elements is mingled with the third phase of the service which is communion with Christ. The meditations say very little about partaking and how this action fits in the full scenario of the Lord's supper. My conclusion, based upon reading many meditations and prayers, and listening to them as an attentive worshiper, is that "partaking of the elements" serves three functions.

First, partaking of the elements intensifies the focusing of attention that the spoken portions of the service have accomplished. Second, the partaking concretizes the meditation, by giving each worshiper a physical sense of participation and by giving each worshiper a specific moment of connection with the mystery that the Lord's supper portrays. Third, the partaking provides figurative language for depicting the character of the relationship with the God whom Jesus represents.

The final phase of the eucharistic liturgy in the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ is what one of the writers describes as "*in-depth communion with Christ*" (Stella Fain in Rector: p. 23). Biblical phrases are sometimes used, such as "participating worthily" and "discerning the body of Christ." Consistently, however, the meditations and prayers speak of spiritual discernment, symbolic representation, and closeness to Christ. Union with Christ is suggested, but the eating and drinking of Christ's sacramental body and blood is not part of the language in these meditations and prayers. An unusually full expression of the general tendency in all of these books is a meditation based on Galatians 2:20. "I have been crucified with Christ. . . who loved me and gave himself up for me." The writer of this meditation states that "we can never know God" until we "learn to commune with him," and this "in-depth communion" is what takes place at the Lord's table. For, responding to Christ's command to remember him, we come to the table. "In this quiet moment in the week's rush and hurry, we can turn off the world. We can touch the eternal verities. Here we can get the priorities of life in proper focus."

At this point the meditation turns to the loaf and cup. The bread “represents the body of Christ given in sacrifice for our sins by Him who had no sin” so that “His body, the church, might be free from sin.” The cup “represents the shed blood of Christ for the remission of sins.” The meditation then says that “as we partake of these emblems of life, we realize the enormity of the price the Lord paid for our sins and we renew our commitment to Him.” Furthermore, as we partake, “we are contacting the holy purity of the divine nature of our Lord, who in love that passes our understanding, loved us and gave himself for us.”

The meditation closes with a paragraph and communion prayer that I take to be an exact summary of the devotional theology contained in these collections of meditations and prayers:

Here, through the silent corridors of secret prayer we convey to our Lord our innermost yearnings to be all that He knows we should be. We repent. We must seek forgiveness for sin and strength to overcome evil temptations. Here we touch the spiritual care and concern of our God's love that gave us a Savior.

Lord, in communing with You in mutual love, we are renewed and resolved to keep a closer walk with You, our Redeemer. Remind us of our great need for Your sustaining power to enable us to overcome sin and faithfully serve You in steadfast devotion (Stella Fain in Rector: pp. 23-4).

This meditation is about 350 words long, and the concluding prayer about 35 words—400 words in total, compared to approximately 450 words in Eucharistic Prayer A in the Episcopal *Book of Common Prayer*. Close to the same number of words are used, therefore, in these two liturgical forms that differ from each other so dramatically. The most important contrast is that the liturgy of the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ is spoken by a member of the congregation, who represents God,² who through that leader speaks to the people of the congregation; whereas the Episcopal liturgy is spoken by a representative of the people who through that leader speak to God.

In other words, the spoken parts of the liturgy in the Christian Churches are incidental to the main business in this part of the service, which is communion with God “through the silent corridors of secret prayer.” It is an intensification of personal prayer, using the environment of the congregation and the stimuli of the communion service to deepen something that presumably takes place regularly in one's private Christian life.

Because the Lord's supper is essentially secret prayer, the early part of the Sunday service is a natural place for this observance, for this is the very place in the traditional evangelical protestant service for the primary quiet time with God. This is exactly where the communion service is located in the order of worship in most Christian Churches and Churches of Christ. Even though communion may be the point of greatest spiritual depth in the service, the sermon is the actual climax of the service as a public ritual.

New Directions among the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ

In books offering practical materials and guidance on celebrating the Lord's supper the devotional character of this act of worship has been almost unchallenged among the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ. At the same time that this individualistic devotionalism has come to full form, however, two complicating

factors have come into play: the evangelical challenge to these churches and the claiming of a sacramental tradition by scholars within this tradition.

The Evangelical Challenge

The Christian Churches and Churches of Christ are challenged by liturgical traditions other than their own, primarily from charismatic and evangelical branches of the church. These churches are attracted to one another because they all insist upon the authority of the Bible in matters of faith and practice, and in most cases use modified theories of biblical infallibility in determining the teachings of scripture.³ They are much alike in their evangelistic emphasis and some leaders are oriented toward developing megachurches following the evangelical model of places like Saddleback Community Church and Willow Creek Community Church.

Where the Christian Churches and their evangelical companions differ from one another is in their traditions concerning baptism and the Lord's supper. In general, the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ have given the sacraments a higher prominence in their practical ecclesiology than have the evangelical churches. What seems to be happening, especially among younger leaders of the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ, is that evangelical attitudes toward baptism and the Lord's supper are gaining ground.⁴ There is a downplaying of the understanding, long characteristic of the Stone-Campbell movement, that baptism is for the remission of sins, an action that God accomplishes. Under the influence of evangelical relations, baptism is now understood less as God's saving act and more as the new Christian's first act of obedience to Christ's explicit command.

With respect to the Lord's supper, the changing views encourage the diminishment of the sacrament that the earlier portions of this paper have implied. One reason is that the sacraments are considered to be part of traditional church practice that is believed to be a barrier to bringing the unchurched to Jesus Christ and to active participation in the Christian community. Therefore, it is suppressed from the main services which are understood to be primarily for the purpose of reaching the lost and bringing them to faith.

The practical import is that some church buildings of the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ no longer have a communion table in a place of prominence. The communion elements will likely be on a side or rear table, largely out of sight. After the briefest of meditation and prayer for the supper, servers from the congregation distribute the trays as expeditiously as possible.⁵ Or the communion service will consist of a brief meditation and prayer by an assigned leader. The individualism of communion is expressed even more clearly in a few congregations that do not distribute the elements but instead invite congregants to go to the side table when they are ready and serve themselves the communion elements. An even further diminution is for the communion service not even to be conducted in the main room with the full assembly, but in a much smaller side room, either before or after the main service.

One of the interesting developments in these churches relates to the leaders of communion. The main tradition has been that elders from the congregation lead the Lord's supper. Most of these churches, following their conservative principles of biblical interpretation, allow only men to be elders which in the past has effectively prohibited women from serving at the communion table. In recent years some people among the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ have reflected

upon the fact that the New Testament says nothing about who should preside; and therefore they need no longer insist that elders must do so. Other mature members of the congregation may be invited to lead. In a few places, now that communion leadership and eldership have been split, women may be invited to lead communion. Some with whom I talked concurred with my suggestion that this change has been possible, in part, because in these congregations communion is diminishing in importance. In a very small number of congregations of the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ women are elected to the eldership.

The Sacramental Challenge

At the same time that some portions of the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ are reducing the emphasis upon the Lord's supper, others are calling for a deepened sacramental sense. One evidence of this is a series of theological forums at the annual meetings of the North American Christian Convention of these churches. Several lines of thought have been developed in the papers prepared for discussion at these forums since the mid 1970s. One of these topics is the contrast in the ways these churches have dealt with the Lord's supper and Christian baptism. Although the Lord's supper is important to these churches, little attention has been given to its meaning and form. Form has been reduced to the frequency of observance, with the result that these churches insist upon weekly communion, but other than this restoration little else has been done to develop an adequate form of celebration. Writing in 1975, historian Henry E. Webb contrasts "the emphasis which we have placed on adherence to the Biblical form for Baptism" and "the laxity and carelessness with which we approach the Lord's Supper. The symbolism here is equally significant and equally rich." He describes how contemporary practice in their congregations differs from the explicit teaching of Alexander Campbell and the patterns of New Testament practice. Then Webb states this conclusion: "But, when all of the reasons pro and con have been rehearsed the fact remains that we have consciously altered the Biblical form and branched away from some of the Biblical symbolism of one of the sacraments. This is difficult to harmonize with our insistence upon the Biblical form in the case of Baptism... I am still searching for an adequate explanation as to why Biblical symbolic meaning is so critically important in the one case and so conveniently dispensable in the other" (Webb: pp. 6-7).

The theologian whom several of these writers find most helpful in this effort to develop a stronger understanding of the Lord's supper is William Robinson, long-time leader of the British Churches of Christ and for some years a professor at Christian Theological Seminary in the United States. His theology was shaped by several sources. Most important was his own mystical experience of union with Christ while participating in the Lord's supper. Second, Robinson was deeply read in the classic literature of the Disciples movement and was able to interpret the richer dimensions of the theology of Alexander Campbell and others of the pioneer generations. He had studied under C. H. Dodd, one of the pioneers of renewed sacramental theology in the twentieth century, and brought Dodd's *realized eschatology* to Disciples. Robinson was an active participant in the theological discussions of the Faith and Order Movement, thus interpreting Disciples ideas and practices to other churches but also bringing the insights of world Christianity to his own tradition. Leaders among the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ,

especially people in the generation that studied with Robinson, have embraced the general character of Robinson's eucharistic theology, and they recommend it to others. Noteworthy in this regard are the three Restoration Lectures by Byron C. Lambert in which he presents Robinson's sacramental theology of the Lord's supper. Lambert summarizes it this way: "(1) the sacramental principle is ethical; (2) it is adapted to fundamental human needs and involves the whole of life; (3) it seals love in action; (4) it is a further expression of the Incarnation; (5) it is the mean between the spiritual and the material, between God's time and our time; (6) and it is corporate. It stands opposed, therefore, to the mechanical, the magical, the mystical, and the legal approaches to the faith. It must also not be confused with the sacerdotal" (Lambert: p. 23).

Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)

At the outset, it must be noted that the above description of the communion service in the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ accurately describes the practice in a great many congregations of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). This similarity should not be a surprise since the basic pattern emerged before the separation of these two groups from each other, and that trajectory continues to operate in Disciples congregations, too. A second pattern of development, however, has come into the worshiping practice of Disciples congregations that leads to a very different trajectory. This second pattern is based upon the theology and practice of baptism and Lord's supper that are prominent across a wide range of Catholic and historic protestant churches. For the sake of this discussion these two trajectories can be distinguished as the "Disciples meditative tradition" and the "Disciples tradition of congregational praise."

The Disciples Meditative Tradition

In many Disciples congregations the communion service is not easily distinguished from that in congregations of the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ. It is a discreet element of the Sunday assembly, placed quite early in the sequence of actions. In these congregations the liturgy for the Lord's supper usually consists of a devotional hymn, a brief statement of the meaning of communion, one or two prayers (for the loaf and cup), and the distribution of the elements to the congregants in their pews. Although the communion meditation is sometimes assigned to the elders, the more frequent practice among Disciples is for the pastor or another minister on staff to deliver that interpretation of the meaning of communion. Both in Disciples and Christian Churches and Churches of Christ, if the pastor delivers these words, he or she is likely to do so from the pulpit, thus leaving leadership at the table to the elders and deacons. When elders offer the meditation, they usually do this from their place at the table. Increasingly in Disciples congregations pastors come to the table to offer the meditation and recite the biblical words of institution. It continues to be nearly universal practice for elders to offer the communion prayers. Among Disciples extemporaneity is the normal practice, both in the meditation and in the communion prayers, although an increasing number of leaders prepare texts in advance and read their parts of the service.

Over the years, leaders in Disciples congregations have also published books of meditations and prayers. Some go back early enough that they represent patterns

shared by both groups of churches discussed in this paper, whereas others have been published after the two groups began moving apart from each other. The prayers regularly provide texts for the loaf and for the cup; thus maintaining a verbal connection to the actions at the table that many of the prayers in the books from the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ do not maintain. Meditations are usually 200 to 300 words in length, and each of the prayers is ordinarily 50 to 80 words in length, although a few are shorter and a few are longer. In these books more attention is given to the prayers than to the meditations.

In these Disciples books, the devotional intention of the Lord's supper is evident. In his introduction Russell Harrison states that the elders' communion prayers "should be looked upon as the beginning of continuing prayer on the part of each one who gathers to worship at the Lord's table. The elder leads them into prayer," (n.p.) which Harrison describes as "a personal, individual continuation of private, silent prayer throughout the service of communion." An example of these communion prayers for elders is this:

We give praise, O God, for the good news of Jesus Christ and for these moments of communion and meditation. As we take the bread, may we remember not only the body broken for us, but the eternal presence of a living Christ. Hear each silent prayer in these quiet moments of reflection. Amen (Harrison, 1973: p. 16).

The Disciples Tradition of Congregational Praise

This meditative, devotional tradition is strong among Disciples, but it is being challenged by a second way of understanding the Lord's supper which has been shaped by Disciples participation in the ecumenical liturgical movement (especially in the Consultation on Church Union and the Consultation on Common Texts). Gerard Francis Moore, a Roman Catholic priest from Australia, presents a thorough study of Disciples communion prayers in his dissertation *The Eucharistic Theology of the Prayers for the Communion Service of the Lord's Supper of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)*.

He devotes approximately half of his dissertation to the earlier history of the Lord's supper in the Christian Churches-Disciples tradition; and then concentrates upon the latter period, beginning with G. Edwin Osborn's *Christian Worship: A Service Book* (1953) and concluding with *Thankful Praise: A Resource for Christian Worship* (1987).

In his historical analysis Moore traces the efforts of Disciples from their earliest period until now to find a basis for understanding and ordering worship. He discusses the devotional spirit of traditional Disciples practice and shows that there is a unified line of thought from Alexander Campbell through mid-twentieth century writers which understands the Lord's supper to be "a complete action in itself," existing as "an independent part in the structure of the service for Sunday worship alongside the other parts of worship" (p. 102). He believes that this way of understanding liturgical order is consistent with the thematic structuring of individual contemplation of God.

Moore makes one other observation that is pertinent at this point. Earlier writers such as G. Edwin Osborn include material from the broad Christian tradition "as a testimony to our desire for the unity of the church," (quoted by Moore, p. 88) but, says Moore, "there is no dialogue with the material, nor any attempt to incorporate Disciples worship into the broader stream of traditional Christian worship." He

notes that by this kind of borrowing "Disciples worship is not fundamentally challenged. . .but simply enriched through judicious additions" (p. 89). In this context Moore then provides his assessment of the intentions of the writers of *Thankful Praise*.

[*Thankful Praise*] does not seek simply to provide resources and a new framework for traditional worship. It seeks to reassess and reinterpret Disciples worship, to lead it out from its isolated tradition, and bring it into dialogue with the whole of Christian tradition, and with the ecumenical movement. As well it seeks to bring to bear on it the implications of theology, mission and enculturation (Moore: p. 88).

Moore shows how these intentions affect the order of worship and the pattern of celebrating the Lord's supper. He also discusses the impact of this intention upon the ideas that are expressed in the prayers at the communion table. He examines the materials for the Lord's supper presented in this book and evaluates the degree to which the writers achieved their purposes. *Thankful Praise* understands the Sunday assembly to be "an integrated action of Word and Sacrament" that reaches its climax as the people of God come together around the table (p. 106). Moore then states: "Structurally this is a return to the earliest Disciples practice, however theologically it transcends Campbell's reliance on the Restoration principle and places the Disciples more securely within the broader tradition of Christian worship" (p. 107). Moore also states that *Thankful Praise* challenges the individualism that has been so prominent in earlier Disciples understandings of the Lord's supper. "Community and thanksgiving are the twin foci of the book. The entire order of worship is community oriented. The community gathers, proclaims the Word of God, responds to the Word of God, comes together around the Lord's Table, and then goes forth to serve God in mission" (p. 108).

Another aspect of current Disciples practice is the effort to strengthen the eldership as spiritual leaders of the congregation and leaders of worship at the communion table. Although this movement is widespread across the country, there are two major centers of influence. In Indianapolis leaders at the Division of Homeland Ministries and Christian Theological Seminary have published materials and frequently lead workshops and conferences on the eldership. In California the Disciples Seminary Foundation of Claremont and Berkeley has spearheaded a project that has produced two important publications on the eldership and sponsored a series of conferences on the eldership. One of the ideas supporting this movement is the early Disciples understanding of the congregational elders as the overseers, teachers, and spiritual leaders of the congregation. As the natural outcome of this religious importance of the elders they were expected to be leaders in worship as well as in other aspects of congregational life. Disciples are reluctant to place heavy administrative or programmatic responsibility upon elders; but they are hoping that this group of mature men and women in the congregations across the land will lead their people into a deeper understanding of the Christian faith and a more faithful expression of that faith in their daily lives (see Williams, 1985 and 1992; Watkins, 1991: pp. 41-53 and 1992; Morgan, 1983; Linberg and Parrott, 1990).

Disciples Ambivalence and Ambiguity

Change comes at an uneven pace among Disciples because decisions about the Lord's supper are made locally, and most of the decision makers are untrained theologically. Books like *Thankful Praise* do not easily or quickly penetrate to the ranks of the congregants from whom elders are chosen. Even if the pastors of congregations are persuaded to change, there is a considerable time lag before significant numbers of elders reach that same point. Furthermore, not all pastors, even recent graduates from seminary, are persuaded that "congregational praise" should become the primary motif in celebrations of the Lord's supper.

The current ambivalence of Disciples in this regard is illustrated by a post-*Thankful Praise* set of communion meditations and prayers edited by Jane McAvoy and published under the title *Table Talk: Resources for the Communion Meal*. Twenty-nine people are listed as contributors to this book. Three fourths of them are women; most of the contributors are young and ordained. Thus, the eucharistic piety exhibited in these materials represents one of the growing edges of Disciples practice rather than the major body of traditional belief. They vary widely in form as well as in content, from traditional Disciples prayers for loaf and cup only a few lines long, to a three-page litany with lines for elders, readers, cantor, choir, and people (but no lines for pastor). A very small number provide prayers that are similar in form to the eucharistic prayers in other traditions such as Episcopal, United Methodist, or Presbyterian. The spirit of the introduction is strikingly expressed in the prayers by Claudia Camp. Their layout on the page and their strong images command attention, as do the focused but unconventional ideas. One prayer evokes the hopeful waiting that is necessary during winter and then declares:

And we contemplate the miracle of bread,
appearing before us on this table,
when the earth gives no sign
of last year's wheat,
or next's.
So, with no warning,
but with mighty grace, O God,
did you, hearing the cries of enslaved Israel,
free them
and plant them
in a land flowing with milk and honey.
And so did you send Jesus the Christ
to a world in pain,
Who, feeding us with the bread of the earth,
taught us the meaning
of abundant love.

The prayer continues with a calling on the Holy Spirit that is very different from the corresponding prayer in classical eucharistic prayers (a prayer usually called the invocation or epiclesis):

Send now your Spirit, God,
that we may know the miracle of silent earth,
the miracle of our love for each other,
reflecting your love for us.
And send us, thus empowered,

to respond to a world
where winter daunts
both bread and love (McAvoy: p. 39).

In a small number of prayers the theme of God's presence in the struggles of the world, which is characteristic of this book, is combined with a more traditional motif of communion with God at the table. An example is a prayer by Virginia Liggett, one of the older contributors to the book. It begins with the affirmation that God is with us in all of life, and here too "in a very real sense, speaking to us of love and sacrifice and ultimate meaning." The prayer then concludes with this series of petitions:

As we partake of this bread and this cup, symbols of Christ's broken body, speak to us of broken bodies in our world today that cry out for the healing power of your Spirit.

As we remember the invincible spirit of your Son on the cross, speak to us of the agony of minds and hearts around us, tormented by fear, paralyzed by hate, and isolated by loneliness.

As we partake of this bread and this cup, fill us with your Spirit that we may depend upon your healing power and that we may speak of wholeness, of health, of love, and of joy in your name (McAvoy: p. 47).

My own approach to the reform of Disciples worship is partially expressed in *Thankful Praise*, but it has been developed more fully in later writings, especially the book *Celebrate with Thanksgiving: Patterns of Prayer at the Communion Table* (Watkins, 1991). Here I recommend that Disciples continue their emphasis upon local responsibility for determining the order of worship, wording the communion prayers, and authorizing people to speak those prayers. In addition I recommend that Disciples use the classic pattern of the service of the Word followed by the service of the Table as their model and that they develop prayers that include the major themes that have marked the communion prayers in most of the church through all of the ages. The result would be a popularistic, American, and catholic way of doing Holy Communion. A few of the prayers in *Table Talk* illustrate this approach to celebrating the Lord's supper; but as yet these recommendations have not become widespread practice among Disciples.

Despite the importance of the Lord's supper in the practical church life of the Disciples, they have given little theological attention to this sacrament. A short list of essays and a much shorter list of books covers the Disciples contributions to this subject. Nearly half a century elapsed between Harold Fey's *The Lord's Supper: Seven Meanings* (1948) and Paul Jones' *Christ's Eucharistic Presence: A History of the Doctrine* (1994) with William Robinson one of the few writers between them. One sign that Disciples historians and theologians are beginning to work with sacramental themes is *The Lord's Supper* (Duke and Harrison, 1993), a study booklet produced by the Commission on Theology of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). In fewer than 40 pages, the authors summarize the development of theologies about the meaning of the Lord's supper, describe the way that the Disciples fit into this picture, and offer recommendations for Disciples theology and practice. The major ideas in this monograph were condensed in a "Report to the Church on the Lord's Supper," presented to the Disciples General Assembly in 1991. The ideas in the booklet and report call Disciples to significant changes in their conventional practices concerning the Lord's supper.

An interesting contrast to this report is a much briefer discussion of the Disciples understanding of the Lord's supper by Thomas F. Best, a Disciple on the staff of the Commission on Faith and Order. In his effort to understand the Disciples eucharistic tradition, Best goes back to the nineteenth century leaders and develops a positive, inviting view of the Lord's supper. He identifies two themes in the classic Disciples understanding of this sacrament. He calls one element the "psychosomatic understanding of the Lord's supper," basing it on quotations from early Disciples leader Alexander Campbell: "The starkly realistic nature of this view is well known: for Alexander Campbell 'the Holy Spirit works upon the *understanding and affections* of saints and sinners. . . ' so that Christians 'must perceive, realize, appropriate, and feel the *blood* of Christ *applied* to our reason, our conscience, our will, and to our affections'" (Best: p. 18). The second factor that Best finds in the Disciples position is its social focus. Because the table links worshipers with God, they also are linked with one another.

While acknowledging that the Disciples mode of celebration seems plain, perhaps even drab, to many people from other churches, Best claims that it has its own sacramental sense. The people sense that through the *set-apart* elders all of the people are bringing their prayers to God. The reading of the biblical words of institution, while not understood as an epiclesis of the Holy Spirit, serves as a kind of consecration: "the reading of the Scriptures creates this liturgical moment and focuses our minds and hearts upon the significance of the meal at the Lord's table" (Best: p. 19). In this essay Best presents traditional Disciples thought in a smooth modern dress that many Disciples would affirm. Thus the ambivalence between two ways of understanding the Lord's supper continues.

Conclusions and Discussion

It is time to draw this case study to a close with a small number of conclusions and a discussion of the implications to be drawn from the experience of these two branches of the Stone-Campbell tradition.

First, *these churches illustrate that it is possible to maintain the practice of the every Lord's day Lord's supper within a thorough-going protestant, non-liturgical tradition.*⁷ The Stone-Campbell eucharistic tradition may be idiosyncratic, but it is rooted in the piety of ordinary church people whose way of life and approach to religious matters is very much like that of their Baptist, Methodist, and Church of God neighbors. Thus the nearly 200-year history of these churches should encourage people in other church traditions that they can move toward their own recovery of the Lord's supper and remain true to other aspects of their free church and low church self-understandings.⁸

Second, *eucharistic worship, like other aspects of ecclesial life, does not stand still.* Whether church people work at change or at continuity, a central action such as the Lord's supper gradually changes as the convictions and experiences of worshipers change. As churches become more ecumenical, the Lord's supper will change; and as they become more evangelical, their worship at Christ's table will change. The question is whether church leaders will knowingly enter into the process of change or rather let change come upon them without their realizing what has happened.

Third, *the inwardness of communion with God is an important aspect of eucharistic piety and is shared by Christians in other traditions, too.* Yet,

inwardness of union with God needs to be partnered with other aspects of eucharistic piety. Two are especially important to note at this point. The relationship with Christ is social and public as well as personal and introspective. Discerning the body of Christ, as Paul uses that language in 1 Corinthians 11, refers as much to discerning the church as Christ's body as it does to perceiving the crucified Christ in bread and wine. Communion with God is the dimension of depth in a circle that encompasses communion with one another which is the dimension of breadth. One of the prominent elements in the great tradition of eucharistic praying is that these prayers are concluded with intercessions for the people and the world. The act of offering thanks for God's previous acts of mercy emboldens the congregation to ask that God continue to be merciful; but it also stimulates the worshipers to offer themselves to be instruments by which this mercy of God is expressed.

A fourth generalization is more a suggestion for the future than a conclusion based on past performance. *There is a place in the American religious scene for a popularistic pattern of celebrating the Lord's supper; and therefore a challenge to these churches in the Stone-Campbell tradition is to develop useful models based on their own experience.* The importance of a sacramental form of worship is becoming more widely recognized in portions of the church that previously have given little attention to the sacramental aspect of the classic Christian liturgy. Yet they have associated eucharistic worship with gloomy religion, dull services, and authoritarian systems of church life. What is needed, many believe, is a way of celebrating God's love in Jesus Christ, which the eucharist expresses, so that it is joyful, exciting, and liberating. Neither the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) nor the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ has many good examples of this kind of worship practice. The possibilities are inherent in their tradition, and with imaginative leadership these congregations could become exemplars to others with whom they work. What is so strategically interesting is that the Disciples are able to witness to the historic protestant churches while their more conservative counterparts in the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ are in a position to witness to more evangelical portions of the Christian community. In order for these contributions to be made, however, both groups of churches in the Stone-Campbell tradition have much internal reform to accomplish. At this point, the promise is unfulfilled.

Notes

¹I acknowledge the fruitful conversation about the communion meditation with a group of professors and other church leaders at Emmanuel School of Religion in September 1993.

²I suspect that most people who deliver communion meditations are largely unaware that they are serving as the liturgical spokespersons for God. McCord, however, depends upon this interpretation in his suggestions to worship leaders who present communion meditations. "This is the role of the prophet, the 'mouthpiece of God,' His spokesman. Your objective is to say what God would have you say and to be what He would have you be." McCord encourages his readers to ask God "what he would have you to say" (1986: p. 57).

³For a careful discussion of attitudes toward the Bible among conservative Protestants, see Norris 1992, especially pp. 18-41. Norris is a member of the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ (and the son of William and Judy Norris whose book of communion meditations is discussed elsewhere in this article).

⁴This assessment is based on conversations with several leaders of the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ, including professors at four schools of higher learning

associated with these churches: Kentucky Christian College, Emmanuel School of Religion, Milligan College, and Lincoln Christian College and Seminary. The people with whom I have talked are uneasy about this trend. I have not yet discussed this development with people who advocate these modifications.

⁵A Lutheran professor of worship describes a weekend service at Southeast Christian Church, Louisville, which is a pace-setting megachurch congregation of the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ. "The weekend service was dominated by a musical drama on the life of Peter (it was the beginning of Holy Week) but also included a rapid communion—bread and grape juice passed through the pews during a song set and piano meditation, with no words of institution and only a brief prayer of remembrance and thanksgiving after communion. And there were announcements about the upcoming Easter extravaganza at Freedom Hall, the University of Kentucky basketball arena, featuring Chuck Colson" (Schattauer: p. 8).

⁶This entire volume of meditations and prayers illustrates the effort to move into a new kind of eucharistic spirituality and to express it in a vigorous pattern of eucharistic celebration. The tone of these materials is similar to that which marks recent writings of David N. Power, Roman Catholic theologian and liturgical scholar. He too speaks of prayers that express the anguish of the world and he proposes that the eucharistic prayers relate both the story of God's suffering interventions in the world and our suffering in the effort to live faithful lives (Power, 1987, 1991).

⁷I am using non-liturgical in the customary way, meaning worship that is relatively free from formal texts and modified catholic ceremonial practice.

⁸Free church and low church, like nonliturgical, are customary (and perhaps outmoded) terms to describe a vigorously non-catholic way of operating the church and conducting its worship. I am using them to indicate that the twin patterns derived from the Disciples tradition are fully protestant in the traditional way that people have understood protestantism.

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Continued on page 64

Civil Disobedience, Abolitionism and Pacifism in the Thought of Alexander Campbell

Craig M. Watts*

Since Alexander Campbell taught that Christians should not fight in wars or serve in the military, potentially he put his followers on a collision course with the authority of the state. They could either be forced to betray their pacifist conviction and obey the state, or disobey the laws of the land and stay true to their pacifism. This problem did not go unaddressed by Campbell. On more than one occasion he discussed the prospect of disobeying the state for the sake of conscience. However, his most extensive writings on civil disobedience were not in connection with pacifism. Rather it was the action of the abolitionists that demanded his attention.

At different points Campbell was accused of being both abolitionist and pro-slavery. Sometimes he was condemned for both positions at the same time. This is not entirely surprising. Among the things he declared as incompatible with true Christianity in the first issue of *The Christian Baptist* was the Christian support of slavery, “a system of the most cruel oppression,” in which “might gives right.”¹ In the early 1830s he called slavery, “that largest and blackest blot upon our national escutcheon, that many-headed monster... whose breath pollutes and poisons everything within its influence.”² He proposed using federal money to buy slaves and to help them colonize a portion of Africa or some unpopulated area in the Americas.³

However, when abolitionists called for the immediate liberation of all slaves and scathingly denounced the Southern slaveowners as sinners in need of repentance, Campbell called for moderation. In part this was due to his concern over the bloodshed he anticipated if the more radical solution of the forcible release of the slaves was pursued. Campbell was afraid that if the abolitionists continued their course the slavery issue would be discussed only “by the light of burning palaces, cities and temples, amidst the roar of cannon, the clangor of trumpets, the shrieks of dying myriads...and the agonizing throes of the last and best republic on earth.”⁴ Campbell found abolitionists inflexible, self-righteous and judgmental.

While Campbell wanted to see the end of slavery, he also wanted to preserve the unity of both nation and church. He had no sympathy with those who were heedless of the broader consequences in their quest for the liberation of the slaves. Campbell believed slavery to be a great evil, but he would not call it a sin, as did the abolitionists.⁵ As an institution slavery could be justified by both the New Testament and Old Testament, concluded Campbell. Within the Bible, however, there is much guidance offered to regulate the relationship between slave and master which should be followed.⁶ Still, Campbell was careful not to equate slavery in the New Testament with the slavery practiced in the American South. “When I affirm that the New Testament recognizes without censure the relation of master and slave, I do not say that it sanctions the legalized treatment of either master or slaves according to the American or any other code.”⁷ Campbell continued to oppose slavery, but called for moderation, patience, and cooperation. He stood against those in the church who wanted to disfellowship all slave owners.⁸ At the same time he urged the elders of the churches to discipline any master whose slaves

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were abused and treated unfairly.⁹ He believed that whatever was done with slavery, it was imperative to “preserve unity of spirit among Christians of the South and of the North.”¹⁰

Campbell’s strongest anti-slavery declaration came in 1849 at the time that the state of Kentucky called a constitutional convention to address the slave question. Campbell composed a tract to the people of Kentucky urging them to put an end to slavery. He wrote “not as a citizen of Virginia nor as a citizen of Kentucky, but as a citizen of the world and a member of Christ’s church.” He declared that the “emancipation of masters is full as much an object near to my heart as the emancipation of slaves.”¹¹ Campbell saw the effects of slavery as detrimental to all who are touched by it. He wrote, “The intercourse between a master and a slave, however kind and generous the former, and however pliant and obedient the latter, is, on the one side, essentially dogmatical, absolute, and lordly, on the other side, cringing, servile and abject.”¹² He called upon his readers to lift up their voices and cast their votes against slavery. Later, when a *Millennial Harbinger* subscriber complained about the tract to Kentucky, Campbell replied, “that slavery, as established by our laws, is [not] either in harmony with the Bible, or the spirit of this age, or the progress of society.”¹³

Consistently Campbell was an advocate of social and political change by means of legal process. When the Fugitive Slave Law was passed in 1850 the issue of the extent to which the governing authorities should be obeyed demanded attention as never before during Campbell’s life. Because of the disruptive activity of abolitionists in earlier years, Campbell had already raised the question, “How far ought we to obey and submit to our political institutions - and rulers - or what is the extent of our allegiance to civil government?”¹⁴

More than once he gave his answer. In 1845 he wrote that as long as slavery was legal, it was “the duty of every Christian man to respect it and to offer no violence.” He insisted that no person could as a citizen or a Christian, “violate or tempt others to violate existing laws without offending his Lord and becoming obnoxious to his displeasure.”¹⁵ Campbell seemed to place the obligation to obey the laws of the land over the need to alleviate the suffering of those being oppressed. However, his contention was that there was a legal means of addressing slavery. Consequently, illegal direct action tactics were both wrong and unnecessary.

Later that same year Campbell again spoke to the issue of disobedience to the law for conscience sake. He declared that any laws the state enacts, regardless if they are abstractly right or wrong, the Christian must respect and not resist, so long as the law does not require behavior condemned in scripture. Since “nothing is tolerated in the New Testament that is sinful, immoral, or in tendency injurious,” all laws not contrary to the New Testament, however offensive to one’s sense of reason, should be supported by any “law-abiding Christian.”¹⁶ A Christian has no right, according to Campbell, to be ruled by his or her opinions or convictions if doing so would entail “any violence to the law, or to aid in the violation of them.” He maintained the Christian must “be subject to every ordinance of man, and to the powers that be, because they are ordained of god.”¹⁷

These same themes were picked up again and dealt with in more depth in 1851 after the Fugitive Slave Law had stirred considerable debate throughout the country. Campbell noted that the law was being condemned as immoral and unconstitutional in large political and religious gatherings in the north. People

were being encouraged by abolitionists, including some ministers, to resist its dictates. Campbell was distressed that “any one well-instructed in the Christian religion could recommend violence, or insubordination to a law passed by a Congress that merely represents and reflects the will of the sovereign people...”¹⁸ Over against the abolitionists, Campbell defended the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law. In so doing he employed arguments used by pro-slavery forces, even though he himself had opposed slavery. For instance, he cited the tenth commandment of the Sinai Code: “Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor’s...man servant, nor his maid servant... nor anything that is thy neighbor’s property.” This, he claimed, proved a “divine recognition... of one man having a rightful property in another.”¹⁹

As he had on previous occasions, Campbell appealed to Romans 13:1-7 and I Peter 2:13-18 to call upon his readers to submit to “the higher powers” and “every ordinance” for “the Lord’s sake.” He cited the examples of Paul returning the slave Onesimus to his master and of the runaway slave Hagar being told by an angel to return to her mistress.²⁰ He held that it was illegitimate for the resisters of the Fugitive Slave Law to appeal to a “higher law” for in this matter none existed. “In the affairs of this life - in all temporal and earthly matters - the civil law, the social compact, is our rule of action.”²¹

Campbell denied that the Christian had any responsibility for what happened to the slave after he or she was turned back over to the master. The responsibility would be entirely that of the slave owner. He didn’t deny the possibility that some of the masters would be cruel to the returned slave. His response was, “Have the laws of God or of the state, constituted each and every citizen such a judge?”²² When some of his readers reacted to his articles by saying that the Golden Rule made it impossible “to sustain or comply with the requisitions of the Fugitive Slave Law,” he side-stepped the argument. Campbell ignored the spirit of the Golden Rule and simply asserted that the Bible is “the only infallible standard by which all the relations of human life, and all the duties and obligations growing out of them, are to be adjudicated.”²³

A notable response to Campbell’s position came from an Ohio minister, Isaac Errett. He produced a number of biblical examples of God’s people resisting the civil authorities. Then he showed the inadequacy of Campbell’s own interpretation of the cases of Onesimus and Hagar and other of his arguments from scripture. Finally he turned one of Campbell’s arguments back on him. Early in 1851 Campbell had appealed to the “immortal Washington” in an attempt to bolster his case for obeying civil authorities.²⁴ Taking aim at Campbell’s pacifist conviction Errett asked, did not the “immortal Washington” also “lead armies to fight? Is that any argument for war?” Errett went on to say,

if the heritage of freedom we enjoy was... “purchased with the life-blood of the good and the brave,” what kind of argument does that furnish for the “absolute supremacy of the law?” And how can we, in turn, bequeath inviolate to our descendants, the heritage, by tamely... submitting to, unrighteous and oppressive laws?²⁵

In his determined defense of full compliance with the law Campbell violated his own dispensational principles of biblical interpretation. He chose biblicist rigidity over the spirit of the scripture teachings, especially evident with the Golden Rule,

and he opted for law and order over justice. How ironical it seems — at least from a twentieth century perspective — that the next year as he was singing the praises of Protestantism before the Philo-Literary Society of Canonsburg College in Pennsylvania, Campbell declared, “There is a moral heroism in non-conformity to unjust laws and unholy requirements.”²⁶

Strangely, the vigor with which he defended the obligation of Christians to obey the law in regard to the return of escaped slaves was absent when he spoke of war. Perhaps it was not so strange. The same biblicism that led him to affirm the institution of slavery - but not the American practice of it - led him to denounce war. Since slavery was present and uncondemned in both the Old and New Testament, he could not condone Christians taking the law into their own hands to oppose it. But since war and hatred were clearly condemned in the New Testament, he did not hesitate to advocate disobedience to the governing authorities in order to withhold support for war.

Support of war by the church and its clergy was considered by Campbell as “desecrating the religion of the Prince of Peace.”²⁷ The practice of war was seen by him as utterly at odds with the work of the church. Thus the church could offer none of its resources, including its members, to help in war efforts. In his “Address on War” Campbell reminded his audience that “civil magistrates were God’s ministers to the Christian ‘for good.’” That being the case, Christians are obligated to “render to Caesar what is Caesar’s and to God what is God’s,” which included “to reverence, honor, and support the civil magistrate; and, when necessary, to claim his protection.”²⁸

But when it came to the business of war, Campbell saw a clear limit to the legitimate authority of the governing powers. Obedience to the state must end, he believed, when preparation for war begins. “Christians must not cooperate. On the contrary, [Christians] were to live peaceably with all men to the full extent of their power.”²⁹ The only warfare a Christian was to engage in was spiritual warfare; the only armament fitting for the soldier were spiritual armaments, all of which were unsuitable for battles of blood and steel engaged in by the warriors of the world.

Campbell wrote that he considered the “great question” to be “Can an individual, not a public functionary, morally do that in obedience to his government which he cannot do in his own case?”³⁰ He answered that question by telling a story. Suppose, he said, a man with servants had a conflict with his neighbor whom he believed had taken a part of his land. The neighbor refuses to relinquish the land. In response the first man sets out to retake his property. He tells his servants to destroy all the improvements the trespassing neighbor made on the disputed territory and to fire weapons at that neighbor, his family and his servants. The first man’s servants obey and kill several of the others. They are arrested and brought to trial. The attorney of the first man’s servants, in arguing on their behalf, maintains their innocence. The servants were obligated to obey the orders of their master, insists the attorney. To bolster his claim, he quotes from the Bible: “Servants, obey in all things your masters according to the flesh.” But, says Campbell, the prosecutor would surely show that “all things” means “all things lawful” for this obedience is supposed to be “as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart.” Certainly the servants would be held accountable and the jury and judge would condemn them as guilty of murder.³¹

Drawing the connection, Campbell argued that Christian citizens, though

politically inferior to the governing authorities of the state, are accountable and cannot of right obey the government in anything that is not right according to the scriptures. Sharpening his point further, Campbell insisted, “that a Christian man can never, of right, be compelled to do that for the state, in defense of state’s rights, which he cannot of right do for himself in defense of his personal rights.”³² The Christian who is commanded to love his neighbor as he loves himself is not commanded to love the state, a king, or anyone more than he loves or serves himself. Hence, Campbell concluded, unless the Christian can go to war for him or herself, the Christian is not justified in going to war for the state.³³

In brief, it could be said that, on the one hand, Campbell opposed disobeying the governing authorities in the case of the Fugitive Slave Law because obeying that law did not require Christians to do anything specifically condemned in scripture. On the other hand, Christians should disobey the state when called to war because war is at odds with the teaching of the New Testament. It is arguable that in both cases Campbell took the position he did - at least in part - because of his pacifism. It was concern over the uncompromising radicality of the abolitionists and the response of the South that made him moderate his own outspoken condemnation of slavery. He believed that the abolitionists’ attitudes and tactics would likely lead to war.³⁴ In response he took a more conciliatory stance, encouraging patience, obedience to the laws, reform rather than revolution, and unity in both church and nation. While such an approach would delay freeing the slaves, it would also, he thought, help avoid even greater evil and suffering - war. Unfortunately his worst fears were realized. In 1861 he found himself lamenting,

Civilized America! Civilized United States! Boasting of a humane and Christian paternity and fraternity, unsheathing your swords, discharging your cannon, boasting of your heathen brutality, gluttonously satiating your furious appetites for fraternal blood, caps the climax of all human inconsistencies inscribed on the blurred and moth eaten pages of time in all its records.³⁵

Notes

¹*The Christian Baptist*, I, 25.

²*Millennial Harbinger*, 1832, 86.

³*Ibid.*, 588ff.

⁴*Ibid.*, 1835, 587.

⁵*Ibid.*, 1840, 99.

⁶*Ibid.*, 102.

⁷*Ibid.*, 1845, 235, 237.

⁸*Ibid.*, 233f.

⁹*Ibid.*, 240.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 195.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 1849, 413.

¹²*Ibid.*, 251.

¹³*Ibid.*, 278.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 1846, 6.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 1845, 109.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 239.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 240.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 1851, 27.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 202.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 27.

²¹*Ibid.*, 29.

²²*Ibid.*, 624.

²³*Ibid.*, 247-249.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 53.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 224f.

²⁶Alexander Campbell, *Popular Lectures and Addresses* (Philadelphia: James Challen & Son, 1864), 171.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 354.

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹*Ibid.*

³⁰*Ibid.*, 351.

³¹*Ibid.*, 351f.

³²*Ibid.*, 352.

³³*Ibid.*

³⁴*Millennial Harbinger*, 1835, 587.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 1861, 348.

Church and Sect Applied to Early Disciples: Limitations of Troeltsch and Niebuhr

Newton B. Fowler, Jr.*

I.

In preparation for teaching a seminary course on sectarianism, I read Bryan Wilson's *Religious Sects*. At the time Wilson wrote the book he was a sociology teacher at Oxford University. The book was used widely in Great Britain and the United States as a college text book. The book was a popular sociological analysis of sectarianism. The book was first published in 1970.

It was Wilson's interpretation of the early Disciples of Christ which caught my attention. He claimed that the early Disciples had been sectarian in their origin. By claiming them to be "sectarian" he had applied the sociological characteristics developed by Ernst Troeltsch in the early part of the 20th century. He was critically indebted to Troeltsch in the theoretical concepts which were used to distinguish types of religious organizations (pp. 22-28). Wilson was interested in differentiating sectarian groups, and his book gave a typology of sect movements. He also described a number of characteristics which sectarians have in common. Wilson first mentioned the early Disciples under the heading of "exclusivity" as a typical sociological characteristic of sects (p. 29). Wilson placed the early Disciples within the category of "conversionist" sects, one of the seven categories of sectarianism he described in his book. At one point he described the early Disciples as a "fundamentalist sect" (pp. 53-64). Also, Wilson connected the early Disciples with the Mormons, the Shakers, and the Christadelphians. That there were connections with these other religious groups in the formative years of the Disciples is not at issue. The impression one gains from reading Wilson is that the early Disciples were similar in their origins, temperament, and outlook. According to Wilson, the early Disciples had embodied similar sectarian characteristics.

How had Wilson learned of the Disciples of Christ and in particular Alexander Campbell to whom he referred as an example of a sectarian leader? Had the Stone and Campbell movements been sectarian in the sociological sense at the beginning? This interpretation did not strike me as entirely accurate. At least it was not the interpretation of Disciples origins in which I had grown up. The "oral tradition" of my family, particularly on my mother's side, five generations of Kentucky Disciples, did not fit Wilson's interpretation. How had Wilson come by his Disciples materials? I checked the footnotes. All of Wilson's references to the Disciples gave Oliver Whitley credit. Oliver Whitley, now deceased, was a Disciple of Christ who taught sociology of religion at Illif School of Theology at Denver. Whitley had his Yale Ph.D. dissertation published in 1959 by Bethany Press under the title of *Trumpet Call of Reformation*. The manuscript won the Bethany Book

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Award. The publishing house was related to the Disciples of Christ and would, I imagine, lend credibility to Whitley's interpretation.

Where had Whitley acquired the sociological concepts he had applied to the Disciples? I conjecture that it was in the course of his graduate study at Yale University School of Divinity. At Yale Whitley had studied under H. Richard Niebuhr, and he acknowledged Niebuhr's influence on the book. In Niebuhr's published works, especially *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (1929) and *Christ and Culture* (1951), he had repeatedly admitted his conceptual dependency on Ernst Troeltsch. In his acknowledgements for *Christ and Culture* Niebuhr wrote that his book was a supplement and correction of Troeltsch's monumental work (p. xii).

Let me offer a word about Troeltsch's own theoretical foundations. The empirical study of religion had caught the intellectual energy of a number of Continental scholars at the end of the 19th and early years of the 20th century. Among them was a colleague and compatriot of Troeltsch, Max Weber. Weber (1864-1920) was a German sociologist who gave the terms *church* and *sect* a special, technical application to particular kinds of religious groups in society. These words were sociological terms of differentiation. Troeltsch appropriated these concepts in the development of his own theoretical work. These words now had sociological intent specifically in relation to the state and to their internal organization. Influenced by Max Weber, Troeltsch gave the sociological study of Christianity the concepts of *church* and *sect*, and the methodology of the "ideal" typology. An "ideal" typology is simply a categorization based on common ideas which emerge from the study and are not superficially imposed on the data. Troeltsch expressed appreciation for Weber's insights (*Social Teaching*, Vol. 1, p. 433).

Troeltsch desired to study the social forms of Christianity. His study concluded with three social forms of Christianity. These were the familiar church-type and sect-type, and the less familiar mysticism. Troeltsch published his study as *Die Soziallehren der Christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen* in 1911. The English translation was made by Olive Wyon in 1931 under the title *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*. So the trail of theoretical influences on Whitley's handling of the early Disciples goes to H. Richard Niebuhr, then to Ernst Troeltsch, and finally to Troeltsch's mentor, the renowned sociologist Max Weber.

II

Oliver Whitley had gone to Yale. There he came under the influence of H. Richard Niebuhr. Niebuhr had been a permanent fixture at the Divinity School having taught there for over three decades. He died in 1962. Niebuhr had studied Troeltsch before the German scholar's work was translated into English. He wrote his doctoral dissertation on Troeltsch. Throughout his writing and teaching career Troeltschian influences continued to inform Niebuhr's theoretical perspective. The

terms church and sect have entered analytical religious language, and their conceptual power has not diminished regardless of the number of academic revisions and criticisms.

Let's take a look at church and sect as sociological analytical concepts in Troeltsch and refracted in Niebuhr. In *Social Sources* H. Richard Niebuhr raised consciousness about the ethical accommodation of "denominationalism" to its surrounding culture. The contributions of Niebuhr to the sociology of religion were an emphasis on the dynamic development of various kinds of religious groups, and, secondly, their connections with their social environment: ethnic, national, regional, and economic class. His analysis traced the evolutionary growth from an initial stage of formation (the sect) to a more advanced stage of organization (the denomination). In Niebuhr the term denomination and the word church are used synonymously. Niebuhr wrote of the sect,

In Protestant history the sect has ever been the child of an outcast minority, taking its rise in the religious revolts of the poor, of those who were without effective representation in church or state and who formed their conventicles of dissent in the only way open to them, on the democratic, associational pattern. The sociological character of sectarianism, however, is almost always modified in the course of time by the natural processes of birth and death, and on this change in structure changes in doctrine and ethics inevitably flow. By its very nature the sectarian type of organization is valid for only one generation... So the sect becomes a church (*Social Sources*, p. 20f).

The emphasis is upon the dynamic: from sect to church. Troeltsch allowed for this possible development in his monumental study, but he conceived of sect and church in rather static terms. A further refinement of Troeltsch's scheme by Niebuhr was the definition of the denomination. This was to allow for the American constitutional separation of church and state. In short, the denomination is a religious institution which accommodates to its social world. In America there was no official state church as it existed on the Continent and in Great Britain. Troeltsch had pursued his study through 19th century Europe where there had been some form of established church since the time of Theodosius I at the end of the fourth century. Except for the Anabaptists, this arrangement was maintained after the Protestant Reformation by Lutheran, Reformed, and Anglican churches. Whereas there was never a national state church in the United States, each one of the original thirteen colonies had some form of establishment. The Anglicans were disestablished in Virginia about the time of the Revolutionary War, before the active period of Stone and the Campbells. Kentucky and West Virginia had been part of the Virginia territory. The last state establishment was Massachusetts when the Congregational Church lost its official status in 1833.

Niebuhr acknowledged his intellectual indebtedness to Troeltsch, and employed the sect/church typology in *Social Sources*. To get the flavor of the original source, it is well to note what Troeltsch wrote,

At the outset the actual differences are quite clear. The Church is that kind of organization which is overwhelmingly conservative, which to a certain extent accepts the secular order, and dominates the masses; in principle, therefore, it is universal, i.e., it desires to cover the whole of humanity. The sects, on the other hand, are comparatively small groups, they aspire after personal inward perfection, and they aim at a direct personal fellowship between the members of each group. From the very beginning, therefore, they are forced to organize themselves in small groups, and to renounce the idea of dominating the world. 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 (*Social Teachings*, Vol. 1, p. 331).

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

...The Church relates the whole of the secular order as a means and preparation to the supernatural aim of life, . . . the sects refer their members directly to the supernatural aim of life...(Ibid).

The asceticism of the sects, on the other hand, is merely the simple principle of detachment from the world, and is expressed in the refusal to use the law, to swear in a court of justice, to own property, to exercise dominion over others, or to take part in war (Vol. 1, p. 332).

The germ idea of the Church as an institution was already latent within Primitive Christianity. Primitive Christianity also contains the germ of the sect-idea... (Vol. 2, p. 733).

When these terms of description are compared with Niebuhr, it is quite clear that Niebuhr builds upon the work of Troeltsch. Sects are dissenters from both the traditional churches (dominant denominations in the American sense) and the institutions of the surrounding society (the state). Sects arise from the lower classes and reflect attitudes of the dispossessed. Niebuhr applied these understandings to the early Disciples in *Social Sources*.

The followers of Stone and the Campbells are treated by Niebuhr as examples of "border" or regional religion in style, doctrine and organization. The early Disciples of Christ were exponents of what Niebuhr called "a frontier faith." Niebuhr wrote,

But the Disciples of Christ were a true product of the West. They were the joint result of various frontier movements, beginning with the Republican Methodist revolt of James O' Kelly, the dissolution of the schismatic Springfield presbytery and the subsequent attempt of Marshall and Stone to organize the frontier Christians into an undenominational church, and ending with the attempt of the erstwhile Presbyterian, then Baptist, preacher, Alexander Campbell to unite all disciples of Christ on the basis of a frontier faith. Like the Baptists and the Methodists, the Disciples used the methods of the revival, fostered immediacy in religious experience through the emotions, adopted lay preaching, ordained their clergymen [sic] without requiring theological education, and organized their churches on the sectarian principle (*Social Sources*, p. 178).

III.

Other Disciples of Christ students at Yale seemingly were not as influenced by the Troeltsch-Niebuhr concepts of church and sect as was Oliver Whitley. The application of those sociological concepts to the historical materials of the early Disciples must not have yielded clear, unambiguous results for them. Unquestioningly Niebuhr cast an intellectual influence upon those who studied there. Let me illustrate by commenting upon several Yale dissertations which were subsequently published in which the early Disciples were interpreted.

An example of applying this conceptual scheme to the early Disciples was *The Political Ethics of Alexander Campbell* (1954) by Harold L. Lunger. He acknowledged the influence of Troeltsch refracted through Joachim Wach as well as Niebuhr. Lunger wrote, "At the stage of development which Campbell represents, it is probably more accurate to say that his was a sect position with emerging denominational features" (*Political Ethics*, p. 14). There is an awareness by Lunger that some ambiguity existed in the original definition. I shall comment on this methodological problem subsequently. Lunger wrote, "From the viewpoint of the sociology of religion, Campbell's political ethics represents the emergence of a type of Christianity which conforms to neither of the basic categories of Ernst Troeltsch" (*Political Ethics*, p. 264). Using the methodology of Troeltsch and Niebuhr, he was aware that it does not easily fit the Disciples.

In 1948 Robert Frederick West published *Alexander Campbell and Natural Religion*. West wrote this dissertation under Luther A. Weigle, then Dean of Yale Divinity School. Acknowledgement was also given to Kenneth Scott Latourette. There is no dependence on the Troeltschian typology, nor the methodological influence of H. Richard Niebuhr. If anything, and this is why I mention him, the treatment of his subject made a strong case for Alexander Campbell's theological acumen in the intellectual climate of his day, a church-type trait.

William Garrett West wrote *Barton Warren Stone: Early American Advocate of Christian Unity* which was printed in 1954. He also was not influenced by the Troeltschian typology nor the Niebuhrian dynamic. His work at Yale was directed by Luther Weigle with acknowledgement to both Kenneth Scott Latourette and Richard Niebuhr. In referring to Stone and the early Disciples, West was inclined to use the phrase "left-wing of the Reformation" following William Warren Sweet and Roland Bainton. The terms "frontier sect," "radical" and "left-wing protestant" were applied to Stone by West, but with little sociological intent. The word sect is used by West to mean simply a distinct religious movement with no social analysis intended. All churches in America, including those on the frontier, were referred to as sects or sectarian. These were terms of differentiation with no intent to provide a sociological analysis in the Troeltschian sense.

D. Ray Lindley's *Apostle of Freedom* (1957) has little, if any, methodological interest in the work of Troeltsch, nor the sociological interpretations of Niebuhr. It was a thematic study of Alexander

Campbell's concept of church from a biblical and theological point of view. The sociological question of church and sect was not addressed, although Campbell's opposition to a state church was detailed. However, Campbell's opposition to an established church, guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Constitution, is no sociological ground for a sectarian position.

An example of the influence of Troeltsch, at least in use of the language, is found in a recent study book by Colbert S. Cartwright for congregational adult use by Disciples, *People of the Chalice* (1987). The first chapter is entitled "From Sect to Church." The book is more of a narrative history, but the use of sect to church language fosters the typology of Troeltsch and the developmental concept of Niebuhr. It is subtle and compelling. Cartwright does not intend his book to be a social analysis, and the terms have no sociological precision. However, the use of sect in the chapter title reinforces the concept of a sectarian origin in the Troeltschian sense and thus potentially adds to the confusion.

Thus far, these observations focus on the categories of church and sect developed by Troeltsch and refracted by H. Richard Niebuhr. All of the aforementioned Disciples earned degrees at Yale where Niebuhr taught for over thirty years.

IV.

Away from Yale, Disciples historians have been mildly, if at all, influenced by the sociological method of Ernst Troeltsch and H. Richard Niebuhr. This includes Winfred E. Garrison, Alfred T. DeGroot, Lester G. McAllister, Richard L. Harrison, Howard E. Short and Ronald E. Osborn. When the term sect or sectarian is used by these, and other Disciples historians, the term has no technical sociological meaning in the tradition of Troeltsch or Niebuhr. Sect was a term of differentiation, and frequently referred to religious parties, factions, schisms, and competing denominations. As a pejorative, it meant exclusiveness or narrowness of mind and spirit. Pejoratively, to be "sectarian" was the bane of Christianity.

Among Disciples non-Yale graduates who was aware of Troeltsch and Niebuhr is David Edwin Harrell, Jr. In 1966 he published *Quest for a Christian America: The Disciples of Christ and American Society to 1866*. This was a social history of Disciples and, at points, employed the categories of church/sect as proposed by Troeltsch and refined by Niebuhr. From the standpoint of a social historian, aware of sociological literature, Harrell discusses Troeltsch, Niebuhr, and other social theorists of sect phenomena. (See pages 11 through 25.) Harrell concluded, "Richard Niebuhr's description of the socioeconomic process through which most of the frontier evangelical sects passed from sect to rural church to denomination is clearly applicable to Disciples history" (p.23f). However, the title of his social history swings the balance in favor of a church-type identification for the movement, *The Quest for a Christian America*. The post-millennialism of the *Millennial Harbinger* gave evidence of Campbell's "church-type" propensity. American society

had to be taken seriously. America, and subsequently the world, was to be converted to the Christian faith prior to the millennium. This theme would in time give impetus to the foreign missionary movement, and be reinforced by the American cultural theme of "manifest destiny." Harrell maintained that the early Disciples had both church-type and sect-type characteristics in the Troeltschian sense. Predominately, in his analysis, the early Disciples, especially Alexander Campbell, embodied church-type traits.

Barton W. Stone was another case. On the basis of his anti-political counsel, he could be classified as a sectarian in the Troeltsch-Niebuhr sense. Stone appeared to have little confidence in the political state as instrumental in advancing the kingdom of God. The stance of Stone toward the state raises the theoretical question regarding "ideological" sectarians as distinguished from "ad hoc" sectarians. "Ideological" sectarians are indifferent or hostile toward the state regardless of the social environment. "Ad hoc" sectarians are indifferent or hostile toward the state when they have no power to control or change the social environment. When power becomes a possibility, the religious group takes on church-type characteristics, especially political involvement. Still, Stone's writings could be interpreted as sectarian sociologically.

Harrell points out that the early Disciples leader Walter Scott more than balanced Stone's position with his optimistic counsel encouraging Disciples to participate in American society, especially politics (*Quest*, p. 56). Sociologically, the posture of early Disciples toward the state was ambiguous, if not ambivalent. Harrell's social history moves in the right direction. Harrell documents a predominance of church-type traits: acceptance, accommodation, and generally positive attitudes toward the cultural values of the frontier and the institutions of the new nation. The title of his social history, *The Quest for a Christian America*, implies a church-type orientation: the domination of the developing new nation by the values and commitments of Christianity. Instrumental to this evangelical mission would be members of Christian churches, particularly the Disciples of Christ. A Christian America was a necessary precondition for the millennium.

V.

The word sect enables the English speaking world to make distinctions among factions in various populations. It can refer to parties of similar traits in the arts, in politics, in science, as well as in religion. The word sect can be used as a term of description or used pejoratively. The exact meaning of the term is determined by the context. Any use of the word sect poses a problem. The word has a long history and many applications. An examination of the Oxford English Dictionary gives a detailed account of the word's career in the English language. The OED is unaware of the sociological literature of the 20th century, especially since Troeltsch (1911) and the English translation (1931). Thus, the OED is limited for sorting out the ambiguity and confusion. Other standard dictionaries give the word sect both the meaning of schismatics

from an established body and as a synonym for denomination. Ambiguity persists.

People of the early 19th century used sect to refer to a party distinct from other groups. In polemical rhetoric or publishing, the term distanced the writer or speaker from the opponent. Used in this manner, the sect was seen as narrow, exclusive, mistaken or uninformed, separate faction. It was a “put-down” to demean a dissident group, and used by a dominant or orthodox body in dismissing a minority or non-conforming group. Used descriptively, the word sect referred to a distinct group or party, with no value judgment necessarily intended. The adjectival form of the word sectarian meant that the party or group embodied those traits of a sect. The use of this word could be either as a term of description or as a derogatory slander. Its context disclosed the intent of its meaning, not the word itself. In some contexts, the word sect meant schism.

VI.

Troeltsch and Niebuhr popularized the phrase “church/sect” in the vocabulary of the English speaking religious world. This was both a helpful tool for social analysis and a source of ambiguity. The terms are confusing when applied to particular religious groups. This is especially true when applied to the early Disciples. Even when deliberately selected as terms of sociological distinction, the terms continue to mix sociological and ecclesial characteristics. Influenced by the work of Troeltsch and Niebuhr some social historians continue to cite religious ritual, doctrine, and polity as indicative of this group being a “church-type,” and that group being a “sect.” Multiple variables (size, economic status, forms of baptism, polity, relations with other religious groups, and doctrines) persist and confuse the issue. For instance, adult believer’s baptism by immersion looked like a sectarian characteristic when compared with infant baptism practiced by former established churches. Also, there may be unintended or latent forms of elitism by interpreters commenting from an historic church orientation. What is labeled a schism by some is labeled a sect by others. Efforts by recent sociologists and social historians to refine the typology fall short of clarity or common agreement. Yet the language of church/sect is still used.

Writing on this matter of definition of terms, Benton Johnson wrote “On Church and Sect” in *American Sociological Review* (August 1963). He simply suggested one factor to be the determining characteristic. “A church is a religious group that accepts the social environment in which it exists. A sect is a religious group that rejects the social environment in which it exists” (p. 542). This definition is faithful to the Troeltsch-Niebuhr sociological tradition. The attempt is to unscramble the central sociological factor from other variables. The phrase, “the social environment in which it exists,” is a key concept. This makes any empirical study context-specific. Is the religious group accommodating or intransigent in relation to its social environment? I believe that

Troeltsch and Niebuhr intended the relational posture between a religious group and its social environment to be the single most significant factor in making a determination.

If Johnson's single sociological factor, a refinement of Troeltsch, were used, I suggest a three-fold scale to measure context-specific historical religious groups: epistemological, behavioral, and attitudinal. These are categories of inquiry which lend specificity to the social/cultural relationship. The epistemological asks, "what passes for knowledge, and what is its authority?" The answer is measured by comparison with generally accepted cultural knowledge: scientific, historical, and literary. The behavioral asks about occupations, family organization, leisure-time pursuits, paying taxes and running for public office. The attitudinal asks whether the group is positive or negative about the social world beyond themselves, particularly history and social institutions. However, too many variables, particularly of an ecclesial nature or reflecting a European social setting, entered the explication of the original definition. This is the case of interpreting the early Disciples on the American frontier by a scheme originally set in a European context.

VII.

Were the early Disciples a sect sociologically? Or were they a church sociologically from the beginning? Is a schism always a sect? An answer lies in the relationship to the society in which it existed. The answer to this question is determined by both the ideas of early Disciples leaders and how they actually behaved. Stone may have counseled avoidance of the state, but most Disciples, especially in Kentucky which was Stone's home territory, continued to run for public office, vote in elections, own property, marry and raise families, begin colleges, and participate in the commerce of the day. These fit the characteristics of a church-type.

In a letter to me from Richard Phillips, retired professor at Milligan College, a number of fragments of information have been ferreted out regarding the social and economic status of the Campbells. Relative to their environment in Northern Ireland and in Virginia, they were comfortable, if not well off. Phillips wrote, "Dean E. Walker completed his residence for a Ph.D. at Edinburgh in the late thirties... One summer he took some time to visit Rich Hill, where Thomas Campbell lived while he preached at Ahorey, in Co. Armaugh. He found the foundations of the Thomas Campbell house, and asserted it was definitely 'not the cottage of a simple country preacher': it was more like the residence of a squire." Phillips noted that Alexander Campbell had been the president of the American Sheeplowers' Association, president of the Bethany bank, and the Bethany postmaster. Phillips' dissertation at Vanderbilt University was aware of the ambiguity in Troeltsch's terms, and the inappropriateness of applying them to Alexander Campbell. ("Differences in the Theological and Philosophical Backgrounds of Alexander Campbell and Barton W. Stone and Resulting Differences of Thrust in Their

Theological Formulations,” unpublished doctoral dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1968).

Moreover, Alexander Campbell selected the Fourth of July for the annual commencement of Bethany College because of the symbolic significance in the nation’s travail for liberty. He admired Thomas Jefferson. His intellectual foundations in the philosophy of John Locke have been frequently outlined. Alexander Campbell was an elected representative to the 1830 Virginia Constitutional Convention, owned property, was monogamous as a family man, and “he died the wealthiest man in West Virginia” (Quoted in Harrell from *Alexander Campbell* by Benjamin L. Smith, 1930). Knowing these facts about Alexander Campbell and other early Disciples, one has a case of “cognitive dissonance” in identifying them with such descriptions as lower social status, dispossessed, propertyless, and opposition to the political state, all of which are characteristics in the original Troeltsch and Niebuhr definition of sect. The definition does not fit.

VIII.

The use of the Troeltsch-Niebuhr typology to interpret the early Disciples is misleading. Social historians beware! The mix of sociological factors with ecclesial traits leads to confusion. Descriptive and normative traits are mixed. Size of membership, doctrine, form of baptism, ordination of ministers, relations with opposing religious groups, and social class status do not make for a determination of church or sect in a sociological sense. In an “ideal typology” a cluster of similar ideas would be the basis for differentiation. The “ideal typology,” borrowed from Max Weber, looked to common ideas among differing movements and leaders in their written statements. Actual behavior and attitudes toward the society require attention as well. This behavioral oversight is a weakness in an “ideal typology.” People have a way of saying one thing and doing another.

The Disciples of Christ have experienced development in the course of their history. The sociological analysis of that development needs clarification. An interpretative social history scheme awaits refinement, something other than “from sect to church.”

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Continued from page 48

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Just As I Lived It

by Lester G. McAllister

(Recalling events occurring during a 70-plus year fellowship in the Stone-Campbell Movement.)

It is perhaps an understatement to say 1968 was a time of social unrest. Not only was the civil rights issue in the news, but also our country's involvement in Vietnam. Conscientious young men were troubled as they faced induction into the armed services but did not believe in the cause for which they were being asked to serve. For young men entering the Christian ministry it was a particularly difficult time.

I first heard of David J. Batzka while serving on the commission on ministry of the Disciples regional board in Indiana. David, a member of First Christian Church, Monticello, had finished his preparation at Union Theological Seminary in New York City and was requesting ordination.

For ordination in Indiana three congregations needed to give approval. David was having difficulty finding such congregations because of his refusal to serve in the armed forces. His home congregation had refused approval and every other congregation approached.

David Batzka finally was ordained on November 3, 1969, in Illinois at the Disciples Divinity House at the University of Chicago. My position all along was that if the candidate was of good moral character, had leadership ability and had met the educational requirements, he should be ordained. His position in regard to military service should not be an issue. This proved to be a minority position as Batzka's case was debated in committee, in the regional board and in local congregations. In every instance I defended David's right to ordination, losing several good friends in the process.

Several years later, in Lexington, Kentucky, I finally met Batzka. I had not known him before and had begun to believe he was a fictional character. On meeting him I could not refrain from saying, "I'm so glad to know there really is a David Batzka!"

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DISCIPLIANA

The Quarterly Historical Journal of the
DISCIPLES OF CHRIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CONTENTS

THE MINISTRY OF LYREL GRACE TEAGARDEN:
MISSIONARY TO CHINA 1920-1951
Renee G. Hoke

THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST AND ECONOMIC LIFE 1929-1990
William O. Paulsell

BRINGING A VISION TO LIFE:
WALTER SCOTT AND THE RESTORED CHURCH
D. Newell Williams



Volume 56 • Number 3 • Fall, 1996

Published by	DISCIPLES OF CHRIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY Peter M. Morgan, President (morganpm@aol.com)	
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DISCIPLIANA (USPS 9950-060) is published quarterly for \$20.00 per year by the Disciples of Christ Historical Society which was established in 1941 "to maintain and further interest in religious heritage, backgrounds, origins, development, and general history of Disciples of Christ, Christian Churches, Churches of Christ and related groups." Members of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society receive *DISCIPLIANA* quarterly, along with other benefits. Annual membership categories are: Sustaining - \$50 to \$249, Participating - \$30, Regular - \$20, Students - \$10.00, Non-U.S. - \$25. Life Memberships are: Life - \$250, Life Link - \$500, Life Patron - \$1,000.

Contributors to *DISCIPLIANA* should submit manuscripts on 3.5 floppy disk in Wordperfect 5.1 or "text" format. Electronic manuscript submission via "text only" formatted e-mail or attached file accepted at DisHistSoc@aol.com. Postal mail should be addressed to: *DISCIPLIANA*, 1101 Nineteenth Avenue, South, Nashville, TN 37212-2196.

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The Disciples of Christ Historical Society Home Page: <http://users.aol.com/dishistsoc/index.htm>

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Indexed by Restoration Serials Index
ISSN 0732-9881
Second-class postage paid at Nashville, TN.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *DISCIPLIANA*, 1101 - 19th Avenue, South, Nashville, TN 37212-2196. Please give both old and new addresses and attach a mailing label from an old issue. USA: Please provide nine-digit code (ZIP+4).

—From the Editor's Desk

For more than a century North American Christians have debated whether the purpose of the church is to save souls or to change society. The history of the Stone-Campbell Movement provides examples of both kinds of efforts.

Sixty-six years ago Lyrel Grace Teagarden began missionary service in China under the auspices of the United Christian Missionary Society. Much of her ministry was devoted to evangelism and Christian education, though circumstances in China led her to also engage in humanitarian service. Literature of the period encouraging parents to support their children in choosing to become ministers or missionaries indicated that heroic young people were needed to "remake" the world. Ironically, Lyrel may have chosen overseas service because of the limited opportunities at home for women in ministry.

Beginning in the 1930s, the Department of Social Education and Social Action of the United Christian Missionary Society sought to direct the attention of Disciples to economic issues in North America. Since 1946, the International Convention and, later, the General Assembly has debated a variety of economic and social resolutions. Judging by the number of economic and social policy resolutions addressed by conventions and assemblies, the height of Disciples interest in changing society was in the 1960s and 70s. In 1968, South Africa and economic assistance to developing nations were added to the Disciples' agenda. Attention to social and economic issues at General Assemblies declined in the 1980s, but did not disappear. Labor relations, hunger, health care and global justice have been abiding concerns. Though conventions and assemblies have supported particular social and economic policies since the 1940s, they have as often called for the study of issues.

One hundred and sixty-nine years ago, a thirty-one year old Scots immigrant, Walter Scott, began an evangelistic ministry on the Western Reserve of Ohio that led to the separation of the Disciples from the Baptists and, as a result of the evangelistic method he developed, made the Disciples one of the fastest growing religious groups in nineteenth century America. There were six characteristics of Scott's ministry that contemporary Christians facing the challenge of increasingly unchurched communities may well want to examine.

The articles in this issue do not answer the question of whether the purpose of the church is to save souls or change society. However, the articles in this issue do tell part of the story of what it has meant in the Stone-Campbell Movement to make the Christian witness to individuals and social structures.

D. Newell Williams

—From the President's Desk

Ronald Osborn, one of "our" historians, earlier published a "Not Unbiased Memoir."

I like that notion as I consider the work of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society. We are a community of historians and most of us are flagrantly biased and intend to remain so! We believe that Jesus is the Christ and we want our work as historians to help the church remain strong in that faith.

In this issue of *Discipliana* our bias is evident in two forms: three articles and the report of new named funds.

D. Newell Williams has been giving Kirkpatrick lectures which help the church celebrate the two-hundredth anniversary of Walter Scott's birth. Newell has a bias that we stay strong in our faith. "Though we may use different language, we will not improve much on (Scott's) vision of a restored church--a church in which the gospel of Jesus Christ is the foundation on which all else rests and the unity that Christ gives is maintained and grows."

Renee Gaston Hoke is biased. She tells the heroic story of missionary Lyrel Teagarden. This is hagiography for Hoke's work puts us in the presence of one of our wonderful saints. Hagiographies are not unbiased. By the way, this article is a winner of the Lockridge Ward Wilson award, the Historical Society's annual prize for an outstanding student essay related to Stone Campbell history.

Through these pages William O. Paulsell's Griggs Lecture in Tulsa now comes to our community. He records the facts of Disciples' witness related to economic issues, 1929-1990. Bill's bias? He calls us to remain strong in the faith. "Disciples point to Jesus' concern for the poor and the helpless."

I am grateful to Newell, Bill and Renee for their history AND their bias!

Read the all-too-brief biographical sketches of those who have new named funds. Those are biased people. Most have lifetimes of distinguished service to the church. In giving to the Society's endowment fund they lean into faith, that which is more than fact. They believe that the witness of history is essential for the church's future.

I believe they are right and I believe that many others would find joy in following their lead. But, I'm biased!

Peter M. Morgan

The Ministry of Lyrel Grace Teagarden: Missionary to China 1920-1951

by Renee G. Hoke*

When Lyrel Grace Teagarden graduated from Bethany College in 1916, career options for women responding to a call to ministry in the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) were limited at best. The heated theological debates that had raged in the pages of the *Christian Standard* and *The Christian-Evangelist* during the 1880s and 1890s concerning a woman's right to preach had given way to decades of silence on the issue.¹ But the absence of theological debate in mainstream religious journals in no way signaled resolution of the issue or acceptance of women in the pulpit. Quite the contrary.

Perhaps the spirit of optimism and progress that swept both the church and American society immediately following World War I discouraged some religious journals from repeating the familiar theological arguments against women preachers. But opposition remained, expressed in other ways. "We shall not enter upon the question whether it is scriptural for women to preach," began an editorial in *Ministers' Monthly* in 1923.² It continued:

We want to make a very personal statement. And we want to make that statement from a very practical viewpoint. The very appearance of a woman in the pulpit or on a political rostrum stirs up a feeling of resentment within us, a feeling which arises, not from such superficial things as custom and habit, but from the fountain of the deep, our own nature. The resentment is strong enough to almost neutralize the effects of an address perhaps splendid as to its contents.³

Despite protests to the contrary, custom and habit did seem to be working against women seeking pastoral ministry. The 1920-21 *Yearbook and Annual Reports for the Disciples of Christ* lists the names of 7,212 full and part-time preachers. Only 113 women are included in the roster, 36 of whom are described as engaged in general church work. The remaining 77 women in full-time ministry and evangelism represents slightly more than one percent of all ministers reporting.⁴ Meanwhile, theological institutions were turning out more women graduates than ever, in part due to the displacement of men in military service overseas.⁵

Where was the woman of the 1920s to serve? The prescribed career track appeared to be world missions. "When a boy wishes to become a minister or a girl a missionary..." began a 1917 *Christian Century* editorial encouraging families to support religious careers for their children at the conclusion of the war.⁶ The editorial continued: "When the war is over, we shall have need of the heroism of our young people

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and the consecrated giving of their parents. The world is to be made over.” As the task of making the world over fired the imagination of church, mission funding and enrollment in mission training programs climbed steadily. The choice offered women called to ministry was limited—either remain in the country and continue to struggle against attitudes that limited a woman’s role in the church to “suitable” activities, or sail away to foreign shores where one’s talents and commitment seemed to matter more than one’s gender.

Available personal correspondence does not reveal whether Lyrel Teagarden critically analyzed her career alternatives before choosing to enroll in the College of Missions in 1917.⁷ We do know that she was the third generation in her family to enter the ministry. Grandfather Samuel Bottenfield Teagarden studied under Alexander Campbell at Bethany College before launching a ministry that would span 40 years. Her father Elmer Jay Teagarden completed studies at the University of Kentucky Bible College and the Yale School of Religion before accepting a call to pastor a Disciples congregation in Danbury, Connecticut, where he remained for 30 years.⁸ It was in this quiet Danbury setting that a young girl and budding poet, whose verses would later find their way onto the pages of *World Call*, composed a simple poem called “China” that expressed her curiosity about the people and customs of foreign lands.⁹ Who could have imagined then that China would become the site for her ministry for 31 years?

Whatever family dialogue might have transpired concerning Teagarden’s call to ministry, her enrollment at the College of Missions coincided with a period of great success and enthusiasm for foreign missions and record enrollment for that institution. *The Register and Announcement* for the 1918-1919 school year, under a section headed “Standards of Preparation for Foreign Service,” emphasized the necessity of more advanced and extensive preparation for the new generation of missionaries.

The short cut to the mission field, if it ever existed, is now virtually closed. The work in all lands has become so complex and so highly differentiated in its phases and departments as to call unmistakably for specialized leadership.¹⁰

The revised curriculum suggested as a three-year course of study included the science and history of missions, religions of the world, sociology, pedagogy, language training, medicine and hygiene, history of specific mission fields, oriental literature, philosophy and ethics, colonial government and international law.¹¹ In addition to academic training, students were required to devote a prescribed amount of time while in college to practical mission work, to participate in morning prayers and daily chapel services, and to assist with household duties in their residential hall.¹²

A member of the graduating class of 1920, which was recognized in the *Yearbook and Annual Reports* as the most successful year in the history of the College of Missions, Teagarden was one of 41 young men

and women to set sail that year for mission activities in China, Japan, India, Tibet, Africa, Mexico and Puerto Rico.¹³ The record graduating class brought to approximately 300 the number of Disciples men and women serving abroad.¹⁴

Terms of service for United Christian Missionary Society (UCMS) missionaries to Japan and China were described in the Foreign Missionary Manual as “five winters and four summers” for first term single missionaries, with “succeeding terms one year longer.”¹⁵ Prior to setting sail, new missionaries received an allowance of \$200 to assist in the purchase of “such articles as may be needed for the journey, or helping to furnish the home and to provide some necessary equipment for service.”¹⁶ Officially enrolled on the UCMS payroll in September 1920, Teagarden began her ministry with an annual salary of \$750.¹⁷

In addition to the specific details on missionary service, furloughs and allowances, the manual offered a glimpse of the mission objectives proposed by the UCMS during that period of world service. “It should be the purpose of the Society and all its missionaries to establish in all the fields, self-sustaining, self-propagating and self-governing churches” the manual stated under the section *Ideals for Native Churches*. “Increasingly, the missionaries will need to recognize that they are Christian guests and advisers on the field and that they must decrease while the native leaders increase.”¹⁸ As Teagarden’s ministry unfolds through her letters and reports from China, it is apparent that she embraced the philosophy with great enthusiasm, always eager to train and assist her Chinese sisters and brothers in all aspects of church work.

Teagarden’s ministry began in the interior of China at the ancient walled city of Luchowfu. Since 1897, Disciples had maintained a continual presence as the only Protestant missionaries in the city of 70,000 and the surrounding rural areas.¹⁹ In 1924, only a few years after Teagarden’s arrival, Luchowfu was described as “the best housed station on all the ten foreign fields of the UCMS.”²⁰ Upon her arrival, missionaries and their families serving the Luchowfu station numbered 16 adults and 14 children.²¹ Within the compound were six work centers—a sanctuary, chapel, separate boys and girls’ schools, a hospital and the Women’s Social Center, along with many residential buildings.²² Given the many opportunities for ministry within the Luchowfu facility, Teagarden divided her time and talents between evangelism, religious education and pastoral care.

Described at times in her ministry as a roving evangelist, Teagarden frequently left her quarters after breakfast, accompanied by one or more Chinese colleagues, for a day of visits and devotions in the homes of area residents.²³ Seemingly oblivious to class boundaries, the women might pay their respects first on a wealthy new bride, then stop to chat with a beggar, visit a teacher from a government school and conclude their day by helping to resolve a family dispute. Describing such a day in a 1925 article for *World Call*,

Teagarden noted that while at the home of a merchant, she was asked to help investigate the mysterious opening of a bolted door the previous evening. Seeking to calm the family's fears that a demon was haunting the residence, Teagarden "examined the door and showed how easily, with the aid of neither man nor demon, the bolt might slip out if it had not been fastened securely. The fears of the household were allayed," she reported.²⁴

While making her rounds, Teagarden would often call on independent churches in neighboring villages, offering her support to Chinese church leaders. Reporting back after a week of special evangelism meetings at the church in San Ho, Teagarden wrote: "though the membership is still small—less than 20 all told—the Christians are very much alive and in earnest. They seem to be sincerely living what they believe and their zeal is contagious. There is a promising group of inquirers."²⁵ Baptisms were reported regularly and enthusiastically by Teagarden and her Luchowfu colleagues, who frequently assumed a supporting role so that the service could be conducted by Chinese Christians.

Special days and occasions offered additional opportunities for evangelism in Luchowfu. Since Saturday was "Women's Day" in the province, women and girls from the city and rural areas would be invited to the station for worship and small group Bible study. Teagarden reported average weekly attendance of more than 100 at the Women's Day meetings.²⁶ Week-long evangelistic meetings conducted in the spring might result in 70-80 new inquirers.²⁷ Careful to avoid any undue pressure on her Chinese converts, Teagarden offered this account after one particularly successful series of meetings:

It was felt that those who came forward to acknowledge their intention to follow Christ did so not so much because their emotions had been stirred unduly, but because, after giving the matter serious consideration, they had come to the conclusion that the Christian way of life was the true way of salvation.²⁸

The UCMS ideal of the American missionary as guest served Teagarden well in her evangelistic efforts and is reflected not only in her reports but in the testimony of her Chinese friends and colleagues.²⁹

Despite her effectiveness as roving evangelist, it was Teagarden's skill and innovation as a religious educator that garnered international attention and recognition. As the children of Luchowfu and surrounding villages gathered each week for Sunday school, Teagarden observed great developmental variations depending on whether or not the rural children had attended school.³⁰ With much care and compassion, Teagarden restructured the classes so that each child could be instructed effectively yet feel comfortable in his or her surroundings. Because of her great admiration for her Chinese friends and their culture, Teagarden's Christian education programs frequently incorporated the beauty of local tradition and culture. For

example, a worship service in the primary department was “graced with the beauty and dignity” of an offering ceremony conducted by the children.³¹

Seeking to make education programs accessible to all children, Teagarden had the mission playground opened to underprivileged children during the week. “You must see them during the week as they come to our playground,” Teagarden wrote in *World Call*, taking her readers on a tour of the playground:

Big sisters and slave girls with babies on their backs, little boys and girls who ought to be in school but whose parents are too poor or too indifferent to send them, and older girls who have never learned to read and write. The daily playground program consists not only of free play and group games but also of classes in religious education and special courses in regular school subjects. Day by day the children come to play and to learn.³²

Searching for other ways outside the church classroom to encourage children to learn, Teagarden early in her ministry hit upon the idea of lending libraries. Soliciting donations of children’s books from her friends and supporters in the States, Teagarden’s book collection quickly attracted the attention of area children wherever she served.³³

It was in the development of a specialized curriculum for Chinese children that Teagarden’s talents as a religious educator were best demonstrated. In 1947 China’s National Committee for Religious Education recognized Teagarden’s skill and resourcefulness as a religious educator by selecting her curriculum for publication and distribution.³⁴ The program had been developed over several years with the collaboration of Teagarden’s Chinese colleagues in ministry.³⁵

The four-unit course, called “Working With the Heavenly Father We Build a New World,” included Bible study, original songs, stories, games and other activities designed to point to a “realization that what God has created still remains in spite of war and other calamities.”³⁶ Following publication, Teagarden was delighted, as she later shared with friends, to walk into a neighborhood bookstore and find copies of the first unit of her study on the shelves. In 1948, the Presbyterian Mission to China honored Teagarden with a literary prize recognizing “the contribution that your work was to our Christian work in China.”³⁷ That same year the World Council of Christian Education praised Teagarden’s series and requested 100 copies of English summaries of her work for immediate distribution to missionaries in 10 other countries.³⁸

As evangelist and educator, Teagarden demonstrated great expertise and creativity on the mission front. But it was in her devotion and care for the Chinese people, demonstrated especially during war time, that her pastoral skills were put to the test. It is no accident that Teagarden’s award-winning curriculum emphasized Christian witness in the midst of “war and calamity,” since that was

the context for her ministry throughout her 31 years in China.

In the spring of 1927, following successful expeditions by the Nationalist Army into northern China, the missionary group in Luchowfu was threatened with the approach of communist forces.³⁹ Telegrams from the American ambassador in Peking encouraged Teagarden and her colleagues to evacuate, but all routes outside the city had been blocked. Chinese friends fearing for the safety of the missionaries if they left the city, offered protection and food for the stranded Americans. As the first division of the Nationalist Army arrived in Luchowfu, the buildings of the missionary compound were confiscated and converted to quarters for the officers. "Lyrel and I slept in most of our clothes," wrote Laura Lynne Major, "just as a precaution against emergency, but we had no disturbance."⁴⁰ Despite the danger, Major and Teagarden refused to prepare for evacuation out of concern for their Chinese friends.

We girls had so hoped we might stay on through whatever came. And besides, if we had started earlier getting our things together and packing, the women and school girls would of course have known it, and would never have understood. Our efforts to go on as usual had a very decided steadying effect, and they know now that our leaving was not because of any doubt of their faithfulness or fear for our own personal safety.⁴¹

With anti-foreigner sentiment mounting as successive Nationalist divisions arrived in Luchowfu, the missionaries were forced at last to escape in the middle of the night with the help of their Chinese friends, who hid them outside the walls of the city for several days until safe passage could be secured to an American steamer waiting at Hong Kong.

Teagarden was the first Disciples missionary to return to an interior station after the revolution.⁴² Quickly she set to work to reclaim the ravaged compound at Luchowfu. A Community Welfare Institute was established to offer classes on health and nutrition to area mothers while their children enjoyed the restored playground facilities. Student nurses trained at the mission hospital helped attend to medical needs which were many.⁴³ Four months of flooding in 1931 was followed by extreme drought conditions and famine the following year.⁴⁴ At one point, with bandits roaming the countryside and rumors that the Nationalist Army was returning from the south, evacuation orders again arrived at the Luchowfu station. This time, Teagarden and the other single women at the compound elected to stay and continue operations.⁴⁵

Ministry for Teagarden and her colleagues during these years of deprivation meant caring for the whole person both spiritually and physically. For a while, the Social Service Center at the Luchowfu station became a placement office as Teagarden sorted through job applications and found positions for the most destitute men and women. Emergency food and clothing were distributed. Colleague Oswald Goulter directed a road-building project improving access to

important markets while providing workers with much-needed income to sustain their families.⁴⁶

It would be only a few years before Teagarden and her colleagues again faced war. In December 1937 Japanese planes bombed the airfield at Luchowfu.⁴⁷ Two months later the mission station was again evacuated. The missionaries travelled overland by rickshaw for four weeks to Hankow where they were reunited with Chinese church members who had escaped the fighting. Word came later that Japanese troops had captured Luchowfu and renamed the occupied city Hofei. Shells and looting had destroyed much of the compound. Only a few thousand people were left in the city of 70,000.⁴⁸

Seeking to be of some assistance to the people of China during this crisis, Teagarden and colleague Wenona Wilkinson volunteered to assist the International Red Cross in western China. Packing and departing Hankow “between air raids,” the women began a 10-day journey by steamer and bus to Kweiyang, where the Red Cross set up relief operations. Once again, Teagarden discovered more of her church members who had escaped the bitter fighting. After a devastating air raid destroyed the main business section of the city, a cave was blasted in a nearby mountain to serve as the warehouse for food and medication. Teagarden and Wilkinson supervised the operation of this rustic warehouse and assisted area churches in their relief work. Makeshift classrooms and hospital wards were erected. Nurseries were organized for small children so that women whose husbands had been killed in the war could find employment spinning and weaving.⁴⁹

Despite the desperate conditions, Teagarden’s correspondence from Kweiyang reveals the resourcefulness and indomitable spirit of a woman who had learned to accept life’s simple pleasures with gratitude. “Yesterday while waiting out in the woods for the all-clear to sound after an air raid warning, I started to jot down a few of the social affairs of the last three weeks...” began one letter, followed by descriptions of various dinners and teas shared with Chinese and American friends. Thanks are extended in the same letter for a recent issue of the *Ladies Home Journal* containing the story “All This and Heaven, Too.”⁵⁰

After two years of Red Cross duty in western China, Teagarden returned to the “desolation, terrorization, and frustration” of Hofei in February 1940.⁵¹ One visitor to the city wrote:

Hofei itself is a picture of desolation. In spite of the fact that there are 20,000 people there, it seems like a dead and abandoned city. In that depressing setting our workers are heartily carrying on and their efforts are being rewarded by a vital interest in the church and its activities. Sunday services are well attended and are unique in the presence of more men and boys than women and girls.⁵²

Seven years of reconstruction would pass before Teagarden and the Hofei group again would be forced to flee their home. An October 1947 newsletter reports a hurried exodus of the group when a roving band

of Communist soldiers began capturing country villages around the city. The newsletter noted “Dr. Corpron insisted the two single women missionaries evacuate, which they reluctantly did.”⁵³ Teagarden evacuated to nearby Nantung, which fell to Communist forces a few weeks later. Three months passed before news arrived that Teagarden was alive and well. Despite the war, Teagarden set to work to provide the people of Nantung with a Christmas to remember. Invitations were extended to the soldiers guarding the city to attend a Christmas pageant where the story of the coming of the Prince of Peace was told. “Refreshments were served, and games played in which the soldiers took part with as much enjoyment as the children,” Teagarden wrote. “It was a break in the humdrum routine of their military life which they seemed to appreciate heartily.”⁵⁴ Children from local orphanages, hospital patients and war prisoners were remembered with gifts of rice, vegetables and oranges as the Nantung station shared the Christmas message.

Between times of bombing and occupation, Teagarden and her American colleagues coped with continuing anti-foreigner sentiment. Describing one particularly embarrassing moment with her characteristic good humor, Teagarden reported:

Walking down Nantung’s main street, a street only about 12 feet wide and innocent of sidewalks, we heard the beat of drums and the clash of cymbals as a parade approached us from the rear. We increased our speed, but fast as we could go, the paraders completely filling that narrow street were catching up to us. With no escape, we found ourselves, the only two Americans for miles around, trotting along at the head of an anti-American demonstration parade. We were embarrassed. The paraders were embarrassed. The onlookers were embarrassed. We solved the problem by disappearing into a store and becoming absorbed in the price of yard goods.⁵⁵

Nantung would continue as Teagarden’s base for ministry until she left China in 1951 after 31 years of service. Following a two-year assignment in Jamaica, Teagarden retired from mission work but continued to travel and speak extensively including a trip to New Zealand in 1963. At the age of 70, Teagarden toured the country for several weeks, promoting world missions for the UCMS and recruiting church workers for India.⁵⁶

Teagarden’s retirement in 1953 coincided with the publication of a book called *Church Women in the Scheme of Things* by ordained Disciples minister Mossie Allman Wyker. More than three decades had passed since Teagarden first charted the course for her overseas ministry. Had progress been made in the meantime for her peers serving churches in the States? Here is Wyker’s assessment:

Great is the opportunity of church women today, for they have resources of spiritual power and inner security which make it possible for them to assume the initiative in their communities. They, not knowing that barriers are irremovable, proceed to accomplish seemingly impossible tasks. But women are restless in the church. They have been told by a woman theologian that the church is the last stronghold of male domination. They look around and see that

women have entered all professions—education, law, medicine, government, business—and are attaining distinction. Yet in the church, established for the perpetuation of the teachings of their Lord, women remain “second class” members.⁵⁷

Statistics from the *1953 Disciples Yearbook and Annual Report* reveal the names of 163 women (excluding missionaries) in full-time ministry, 89 of whom are listed as engaged in general church work. The remaining 74 women in full-time ministry and evangelism account for .98 percent of a total 7,529 full- and part-time ministers.⁵⁸ While the total percentage of Disciples women in full-time ministry within the U.S. increased .6 percent between 1920-1921 and 1953, the gain can be attributed to a sharp rise in the percentage of women in general church work, which more than doubled. The percentage of women in ministry and evangelism actually dropped slightly, from 1.06 percent in 1920-1921 to .98 percent in 1953.

While the life and ministry of Lyrel Teagarden is remarkable indeed, hers is by no means an exceptional story. For generations, Disciples women have heard God’s call to ministry and have responded with resourcefulness and tenacity. Demonstrating an extraordinary devotion to the gospel of Jesus Christ, these women have risen above their historical and social circumstances to serve their church with creativity and commitment. The church today is the fortunate recipient of their legacy.

Notes

¹See the following issues of the *Christian Standard*, 18 (November 1883), 23 (June 1888), 28 (January-February 1892), 29 (June-July 1893). Also see *The Christian-Evangelist*, 25 (April 1888), 29 (October 1892), 29 (December 1892), 30 (May 1893). A summary of these debates can be found in Janet Riley’s “The Ordination of Disciple Women: A Matter of Economy or Theology,” *Encounter*, 50 (Summer 1989): 219.

²“New Ministers’ Monthly,” *The Christian Century* 40 (January 1923): 56.

³Ibid.

⁴*Yearbook and Annual Reports 1920-1921* (St. Louis: United Christian Missionary Society, 1921), 270. I obtained these statistics by counting the number of women’s names listed. While some allowance must be made for error where gender is not obvious by the name listed, the variance is insignificant in relation to the general trends cited.

⁵“Theological School Attracts Women Students,” *The Christian Century* 34 (December 1917): 10.

⁶“Giving Up Our Boys,” *The Christian Century* 34 (August 1917): 8.

⁷As determined by researching Teagarden’s biographical files as furnished by the Disciples of Christ Historical Society, Nashville. In addition, the files of missionaries who had served with Teagarden at various posts in China were also examined.

⁸Obtained from family genealogical records provided by Dr. Kenneth Teegarden of Ft. Worth, Texas.

⁹Lyrel Teagarden, *Some Old Fashioned Verse* (Privately printed, 1984), 4.

¹⁰Register and Announcement 1918-1919 (Indianapolis: College of Missions, 1918), 10.

¹¹Ibid., 11.

¹²Ibid., 18.

¹³*Yearbook*, 23.

¹⁴“A Significant Missionary Advancement,” *The Christian Century* 38 (May 1921): 4.

¹⁵*Foreign Missionary Manual* (St. Louis: The United Christian Missionary Society, 1920), 20.

¹⁶Ibid., 14.

¹⁷Obtained from a copy of Teagarden’s “Record of Ministerial Service” as recorded for the Commission on the Ministry (Disciples of Christ) and preserved in her biographical files, Disciples

Historical Society.

¹⁸*Foreign Missionary Manual*, 34.

¹⁹Edna Kurz Settlemyer, *Disciples of Christ in China: A Brief History of Mission Work* (St. Louis: United Christian Missionary Society, 1924), 25.

²⁰"Sunrise in Luchowfu," *World Call* 6 (October 1924): 1.

²¹O. J. Goulter, "Volcanic Patriotism in China," *World Call* 7 (September 1925): 52.

²²Teagarden, "Golden Chains," *World Call* 6 (October 1924): 27.

²³China Newsletter (April 4, 1948), 3—An unpublished series on file at the Disciples of Christ Historical Society, Nashville.

²⁴Teagarden, "Four Hours with Chinese Friends," *World Call* 7 (May 1925): 38.

²⁵Teagarden, "A Christian Home in China," *World Call* 11 (October 1929): 50.

²⁶*China Mission Newsletter* (July 1940), 6—another unpublished newsletter from the mission front on file at the Disciples Historical Society.

²⁷"Assignment—Nantung," *World Call* 30 (July/August 1948): 40.

²⁸*China Newsletter* (April 1948), 2.

²⁹*China Newsletter* (November 1948), 2.

³⁰Teagarden, "Boys, Girls and Babies," *World Call* 16 (June 1934): 26.

³¹*Ibid.*

³²*Ibid.*

³³Teagarden letter from Jamaica, 1.

³⁴*China Newsletter* (November 1947), 2.

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷*China Newsletter*, Nanking (August 1948), 4.

³⁸*China Newsletter*, Nanking (November 1948), 2.

³⁹Letter from Laura Lynne Major, aboard steamer President Jefferson near Hong Kong harbor, to family, 24 April 1927. [Special collections: Disciples of Christ Historical Society]

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

⁴¹*Ibid.*

⁴²*The Assistant Pastor* (East Aurora, N.Y.: Church of Christ/Disciples, 1929): 2.

⁴³Teagarden, "For the Uplift of the Community," *World Call* 12 (September 1930): 40.

⁴⁴Wilfred E. Powell, *Scattered Seed: The Story of the Oswald Goulters* (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1969), 74.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 72.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 75.

⁴⁷*China Newsletter* (March 1938), 1.

⁴⁸Teagarden, "Going Around in a Circle," *World Call* 22 (June 1940): 13.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*

⁵⁰Letter from Teagarden, Kweiyang, China, to Laura Lynne Major, 6 November 1939. [Special collections: Disciples of Christ Historical Society]

⁵¹*Ibid.*

⁵²*China Newsletter* (August 1940), 1.

⁵³*China Newsletter* (October 1947), 2.

⁵⁴Teagarden, "Christmas in Nantung Spreads Cheer," *World Call* 30 (December 1948): 44.

⁵⁵*China Mission News* (September 1950), 2.

⁵⁶Letter from Teagarden, Danbury, Connecticut, to friends, Christmas 1964.

⁵⁷Mossie Allman Wyker, *Church Women in the Scheme of Things* (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1953), 5.

⁵⁸*Disciples of Christ 1953 Yearbook* (Indianapolis: International Convention of Disciples of Christ, 1953), 257. Statistics again determined by counting the women listed, excluding foreign missionaries and students in order to focus on clergywomen engaged in professional ministry in the United States.

The Disciples of Christ and Economic Life 1929-1990

by William O. Paulsell*

Normally, we would expect the church to give more attention to God than to mammon. However, economic life, so basic to all of us, has not been ignored by the church. Indeed, it has often been a subject of intense interest. Since the Depression of the 1930s, the Disciples have often spoken out on economic issues and have felt that the Gospel had something important to say about money and how its getting and spending should be done.

The starting point of this survey is 1929, the beginning of the Great Depression, that huge economic setback that had such a profound effect on American life. People who lived through those days are still affected by them and the experience colors their economic outlook in many ways. The failure of banks, the closing of factories, and the substantial unemployment that followed brought hardship to millions.

The stock market crash of October, 1929, was certainly the most spectacular sign of its arrival. However, it took people a while to realize exactly what had happened. Like many Americans, the Disciples did not immediately recognize the implications of the crash. In a November 28, 1929, issue of *The Christian-Evangelist*, a forerunner of the present day magazine, *The Disciple*, a current events column noted that business was still good in spite of the crash. The Wall Street events, however, had generated a more sober attitude among people, causing them to re-examine some of their values. The paper said, "After the crash men suddenly became more serious. Night clubs closed, jazz bands disbanded, women's dress became more modest."¹

Almost a year later, however, Disciples were facing the deeper realities of the Depression. C. E. Lemmon, minister of the Hamilton Avenue Christian Church in St. Louis, noted in *The Christian-Evangelist* that agriculture was depressed, production was decreasing, and unemployment was climbing. He wrote that "... we are now in a mood that seems to have a deadly grip on our minds. It is the mood of depression. This mood of depression is setting down like a pall on our American life."² Early in 1931, a *Christian-Evangelist* editorial said, "We should never have thought that anything like this would or could come to America."³

At the beginning of 1932 James Crain, in his regular column on social issues in *World Call*, expressed a lack of confidence in national leaders. "They seem hopelessly bewildered by the calamity which has befallen the system which they have built and utterly at sea as to the way out," he wrote. "Like babes lost in the woods they do not seem to know which way to turn."⁴

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Where did Disciples think they should turn? In 1932 Franklin Roosevelt was elected President and instituted a program popularly called the New Deal. *The Christian-Evangelist* devoted more space than any other Disciples periodical to the New Deal.

In the beginning *The Christian-Evangelist* generally supported Roosevelt and the New Deal, and took note of the remarkable popularity of the President. By 1934, however, it was aware of the rising tide of criticism. It commented that those who criticized the New Deal could not agree on what was wrong with it.⁵ While there were just and valid criticisms of the program, it was still true that many human needs were being met.⁶

In March of 1935 *The Christian-Evangelist* admitted that Roosevelt's popularity had diminished. The current events column stated that "the Roosevelt honeymoon is collapsed in ugly marital discord." There seemed to be a lack of coherence in the New Deal program, the various New Deal agencies had not been able to increase employment or industrial production, and Roosevelt had lost interest in "the forgotten man" in order to court the support of business.⁷

In August of 1935 there began to be expressed concerns about government spending. *The Christian-Evangelist* feared that there would have to be increased taxation in the future. There was "sound reason for concern," said the current events columnist. The paper stated that while cuts in spending needed to be made, there were better places to cut than in the relief programs. In particular, military spending and "the impossible bureaucracy" could be cut. It was better to cut in these areas than to cut the relief for people out of work because of conditions they could not control.⁸

The Christian-Evangelist commented from time to time on the various New Deal laws and agencies that were created: the Civilian Conservation Corp, the Works Progress Administration, the National Recovery Administration, Agricultural Adjustment Act, banking and securities legislation, the Tennessee Valley Authority. These were often greeted with hope and later criticized with disappointment. But over all, *The Christian-Evangelist* supported efforts to try new ideas to get America out of the Depression.

A search through the annual *Year Books* reveals much about the interests of Disciples leadership, both national and local. Reading the reports of agencies and resolutions passed at International Conventions and General Assemblies certainly makes one aware of the issues in modern American history. Civil rights, the Viet Nam war, the Equal Rights Amendment, Watergate, gay rights, ecology, and handgun control, all received attention and debate at Disciples meetings.

During the late 1930s and the World War II years, the Department of Social Education and Social Action of the United Christian Missionary Society was the source of the Disciples attention to economic issues. For example, the 1937 *Year Book*, reports that attention was given to industrial labor issues, the situation of sharecroppers, and a cooperative farm in Mississippi.⁹ The next year, 1938, there was

reported more concern about labor problems. The Department noted opposition to the Wagner Act by large employers, dissatisfaction with the National Labor Relations Board, and the conflict within the labor movement over craft versus industrial unionism. It also reported that it participated in a number of conferences involving both employers and labor leaders.¹⁰

The 1940 report of the Department of Social Education and Social Action of the United Christian Missionary Society insisted that economic life was a legitimate concern of the churches because it affected the lives of church members. The report stated, "Christians are among the unemployed. Christians suffer the consequences of low wages, bad working conditions, job insecurity. Christians sometimes have to live in worn-out, unsanitary houses. Church members are members of labor unions and take part in industrial disputes and strikes. Beyond all these considerations is the fact that the church is committed to building brotherhood and understanding among men and must of necessity make a contribution to the task of making economic relations Christian."¹¹

During the first half of the 1940s the Disciples, like everyone else, were primarily concerned with World War II. However, beginning in 1946, the International Convention and, later, the General Assembly, debated a variety of resolutions on economic issues.

The 1946 International Convention was held in Columbus, Ohio. For the first time, it elected a full-time Executive Secretary, Gaines Cook, and established a permanent office for the Convention in Indianapolis. A resolution on "Economic Tensions" was submitted. Taking note of the labor-management conflicts of the post-war era, the resolution called for support of statements on economic life of the Federal Council of Churches, urged ministers "to give attention to the underlying causes of economic conflict," as well as the spiritual needs of both management and labor, and commended efforts to bring labor and management together for the study of issues. The resolution did state that "it is not the function of the church to become partisan in situations of industrial conflict or to take sides in specific industrial struggles," but "to proclaim to both management and labor that they are alike under the judgment of God and are thus obligated to practice the law of Christian brotherhood which begins with justice, fair dealing and mutuality of interest." A motion to recommit the resolution failed, and the convention voted approval.¹²

At the 1948 Convention in San Francisco, two resolutions on economic life were approved. One called for an increase in the fifteen percent limit on the income tax deduction for charitable giving and stated that the use of the standard deduction tended to discourage contributions. The other resolution, titled "Resolution Reaffirming American Economic Ideology," was an affirmation of American capitalism. It described capitalism as "that economic and social philosophy which aims to provide equality of opportunity for each individual to improve his economic position, to encourage initiative, to protect the right to

own property as a basic human right, to assure his right to follow the vocation of his choice, to enable each individual to enjoy the fruits of his labor, and to exercise his God-given right to render an account of his stewardship.”

While recognizing that the system has sometimes been abused by greed and the misuse of power, the resolution said that great progress has been made in restraining greed and exploitation and cited as examples “anti-trust laws, anti-discrimination laws, pure food and drug laws, fair-trade laws, anti-child labor laws, fair labor laws, social security and employment-security laws.”¹³

Because the resolution was a reaction to a statement on economic life from the World Council of Churches, it was not passed but was referred to the Commission on the Church and Economic Life for study. At the Cincinnati Convention the next year, the Commission stated that the resolution had been written before the World Council statements were actually available. A recommendation was made that the resolution not be approved, and the Convention agreed.¹⁴

No major resolutions on economic life came before the Convention again until 1956, when one was proposed called “Regarding Social Concerns.” It urged local churches to initiate study programs on such issues as “the doctrine of vocation, labor-management relations, the place of women in business and industry, the implications for the individual’s employment to be found in his beliefs about the alcohol trade, world peace, and similar social issues.” Ministers were asked to preach one or two sermons a year on these issues, and congregations were encouraged to offer retreats for members of various professions “so that they can think together about the meaning of the Christian faith for their own jobs.”¹⁵ The resolution passed with minor revisions.

In the 1957 Convention in Cleveland, a more extensive statement on the church and economic life was approved. It stated that “while complete equality of privilege or economic reward is not possible, there are minimum standards of economic life for any given culture below which no one should be allowed to fall.” The resolution expressed concerns about declining family farm income, the expansion of job classifications eligible for the minimum wage, the need for economic and technical assistance to other parts of the world, the liberalizing of foreign trade, and assistance for the handicapped and the aged.¹⁶

During the 1960s and ’70s a great deal of time and energy was devoted to debating social issues at general gatherings. The 1961 Kansas City Convention dealt with a mixed bag of economic resolutions. The Lindenwald Christian Church in Hamilton, Ohio, submitted a resolution that anticipated the current Medicare program. It urged “the enactment of the necessary legislation by the appropriate legislative bodies of the Government of the United States in the form of medical aid made available to those on Social Security.” The convention, on the advice of the Committee on Recommendations, did not approve the resolution.¹⁷ However, the subject would come up again in future conventions.

The Convention approved a strong resolution on communism, presented by well-known leaders including Granville Walker, Riley Montgomery, J. Clyde Wheeler, M. E. Sadler, Leslie R. Smith, and Myron Cole. The resolution expressed concern that communism was trying to undermine Christian faith by dividing the World Christian Community. It said, "There is a great and increasing need for the whole church to understand the real threat of communism and to take effective steps to strengthen the positive Christian witness and mission in the world in order to demonstrate that its answer to man's need is superior to the promise of communism."¹⁸ The resolution was approved.

At the Los Angeles Convention in 1962 the issue of health care for the aged came up again. It was stated that the increasing cost of medical care was creating serious hardships for those on Social Security and/or "small fixed pensions." The resolution called for legislation to deal with this situation. This time it passed.¹⁹ The same convention also passed a resolution on the rehabilitation of families on relief²⁰ and on the relevance of the gospel to all human problems.²¹

The warm climate of Miami Beach provided the setting for the 1963 Convention. A resolution on "Extremist Political and Economic Movements" was approved. It expressed concern about organizations that accused citizens who disagreed with them of being subversive, un-American, dupes of foreign powers, and pro-communist. Specifically, it opposed groups who believed that their economic beliefs were "the only legitimate Christian approach to economics."²²

Another resolution, titled "Concerning a Social Welfare Philosophy," was approved by the Convention. It was intended as a guide for congregational study of health and welfare issues. It stated that "the meeting of human need for food, shelter, and clothing, is one of the major ways that the Church fulfills its nature and its purpose for being, as it engages in service." The ultimate legal responsibility for people in need was placed on township, county, state, and national governments. The resolution stated, "We believe that all citizens should support through appropriate political activity adequate tax appropriations to enable these units of government to provide for those in need." Church sponsored programs of health and welfare services should be related to governmental programs, but not in the area of finances. "The church," said the resolution, "would be wise to follow the rule that government programs should be supported by tax funds and church programs by voluntary contributions." However, the resolution added, "We believe that every person, insofar as he is able, is responsible for caring for his own health and welfare needs."²³

In 1964, the Detroit Convention approved a lengthy resolution titled "Concerning Poverty Amidst Plenty in the United States and Canada." It expressed concern about high unemployment among older workers, youth, racial minorities, and people living in depressed areas. It called for support of efforts by business and labor to have minimum wage standards, discourage overtime, and provide for long term unemploy-

ment benefits. It encouraged cooperation with the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity, the Small Business Administration, the Manpower Development and Training Act, and the Aid to Families with Dependent Children Act. It called for "a comprehensive and coherent educational and action program designed to involve local congregations and brotherhood agencies in support of legislative and business measures for the elimination of poverty in the United States and Canada."²⁴ At the same Convention, a resolution was proposed that the body "take no public position on any political, economic, social or international issue" without the approval of at least two-thirds of our local congregations. That resolution was defeated.²⁵

In the 1966 (Dallas), 1967 (St. Louis) and 1968 (Kansas City) Conventions resolutions were passed on economic justice for agricultural workers, truth in lending legislation, and the need for low income housing.

The 1968 Convention saw the first appearance of an issue that would continue for a quarter of a century. That was the issue of investments in South Africa. Because of the South African apartheid system, church agencies were encouraged to disassociate themselves from corporations that support "wittingly or unwittingly" apartheid and to demonstrate concern at stockholders' meetings.²⁶

Another resolution "Concerning World Order, Justice and Peace," called for economic assistance to developing nations and said that "The role of the church in developing pilot programs and motivating peoples and governments toward a concern for the problems of the less developed nations is of great importance."²⁷

At this Convention a report was presented from "The Committee for 1970 and Beyond" which gave attention to setting future goals for the church. Among the concerns expressed was the "elimination of war, poverty, and hunger."²⁸

In 1969, as a result of Restructure, the first biennial General Assembly was held in Seattle. One of the major issues being debated in the nation at that time was the development of the ABM or Anti-Ballistic Missile System. The Disciples Peace Fellowship submitted a resolution which quoted President Eisenhower's warning about the influence of the military-industrial complex. It urged the President of the United States to postpone the system and called on congregations to study how the military-industrial complex affects such concerns as the urban-racial crisis, hunger, education, aid to developing nations, and the possible militarization of American foreign policy. The Assembly voted to approve the resolution and refer it to the Department of Church and Society for implementation.²⁹

The same General Assembly passed a resolution endorsing the principle of some form of family income support which would, at the same time, be adequate to maintain health and human decency and also "afford incentive to productive economic activity."³⁰

A related resolution, "Concerning Hunger in America," called on the Federal Government "to exert full and vigorous administrative au-

thority to assure that all citizens suffering hunger and malnutrition be aided immediately. It also called on congregations "to investigate the extent and the causes of hunger and malnutrition in their own communities" and "to instigate action programs to eliminate such conditions."³¹ Finally the General Assembly called upon congregations to become involved in non-profit corporations that provide low income housing.³²

In 1971 (Louisville), the investment issue came up again. Although the resolution did not specifically mention South Africa, it called upon the General Minister and President to appoint a task force to develop guidelines for investment policies for congregations, regions, and institutional units of the church. It expressed concerns about ecology, employment practices regarding minorities and women, military contracts, business activity overseas that exploits developing nations, and businesses which "violate safety standards, manufacture inferior products, and use unfair advertising methods."³³

At the same Assembly, a resolution on social welfare was adopted. It reaffirmed as a principle a national family income plan to replace the current welfare system which would not be lower than the poverty level as determined by the federal government. It called for incentives to productive economic activity, but said that any work offered to those on assistance should pay at least the minimum wage, and that mothers with pre-school children should not be required to work in order to qualify for public assistance.³⁴ Finally, this Assembly, meeting in Louisville, called for the creation of a national health care system.³⁵

The 1973 Assembly met in Cincinnati. Three resolutions dealt with economic matters. One, "Concerning Economic Justice and Human Welfare," noted that previous Assemblies had called upon governments to relieve hunger and malnutrition and that little progress had been made. This resolution reaffirmed a basic concern for the underprivileged, support for state and national programs to end hunger, and the need for the involvement of those who suffer in the decision making process.³⁶ A second related resolution called on the government to give priority to "life-giving programs" rather than to "military programs and the development of systems of death and destruction."³⁷ In response to the action of the Louisville Assembly in 1971 that guidelines be developed for investing, a report was given as to how general units, regions, and higher education institutions were responding to the guidelines.³⁸

The 1975 and 1977 General Assemblies continued to discuss issues that had come up at previous assemblies: world hunger, the needs of farm workers, full employment, and South African investments. The 1975 Assembly in San Antonio debated a number of resolutions which attempted to prevent the denomination from expressing positions on social issues, but all of them failed to pass. The 1977 Assembly in Kansas City did disapprove a resolution calling for a national health care system.

A new issue appeared in 1977. A resolution was presented dealing

with labor-management relations at J. P. Stevens and Company. J. P. Stevens and Company was a large textile manufacturing company with the majority of its plants located in North and South Carolina. The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union was attempting to organize the workers at J. P. Stevens. The National Labor Relations Board and the courts had found J. P. Stevens guilty of illegal activity in attempting to prevent unionization of its workers. Noting that in 1937 the International Convention of the Disciples of Christ had resolved that workers had the right to organize, form, and join labor organizations, the 1977 resolution reaffirmed that belief. It called for the J. P. Stevens management "to stop its interference with organizing efforts of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and to engage in 'good faith' collective bargaining in plants where the workers have voted for the union." It listed the brand names of Stevens' products and urged church members not to buy them.³⁹ A report was presented to the St. Louis General Assembly in 1979 indicating that the NLRB continued to find J. P. Stevens guilty of unfair labor practices. The report included an appeal by eight leaders of the African American Disciple churches in the Carolinas to stop the discriminatory practices from which their church members who worked for Stevens had suffered.⁴⁰

In 1981 and 1983 there were resolutions on energy conservation, world hunger, divestment of investments in South Africa, and maximizing employment. The group that had earlier been formed to develop investment guidelines was now called the Advisory Group on Corporate Responsibility. A resolution asking this group to make annual reports to the General Board of the Disciples on how regions, general units, and institutions were responding to the guidelines was approved at the 1983 Assembly in San Antonio.⁴¹

The only resolution of economic significance in 1985 was one on the preservation of the family farm. In 1987 a rather lengthy study document for the church was presented on the subject of "Economic Systems - Their Impact on the Third World." It was subtitled, "A Beginning Christian Study." It stated that economic issues are closely related to world peace issues. "True security for people," the document said, "demands respect for human rights, including the right to self-determination, as well as social and economic justice for all within every nation and a political framework that would ensure it." The Biblical tradition has a special concern for the poor. The document analyzed various economic systems such as free market capitalism and socialism as well as how the economies were working in Chile, South Korea, and China. It had sections on Third World debt, military expenditures around the world, and applying Christian ethics to economic problems. While the study document did not take a particular position, it did encourage debate and discussion with those whose views differed. It concluded, "As we wrestle with different positions, our awareness of economic and political realities may broaden." It insisted that "justice is more basic than any theory of economic relations."⁴²

At the 1989 General Assembly in Indianapolis, the Corporate Advisory Responsibility Committee reported that it had narrowed to seven its list of companies doing business in South Africa in which the church should not invest: Chevron, Control Data, IBM, Mobil, Royal Dutch Shell, Texaco, and Unisys. Most of the church agencies had divested of these companies. Those that still owned stock in at least one of these seven were Atlantic Christian College, Drury, Lynchburg, Midway, Northwest Christian, Texas Christian University, and William Woods. All seminaries either had divested or were in the process. The only region of the church that was listed as holding stock in one of the companies was Virginia.⁴³ A substitute resolution calling on those who had not yet divested to do so was also passed.⁴⁴ With the election of Nelson Mandela in South Africa, however, this issue would cease to exist.

There was a resolution “Concerning Economic Justice for Women” that called for adequate wages and benefits for women. It urged local churches and regions “to act locally toward economic justice for women through programs such as Mother-to-Mother Ministry, through the establishment of quality day care for children, and through just economic priorities for church employed women, particularly with equal pay and benefits.”⁴⁵

The 1991 Assembly in Tulsa, best known for its refusal to elect the nominee as General Minister and President, had two resolutions of economic significance. One called for a change in the Social Security earnings limit law so that low income people would not be penalized.⁴⁶ The other called for salaries for women ministers equal to those of men.⁴⁷

The 1993 General Assembly in St. Louis had three resolutions on the agenda that dealt with economic issues. One was a “Resolution for Sustainable Community.” It expressed concern for the growing gap between the rich and the poor. “As Christians, we can no longer tolerate a situation where twenty percent of the world’s people consume eighty percent of the world’s resources.” It stated that “the most serious problems facing the world today arise from lifestyles of ever expanding consumption and production, which exhaust and contaminate God’s life sustaining systems and create and perpetuate gross inequalities between and within peoples.” It resolved that “the people of God have a special responsibility to develop new visions of lives which are sustaining and sustainable,” and called on churches to give attention to the issue.⁴⁸

A second resolution was “Concerning the U.S. Economic Embargo Against Cuba.” The Disciples, according to the resolution, had a relationship with the Christian Pentecostal Church of Cuba and the Cuban Ecumenical Council. The embargo prohibited not only industrial materials and gasoline, but also medicine, food, and “other life sustaining elements.” The resolution called on Disciples to urge Congress to “lift travel restrictions, allow for direct trading of medi-

cines and food, and take other steps to end the embargo against Cuba.” It also urged President Clinton “to begin the process of normalizing trade and diplomatic relations with Cuba.”⁴⁹

Finally, a third resolution called for “access to all medically necessary care for everyone living in the United States, as well as in Canada.” This call included immunization, diagnosis, primary and acute care, extended care and rehabilitative services, and mental health. There should be a single national budget for health care, if necessary, and it should be financed by contributions from corporations and individuals, general revenues, and “taxes on products and manufacturing methods that damage health.” It also asked that people have a choice of providers.⁵⁰

Obviously, resolutions on economic issues, by their very nature, tend to be controversial. Efforts were made to prevent such items from even coming to General Assemblies. Disciple Renewal, a conservative subgroup within the Disciples, developed, in part, in opposition to the church speaking out on such issues. It has sometimes been said that resolutions were passed at General Assemblies that would never pass in any known local church.

Richard Hamm, the current General Minister and President, elected in 1993, was acutely aware of the polarization that Assembly actions created in the church. He believed that a twenty-four minute debate on a highly controversial issue followed by a vote was not the proper way for the church to express its views. He proposed a “Process of Discernment” whereby major issues would be studied by the whole church between Assemblies, and a statement developed of what Disciples can say together and where they have disagreements. These statements would then be presented to the next Assembly as “sense of the Assembly” resolutions. In theory, a position would be taken that was the result of study by congregations and other groups within the church that would be more representative. Emergency resolutions requiring an immediate decision would still be allowed.⁵¹ No doubt there will be further discussion of this process.

This survey reveals a declining interest in economic issues, at least as far as Disciples conventions and assemblies giving attention to them are concerned. During the 1930s and '40s there was great interest in labor management relations, minimum wages, unemployment, working conditions, and other economic issues. Since that time, however, there has been an obvious decrease in interest in such concerns unless they were related to such issues as women's rights or apartheid in South Africa.

There are those who say the church should only concern itself with spiritual matters, that economic issues are not proper business for the church. Disciples, however, point to Jesus' concern for the poor and the helpless. He admonished us to feed the hungry, clothe the poor, and heal the sick. A faith that does not move us to care about the material plight of the human family is not faithful to the Biblical tradition. Economic justice is an important element in the Christian

ethic. Responsible Christian living requires making it possible for people to fulfill their potential. Disciples' statements on economic life have implied that the Gospel applies to all aspects of our lives, for all aspects of our lives exist under the sovereignty of a God who created the material world and told us to use it responsibly.

Notes

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²C. E. Lemmon, "American Moods," *The Christian-Evangelist*, LXVII:40 (October 2, 1930), p. 1295.

³"900,000 Wasted Hands Stretched Out to Us," *The Christian-Evangelist*, LXVI-II:6 (February 5, 1931), p. 184.

⁴James A. Crain, "Listening in on the World," *World Call*, XIV:1 (January, 1932), p. 22.

⁵"Christian Review of Today," *The Christian-Evangelist*, LXXI:19 (May 10, 1934), p. 609.

⁶"Let Them Eat Cake," *The Christian-Evangelist*, LXXI:9 (May 10, 1934), pp. 610-611.

⁷"Christian Review of Today," *The Christian-Evangelist*, LXXII:10 (March 7, 1935), p.309.

⁸"Christian View of Today," *The Christian-Evangelist*, LXXII (August 1, 1935), p. 993.

⁹*Year Book 1937*, p. 53.

¹⁰*Year Book 1938*, pp. 54-55.

¹¹*Year Book 1940*, p. 61.

¹²*Year Book 1946*, pp. 18-19.

¹³*Year Book 1948*, pp. 28, 32-33.

¹⁴*Year Book 1949*, p. 22.

¹⁵*Year Book 1956*, p. 90.

¹⁶*Year Book 1957*, pp. 81-82.

¹⁷*Year Book 1961*, pp. 31-32.

¹⁸*Year Book 1961*, pp. 35-36.

¹⁹*Year Book 1962*, pp. 51-52.

²⁰*Year Book 1962*, p. 54.

²¹*Year Book 1962*, p. 44.

²²*Year Book 1963*, p. 38.

²³*Year Book 1963*, pp. 58-59.

²⁴*Year Book 1964*, pp. 50-51.

²⁵*Year Book 1964*, p. 64.

²⁶*Year Book 1968*, p. 39.

²⁷*Year Book 1968*, p. 59.

²⁸*Year Book 1968*, p. 48.

²⁹*Year Book 1969*, p. 159.

³⁰*Year Book 1969*, p. 161.

³¹*Year Book 1969*, p. 161.

³²*Year Book 1969*, pp. 169-170.

³³*Year Book 1972*, p. 154.

³⁴*Year Book 1972*, p. 158.

³⁵*Year Book 1972*, pp. 168-170.

³⁶*Year Book 1974*, p. 152.

³⁷*Year Book 1974*, p. 154.

³⁸*Year Book 1974*, pp. 194-200.

³⁹*Year Book 1978*, pp. 232-233.

⁴⁰*Year Book 1980*, pp. 300-301.

⁴¹*Year Book 1984*, p. 253.

⁴²*Year Book 1988*, pp. 284-301.

⁴³*Year Book 1990*, p. 258.

⁴⁴*Year Book 1990*, pp. 301-302.

⁴⁵*Year Book 1990*, p. 295.

⁴⁶*Year Book 1992*, p. 290.

⁴⁷*Year Book 1992*, p. 302.

⁴⁸*Year Book 1994*, pp. 312-313.

⁴⁹*Year Book 1994*, pp. 331-332.

⁵⁰*Year Book 1994*, pp. 333-334.

⁵¹*Business Docket and Program of the 1995 General Assembly*, pp. 294-301.

THOMAS C. CAMPBELL NAMED FUND

Thomas C. Campbell's family has been associated with the Christian Church since the 1830s, a time when Alexander Campbell was traveling in Eastern Virginia organizing Disciples congregations. His home church was Corinth Christian Church in Tidewater, Virginia. He has since been a member of Brentwood Christian Church in Pittsburgh, First Christian Church in Morgantown while he was on the faculty at West Virginia University, and since 1981 an active member of Seventh Street Christian Church in Richmond. Thomas is a life member and this Named Fund was established by his gift.

Bringing A Vision to Life: Walter Scott and the Restored Church

by D. Newell Williams*

Walter Scott, born at Moffat, Scotland, October 31, 1796, has often been identified along with Barton W. Stone and Thomas and Alexander Campbell as one of the "four founders" of the movement which is represented today by the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), the Churches of Christ, and the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ.¹ Known by a variety of names since the nineteenth century, the movement is increasingly referred to today as the Stone-Campbell Movement in recognition of the prominent roles of Stone and the Campbells in the early history of the movement and to avoid using other names that can be understood as implying a particular interpretation of the movement's history.² Though Walter Scott's name does not appear in the increasingly popular name for the movement, Scott played a distinctive role in the movement's history and deserves recognition by contemporary members of the Stone-Campbell Movement during the two hundredth anniversary year of his birth. Moreover, the distinctive role that Scott played in the early history of the movement is one that contemporary Christians facing the challenge of increasingly unchurched communities may well want to examine.

Scott shared with the Campbells and Stone the vision of a restored church. In the New Testament they discerned a way to God that was accessible and a community that was united. This vision of the apostolic church was in sharp contrast to their perception of the church of their time. Scott's biographer, William Baxter, described their experience: "When they looked at the primitive church walking in the fear of God and the comfort of the Holy Spirit, and being greatly multiplied; and then at the differences, discourse, and divisions of those claiming to be followers of the meek and lowly One. . . the question would rise unbidden: Are these the fruits of the teachings of him who came to save a lost world?"³ The answer, of course, was "no." The challenge was how to bring their vision of the apostolic church to life in nineteenth century America. Comparison of Scott's efforts to bring the vision of a restored church to life with those of Stone and the Campbells helps to distinguish the distinctive character of Scott's contribution to the movement.

Stone and the Campbells sought to bring the vision of the restored church to life by the reform of existing churches. In 1804, Kentucky pastor Barton Stone rejected party names and confessions of faith and called Christians to return to the fellowship and unity of the New Testament church. In 1809, Pennsylvania preacher and teacher Thomas Campbell published the Declaration and Address of the Christian Association of Washington County, Pennsylvania, calling Christians to

*D. Newell Williams is Dean and Vice President and William G. Irwin Professor of Church History at Christian Theological Seminary in Indianapolis, Indiana.

give up divisive traditions and return to the unity of the apostolic church. In 1823, Thomas' son, Western Virginia farmer and preacher Alexander Campbell launched the *Christian Baptist* to attack evils and abuses in the existing churches and to champion the order and practices of the primitive church.

In contrast, Walter Scott sought to bring the vision of the restored church to life by converting persons from outside the churches. He began this distinctive effort on the Western Reserve (Northeastern Ohio) in 1827 as the evangelist of the Mahoning Baptist Association. In the words of Baxter, "Scott perceived that in addition to the evils of partyism in the church, that there was an equal defect in the presentation of the gospel to the world, to the remedy of which he addressed himself with signal ability and success."⁴ Baxter continued, "Making the apostles his model, he went before the world with the same plea, urging upon his hearers the same message, in the same order, with the same conditions and promises, and inviting instant compliance with its claims."⁵ In other words, Scott applied what he and others had learned of the teaching and practice of the apostles to persons outside the church.

A striking example of Scott's application of what he perceived to be apostolic teaching and practice to the situation of the unchurched can be seen in the development of his teaching on the design or purpose of baptism. Scott appears to have first encountered the "germs" of the teaching on baptism that would figure so prominently in his later preaching in a pamphlet published in 1820 by a Scot's Baptist congregation in New York City. After noting several passages of the New Testament that refer to baptism, the writers of the pamphlet concluded,

No one who has been in the habit of considering [baptism] merely as an ordinance, can read these passages with attention, without being surprised at the wonderful powers, and qualities, and effects, and uses, which are there apparently ascribed to it. If the language employed respecting it, in many of the passages, were to be taken literally, it would import, that remission of sins is to be obtained by baptism, that an escape from the wrath to come is effected in baptism; that men are born the children of God by baptism, that salvation is connected with baptism; that men wash away their sins by baptism; that men become dead to sin and alive to God by baptism; that the Church of God is sanctified and cleansed by baptism; that men are regenerated by baptism; and that the answer of a good conscience is obtained by baptism.⁶

The congregation that produced the pamphlet did not see any application to the "unchurched" in their examination of the New Testament references to baptism. Rather, for the authors of the pamphlet, the significance of their study of baptism was to raise the question as to "how far any can now be known, or recognized, or acknowledged as Disciples, as having made the Christian profession, as having put on Christ, as having passed from death to life, who have not been baptized as the Disciples were." Applying the Scot's Baptist understanding of the New Testament teaching and practice of baptism to the unconverted, Scott came to believe that baptism offers persons who believe the gospel of God's grace

in Jesus Christ, and repent of their sins, an assurance of the forgiveness of their sins and the gift of the Holy Spirit (the experience of God's presence in their lives).

Scott also applied other elements of what he found to be apostolic or New Testament teaching and practice to the situation of the unconverted. With Stone and the Campbells, Scott believed that faith in the New Testament was simple belief. Thus, Christian faith was simple belief of God's love for sinners made known in Jesus Christ. This idea differed significantly from the teaching of many churches which made faith an experience for which the unconverted were to pray. Also, with Stone and the Campbells, Scott believed that in the New Testament repentance or reformation is produced by faith in the message of God's love for sinners and thus follows faith. This notion was at variance with the teaching of many churches, which advised the unconverted to seek repentance or reformation so that they might experience faith. Again, with Stone and the Campbells, Scott believed that in the New Testament the Holy Spirit is given not to the unconverted to make them repent and believe, as many churches taught, but to the church to enliven its communication of the gospel to the unconverted. Reflecting on these ideas, along with the Scot's Baptist view of baptism, Scott came to the conclusion that in the New Testament there are three things that the unconverted are commanded to do and a necessary sequence in which they are to be done--believe the gospel, repent or reform, and be immersed. Scott further concluded that attached to these three things are three gifts that God gives which are also sequentially related: the forgiveness of sins, the Holy Spirit (which Scott asserted would not abide in an unforgiven heart), and eternal life. For Scott, this was the gospel, with its elements in right order--the gospel restored; this was the message that was to be preached to the unchurched!⁷

Concerned by reports of Scott's efforts on the Western Reserve, Alexander Campbell, who had nominated Scott in August of 1827 to serve as evangelist of the Mahoning Baptist Association, sent his father, Thomas Campbell to observe Scott's ministry in the spring of 1828. After witnessing Scott's ministry, the elder Campbell filed a report that has continued to define Scott's distinctive contribution to the movement.

I perceive that theory and practice in religion, as well as in other things, are matters of distinct consideration. It is one thing to know concerning the art of fishing--for instance, the rod, the line, the hook, and the bait, too; and quite another thing to handle them dexterously when thrown into the water, so as to make it take. We have long known the . . .theory. . .and have spoken and published many things correctly concerning the ancient gospel, its simplicity and perfect adaptation to the present state of mankind, for the benign and gracious purposes of his immediate relief and complete salvation; but I must confess that, in respect to the direct exhibition and application of it for that blessed purpose, I am at present for the first time upon the ground where the thing has appeared to be practically exhibited to the proper purpose.⁸

Scott's contribution to the Stone-Campbell Movement was to address what he and others perceived to be the teachings of the New Testament not to the church, but to the world.

Scott's initial ministry on the Western Reserve (a period of three years) netted over 3,000 additions to the churches of the Mahoning Baptist Association.⁹ Though Scott directed his ministry to persons who today would be termed "unchurched," many of his converts were not actually strangers to the church. Often, the unchurched in frontier America, as in contemporary North America, had been exposed to the church at some point in their lives, but for various reasons they had not identified with the church. Ironically, the phenomenal growth of new members who affirmed the teachings of Scott and the Campbells in the churches of the Mahoning Association alarmed Baptists who opposed the movement and thus led to the separation of the Disciples or Reformers from the Baptists. Scott continued to engage in evangelistic work for another thirty years after his initial foray into the Western Reserve, though often combining his evangelistic efforts in latter years with editorial tasks, a pastorate or college presidency. In those years, it was not unusual for him to report one hundred conversions a month.¹⁰

Christians facing the challenge of increasingly unchurched communities might well ask, How did he do it? There were six distinctive characteristics to Scott's ministry.

First, Scott went to the unconverted. To be sure, ministers in other churches, in particular the Methodists, did the same. However, Scott's example was a first for the Baptist churches that had identified with the reforming efforts of Thomas and Alexander Campbell. The hallmark of Scott's ministry was not preaching to the church, but preaching to whomever would listen. The setting of his ministry was sometimes a church or meeting house, but quite often a home, a school house or a grove; in short, wherever he could gather a group of inquirers. There may be, then, something of a precedent in the Stone-Campbell tradition for the current church growth teaching that services aimed at the unchurched should be conducted in spaces where the unchurched gather for other purposes.

Second, he was not adverse to unconventional means of advertising his efforts. The story has often been told of how one day, as he was riding into a village, he came upon a group of children returning home from school. He asked the children to hold up their left hands; then, beginning with their thumbs, and pointing to one finger after another, he had them repeat "faith," "repentance," "baptism," "remission of sins," "gift of the Holy Spirit." He then instructed the children to tell their parents that a man would be preaching at the schoolhouse that night on their fingers! When evening came, the schoolhouse was packed.¹¹ Another story that has often been told is how on one occasion, Scott found himself faced with a small congregation, made up primarily of children. Rather than preach, he told a few humorous stories and announced a meeting for the following night. When a companion asked him about this procedure, he explained that the stories were bait and that they would have a large crowd the following night. When the next evening arrived, Scott and his companion had to press their way through a thick crowd to the pulpit.¹²

Third, Scott understood that the subject of Christian preaching is Jesus Christ, and him crucified. This was the "fact" to be believed, on which hinged both the commands and promises of the Christian life. In the latter part of his ministry he commented critically on sermons he had heard recently, asking "How is it that so many are blind to the greatest truths in our religion--that Messiah is God's Son? How is it that Mount Calvary, and the death-scene there, are so frequently evaded?"¹³ He described two sermons he had heard. One was "a composition, distinguished for grace and literary finish, on the art of raising money!" Another was "Fire and brimstone--a brow-beating of the audience, utterly unalleviated by the introduction of any part of the structure of the gospel."¹⁴ Earlier he had advised young evangelists on the content of preaching, urging that the first task is to present "in the boldest possible relief" the divine revelation that Jesus is the Son of God, not "to prove the truth" of the revelation, but to show that it is "fundamental, and the thing to be believed and confessed. . ."¹⁵ As Scott stated the matter in 1836, "That God so loved the world as to give his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him might not perish but have everlasting life, is of a most powerful nature to reform and purify mankind."¹⁶

Fourth, Scott recognized that effective preaching witnesses to the power of the Holy Spirit. On more than one occasion, he began his sermon by asking his hearers to pray to God that the Spirit might empower his efforts. The following is an example:

Brethren and fellow-citizens: In all cases of public speaking, in the forum, at the bar, or in the pulpit, what is attempted should be done with power. Weakness is nearly allied to failure which admits not of apology, for audiences do not assemble to be tortured, wearied, disappointed, but instructed, persuaded, delighted. You are present this evening to hear of Jesus and the great redemption, and I to address you on these solemn and delightful themes. Tremblingly alive to the responsibilities of the occasion, I may be pardoned if, in view of them, I exclaim with the holy apostle, 'Who is sufficient to these things?' David says, 'When I called upon thee, thou answeredst me, and strengthenedst me with strength in my soul.' If distrust in my own powers impels me to place a higher reliance on God, my humility shall not hurt me. Pray for me, then, dear audience, that he who faints not, neither is weary, may strengthen me with all might by his Spirit in the inner man; that I may, with all saints, comprehend the heights and depths, and length and breadth, and know the love of Christ that passeth knowledge; that I may be filled with all the fullness of God; that I may open my mouth as I ought; and to him be eternal praises.¹⁷

Scott's preaching of Jesus Christ with the authority or power of the Holy Spirit could move even the usually reserved Alexander Campbell to praise God aloud! R.R. Sloan reported the event.

Walter Scott, about 1829 or 1830, paid a visit to Western Virginia, and on one occasion preached in the woods between Wellsburg and Wheeling; the audience was large, the preacher more than usually animated by his theme; near him sat Alexander Campbell, usually calm and self-contained, but in this case more fully under the influence of the preacher's eloquence than he had ever been of mortal man before; his eye flashed and his face glowed as he heard him unfold the glories of redemption, the dignity and compassion of its author, and the honors that awaited those who would submit to his reign, until so filled with rapture

and an admiration, not of the speaker, but of him who was his theme, that he cried out, 'Glory to God in the highest,' as the only way to relieve the intensity of his joy."¹⁸

Scott's nineteenth century biographer, noting that Mr. Campbell was naturally not very demonstrative, added that "this was perhaps the only case in which his feelings so completely carried him away."¹⁹

Fifth, Scott recognized the power of the arts in human communication. The son of a music teacher, Scott had a pleasant singing voice and also played the flute. Early in his ministry as evangelist of the Mahoning Association, Scott chose a younger preacher, William Hayden as his fellow-laborer or assistant. Asked to explain his choice, Scott pointed to Hayden's musical abilities, remarking, "there is not a man in the Association that can sing like him."²⁰ Baxter wrote of Hayden, "He had a voice of great depth and compass, at one time sweet and melodious as the south wind's sigh, at another, swelling out into tempest tones." He added, "He instructed his hearers by his speech, but he melted and moved them by his songs, and all who knew him remembered him as the sweet singer."²¹

Scott's appreciation of the role of music in communicating the full meaning of the Christian gospel was reflected in his editing of hymnbooks and his conducting of schools to teach young people the musical skills necessary to sing hymns. "It is the office of a hymn," Scott wrote, "to arouse impassioned devotional feeling, even as it is the office of teaching to illuminate understanding."²² Noting that both Alexander Campbell and Stone wrote hymns of disputed quality, Peter Morgan has observed that Scott's respect for high musical standards may explain why he, in contrast to Campbell and Stone, composed no known tunes and wrote no known hymn texts!²³

Of course, Scott's oratory was art. Notice the poetic quality of his description of the power of God made known in the Gospels: "In the evangelists we behold the everlasting, the unexpended power itself, revealed in the form of a servant, and with more than a servant's humility, the strength of the Lion of the tribe of Judah, and the harmlessness of the Lamb dwelling together in the same one." Imagine the following text delivered in the Scottish brogue he never lost:

Methinks I see the cross thrown down upon the ground, and the great substitute for man racked to the dimensions of its cursed limbs! Exhausted and forlorn, the hands that aye were filled with blessings and deeds of love and charity, are rudely seized by the iron-handed Roman, and nailed to the murderous wood; the feet, those feet that ever trod the path of peace, are spiked and barred to make the offering sure! Death! death! horrible in every shape! but in this, clothing the terror with pains tenfold more terrible than flesh and blood dare encounter. Good God, 'tis violence all to crucify a man; and murder infinite to crucify the Son; for who has lived to tell the pain extreme he felt, when all his sacred person came down upon the nails and spikes that pierced him?²⁴

Sixth, though never an extemporaneous preacher, Scott was attentive to his audience, and could respond to particular circumstances. The story has often been told how once, when preaching on the atonement,

Scott noticed that his audience was going to sleep. Thus, he abruptly addressed himself to the young boys on the front row. Discovering that they were familiar with a game called "toad sky-high" (a game in which one leans a plank on a stone, places a toad on the lower end of the plank, then pounds the elevated end of the plank with a stick), he proceeded to happily tell the children about playing this game when he was boy in Scotland. The boys laughed. Changing his demeanor, Scott informed the boys that toad sky-high was really a bad game, since the toad often died. He continued with a description of a toad's death so vivid that some to the boys began to cry. Turning to their parents he declared, your children are weeping over the death of a toad, while you have been sleeping though the story of the death of your Lord!²⁵

Does Scott's example have anything to teach contemporary Christians? Surely it does. It teaches us to go to the unchurched, to advertise, to preach Jesus Christ, to remember that effective preaching witnesses to the power of the Holy Spirit, to use the arts, to be flexible. Scott also teaches us to have a vision and, more importantly, what that vision should be. Though we may use different language, we will not improve much on his vision of a restored church--a church in which the gospel of Jesus Christ is the foundation on which all else rests and the unity that Christ gives is maintained and grows. To bring that vision to life among both the church and unchurched of the late twentieth century is a challenge before the contemporary church.

So, happy 200th birthday, Mr. Scott. If your spiritual heirs can still learn from you, the Stone-Campbell-Scott Movement may well have many more!

Notes

¹The first published identification of Stone, the Campbells, and Scott as the "big four" among the founders of the movement may have been Errett Gates, *The Disciples of Christ* (New York: Baker and Taylor Co., 1905), p. 141. Gates indicates that he was reporting a common view. Other historians to identify Stone, the Campbells and Scott as "the four founders" of the movement were Jesse J. Haley, *Makers and Molders of the Reformation Movement. A Study of Leading Men among the Disciples of Christ* (St. Louis: Christian Board of Publication, 1914), p. 59 and Walter Wilson Jennings, *Origin and Early History of the Disciples of Christ* (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Co., 1919), who cites Haley. J.H. Garrison offered a different list of four, substituting Robert Richardson for Barton W. Stone, *The Reformation of the Nineteenth Century* (St. Louis: Christian Publishing Co., 1901), p. 63. J.H. Garrison was followed by W.T. Moore, *A Comprehensive History of the Disciples of Christ* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1909). Moore included Stone in a second group of four along with John Smith, John Rogers, and John T. Johnson. W.E. Garrison and A.T. DeGroot, *The Disciples of Christ: A History* (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1948) endorsed Gates' list of four and have been followed by later historians.

²The name Disciples of Christ, sometimes used for the movement as a whole, is also used to distinguish the branch of the movement now known as the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) from other branches of the movement. The term Restoration Movement has come to be identified with traditional Churches of Christ and Independent Christian Church interpretations of the movement.

³William Baxter, *Life of Elder Walter Scott: with sketches of his fellows-laborers, William Hayden, Adamson Bentley, John Henry, and Others.* (Cincinnati: Bosworth, Chase & Hall, 1874) pp. 13-14.

⁴Baxter, p. 15.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Quoted in Baxter, p. 51.

⁷Dwight E. Stevenson, *Walter Scott: Voice of the Golden Oracle* (St. Louis: Christian Board of Publication, 1946) chronicles the development of Scott's plan of salvation. See pages 18-63. For a recent discussion of theological influences that shaped Scott's plan see William A. Gerrard, *Walter Scott, American Frontier Evangelist* (College Press Publishing Co., 1992), pp. 49-86.

⁸Quoted in Baxter, pp. 158-159. Historians of the movement have generally accepted Thomas Campbell's appraisal of Scott's contribution. Accounts of Scott's ministry typically quote Campbell's letter followed by a statement such as that of Garrison and DeGroot, "It was he [Scott] who formulated and put into practice the effective evangelistic method which had been lacking. . ." See A.S. Hayden, *Early History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve, Ohio* (Cincinnati: Chase and Hall Publishers, 1875), p. 78; Moore, p. 190; M.M. Davis, *How the Disciples Began and Grew* (Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Co., 1915), p. 208; Dean E. Walker, *Adventuring For Christian Unity: A Survey of the History of the Churches of Christ* (Birmingham, England: The Berean Press, 1935), p. 31; William E. Tucker and Lester G. McAllister, *Journey in Faith: A History of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)* (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1975), pp. 130-133. While the earlier accounts praise Scott's contribution, two more recent accounts also argue that Scott contributed to a "hardening" or radicalizing of Alexander Campbell's teaching on baptism. See Henry E. Webb, *In Search of Christian Unity: A History of the Restoration Movement* (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing, 1990), pp. 137-138 and Richard T. Hughes, *Reviving the Ancient Faith: The Story of Churches of Christ in America* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1996) pp. 48-54.

⁹Gerrard, p. 35.

¹⁰Baxter, p. 332.

¹¹Stevenson, p.74.

¹²Ibid., p. 86-87.

¹³Quoted in Baxter, p 327.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 328-329.

¹⁵Quoted in Baxter, p. 332. The second task of preaching for Scott was to "prove" the truth of the revelation. What is accepted as truth is socially and historically conditioned; thus, an argument that is convincing in one time and place may not be as convincing in another. In short, Scott's sermons would need to be updated for many of the unchurched in contemporary North America!

¹⁶Walter Scott, *The Gospel Restored*. (Cincinnati: Ormsby H. Donagh, 1836), p. 188.

¹⁷Quoted in Baxter, p. 324.

¹⁸Quoted in Baxter, p. 220.

¹⁹Baxter, pp. 220-221.

²⁰Quoted in Baxter, p. 200.

²¹Baxter, p. 200.

²²Quoted in Peter Morgan, "Disciples Hymnbooks: A Continuing Quest for Harmony," *Discipliana* 55:2 (Summer, 1995), p. 50.

²³Morgan, p. 47-51.

²⁴Scott, pp. 404-405. Hayden, p. 94 refers to "the brogue of his native Scotch tongue."

²⁵Stevenson, 75-76.

CHERI STALCUP EHLEY AND MELINDA STALCUP LUNDY NAMED FUNDS

Life member Joe A. and wife Nancy Vaughn Stalcup have established named funds for their two daughters. Cheri and Melinda both grew up in the East Dallas Christian Church, and both remain members. Melinda is married to James L. Lundy, Jr. and they have three children and two grandchildren. Cheri, who is a deacon and member of the choir, is married to Scott Ehley and they have two children.

BEAUFORD AND SHIRLEY NORRIS NAMED FUND

Beauford Norris served the church in a varied and distinguished career of ministry. After graduation from Phillips University he served as a chaplain in World War II. Later he lived in Edinburgh for two years working on his Ph.D. He taught at Christian Theological Seminary before serving fifteen years as the seminary president. He died in 1986.

Shirley, who also graduated from Phillips, has been actively involved with the National Benevolent Association for many years and has served as vice president of the national board. She was the first woman president of the Church Federation Board of Indianapolis. She now lives at the NBA Oklahoma Christian Home campus, of which she is a board member. Shirley is an active member of the First Christian Church of Edmond and this Named Fund was established by her gift.

GILFORD AND DENISE OLMSTED NAMED FUND

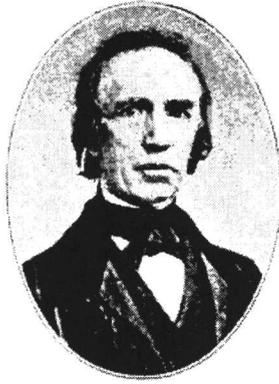
Gilford and Denise, now retired and living at Foxwood Springs, a National Benevolent Association facility in Raymore, Missouri, have completed thirteen interim ministries. They both graduated from Drake University, and have had pastorates in Iowa, Minnesota, South Dakota, California, Kansas and Tennessee. Gilford served as regional minister in Kansas and Indiana and is a life member of the Society. This Named Fund was established by their gift.

DORIS V. STRATTON NAMED FUND

Doris V. Stratton is a third generation member of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). She has been active in the life of the churches in Olympia and Seattle, Washington and Los Angeles, California. She has been interested in missionary work since high school days and has held leadership positions in Christian Women's Fellowship. She has served as church librarian at Wilshire Christian Church after retiring from 35 years of service with the Los Angeles Public Library. She became a life member of the Society and established this Named Fund with the Society by her gift in order to further its mission in the preservation of Disciples heritage.

JOHN C. UPDEGRAFF NAMED FUND

John is a new resident to Robin Run Village, the National Benevolent Association retirement center in Indianapolis. He spent the early part of his retirement in Florida, where he was regional minister for twelve years. John served churches in Ohio, Indiana and Florida, and served on the boards of Lexington Theological Seminary, Board of Church Extension, United Christian Missionary Society, Board of Higher Education and Lynchburg College, which honored him with a Doctor of Divinity. He has three children: David, James, and Ann, who is president of Homeland Ministries. John is a life member of the Society and this Named Fund was established by his gift.



WALTER SCOTT

(His preaching was
the voice of the Golden Oracle)

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DISCIPLIANA

The Quarterly Historical Journal of the
DISCIPLES OF CHRIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CONTENTS

PERSPECTIVES ON OUR HERITAGE: SIX BOOK REVIEWS

Robert Oldham Fife

ATONEMENT THEOLOGY IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY: THE PATTERN OF DISCUSSION WITHIN THE STONE-CAMPBELL MOVEMENT

John Mark Hicks

1997 LECTURES

- April 25, 26 — **Kirkpatrick Historians' Seminar joint meeting with
the American Society of Church History**
(see inside back cover)
- July 28 — **Kirkpatrick Lecture**
General Assembly, Denver
Historical Society Dinner
Clark Gilpin, "Did Religion Follow the Frontier?"
- September 26, 27 — **Reed Lecture**
David Lipscomb University, Nashville
Richard Hughes, "Roots of Division in our Movement:
The Theological Origins of the Churches of Christ"



Volume 56 • Number 4 • Winter, 1996

Published by	DISCIPLES OF CHRIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY Peter M. Morgan, President (morganpm@aol.com)	
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DISCIPLIANA (USPS 950-060) is published quarterly for \$20.00 per year by the Disciples of Christ Historical Society which was established in 1941 "to maintain and further interest in religious heritage, backgrounds, origins, development, and general history of Disciples of Christ, Christian Churches, Churches of Christ and related groups." Members of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society receive *DISCIPLIANA* quarterly, along with other benefits. Annual membership categories are: Sustaining - \$50 to \$249, Participating - \$30, Regular - \$20, Students - \$10.00, Non-U.S. - \$25. Life Memberships are: Life - \$250, Life Link - \$500, Life Patron - \$1,000.

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Periodical postage paid at Nashville, TN.

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Indexed by Restoration Serials Index
ISSN 0732-9881

Indexed in Religion Index One: Periodicals, the Index to Book Reviews in Religion, Religion Indexes: RIO/RIT/IBRR 1975- on CD-ROM, and the ATLA Religion Database on CD-ROM, published by the American Theological Library Association, 820 Church Street, Evanston, IL 60201-5613. [atla@atla.com http://atla.library.vanderbilt.edu/atla/home.html](http://atla.library.vanderbilt.edu/atla/home.html)

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—From the Editor's Desk

The late Herman A. Norton, much loved Vanderbilt professor of church history, was once asked if he would be teaching a particular course the following semester any differently than he had the year before. Professor Norton answered in his distinctive Virginia drawl, "Well, the history hasn't changed much!" Despite his characteristic response to the inquiring student (he never passed up an opportunity to employ humor!), Professor Norton, like all historians, knew that history, at least history as the telling of what happened in the past, changes all the time. It changes in response to the differing questions, concerns, and commitments that drive historians to investigate and tell of the past.

In this issue, Robert O. Fife reviews six recent studies of the Stone-Campbell Movement. These studies, recommended to Fife by the Editorial Committee of *Discipliana*, have in common a 1990s publication date. Beyond that, they differ much, as Fife shows in his careful examination of them. Taken together, these six studies represent something of the current range of interpretations of the Stone-Campbell heritage.

Also in this issue, John Mark Hicks describes Stone-Campbell discussion of atonement theology in the latter half of the 19th century. Contrary to the view that discussion of the atonement within the movement ended with the deaths of Barton Stone and Alexander Campbell, Hicks shows that it continued throughout the 19th century. After presenting a reason for the decline of the discussion of atonement theology in Stone-Campbell circles, Hicks argues that Stone-Campbell Christians need to take up the atonement once again, thus disclosing why he, as a historian, has thought it important to re-write the story of Stone-Campbell discussion of the atonement.

And so, even with this issue of *Discipliana*, history changes!

D. Newell Williams

PERSPECTIVES ON OUR HERITAGE: SIX BOOK REVIEWS

by Robert Oldham Fife*

The Editorial Board of *Discipliana* has selected for review six books. They are as follows:

Garrett, Leroy, *The Stone-Campbell Movement: The Story of the American Restoration Movement* (Joplin, MO: College Press Publishing Company, 1981, 1994).

Hooper, Robert E., *A Distinct People: A History of the Churches of Christ in the 20th Century* (West Monroe, LA: Howard Publishing Company, 1993).

Hughes, Richard T., *Reviving the Ancient Faith: The Story of Churches of Christ in America* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996).

North, James B., *Union in Truth: An Interpretative History of the Restoration Movement* (Cincinnati, OH: Standard Publishing Company, 1994).

Webb, Henry E., *In Search of Christian Unity: A History of the Restoration Movement* (Cincinnati, OH: Standard Publishing Company, 1990).

Williams, D. Newell, ed., *A Case Study of Mainstream Protestantism: The Disciples' Relation to American Culture, 1880-1989* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991).

These six books may be classified as follows: **General Histories of the Stone-Campbell Movement**, among these are Garrett, North and Webb; **Histories Which Specifically Concern Churches of Christ**, among these are Hooper and Hughes; a **"Case Study" of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)**, edited by D. Newell Williams. We shall consider these works in the above groups, and in order of their dates of publication.

In Search of Christian Unity, by Henry E. Webb

Henry E. Webb is a native of Detroit. He attended Cincinnati Bible Seminary, Xavier University and Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, from which he earned a Ph.D. He pursued post-doctoral studies at Union Theological Seminary and Oxford University. In 1950 he joined the faculty of Milligan College, and is now Professor Emeritus. He has also taught at Emmanuel School of Religion. A popular preacher, Webb has participated in various unity conferences and served on the Theological Study Commission of the World Convention of Churches of Christ. He and his wife, Emerald, have three children.

In an appropriate beginning, Webb asks, "Why Another History?" One reason is that older histories are out of print. Another reason is that modern historiography has learned to include sociological and cultural dynamics along with theological and institutional factors in analysis of religious events. Webb does this preeminently in his treatment of the Civil War and its impact upon American church life.

Webb commences discussion of his theme with a chapter fittingly entitled, "The Mandate of the Movement." He places the Stone-Campbell reformation within the larger context of earlier similar reformations. He does not overlook the unique significance of American religious freedom for the cause of

*The Robert Oldham Fife Named Fund is announced on page 128 of this issue.

reformation. Neither does he overlook the fact that this "restoration" endeavor was unique in its concern for Christian unity. After a brief description of the early American religious scene, Webb introduces the reader to Barton W. Stone and the reformation which grew out of the Cane Ridge Revival of 1801. This has the advantage of placing the Stone Reformation within the larger stream of events. Webb quotes the *Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery*, but he does not dwell on this document which Eduard Schweizer has called, "One of the most amazing testimonies of the willingness of a presbytery to die...."¹

This may reflect the author's concern for brevity. Or, it may reflect Webb's evaluation of the relative importance of Stone in comparison with the Campbells.

Webb gives an excellent introduction to the life and thought of Thomas Campbell. Events are traced which led to formation of the *Christian Association of Washington [PA]*. The *Declaration and Address* of that body, written by Thomas Campbell, is critically, yet sympathetically analyzed. The presuppositions and problems of the document are addressed, as well as its lasting ecumenical significance.

Establishment of the church at Brush Run is seen by the author to be a natural outgrowth of the convictions of the reformers who were refused fellowship within existing denominations. In keeping with the ancient "Free Church Tradition" they assumed they had the authority to constitute themselves a "Church." Did they thereby become a denomination? Not according to Webb. Their plea was catholic.

In a balanced and objective discussion, Alexander Campbell is introduced to the reader. Webb notes that the young reformer's success in the debate with the Presbyterian John Walker endeared him to the Baptists, and contributed to the union with that body. However, Campbell's "Sermon on the Law" greatly disturbed many Baptists for whom the Philadelphia Confession of Faith was normative.

Establishment of *The Christian Baptist* with its "scathing" criticisms of "hireling clergy" and missionary societies is not viewed as negatively by Webb as we shall see in Richard Hughes.

Webb discusses the dissolution of the Mahoning Association, viewing it as a reaction to such associations' assumption of power among the Baptists. But Webb notes that the dissolution left the reforming congregations with few means of inter-congregational action. Apparently aware of this need, Campbell commenced a series entitled, "Cooperation" in his new journal, the *Millennial Harbinger*. This would have far-reaching future effects among the Disciples.

The union of the "Christians" who followed Stone and the "Disciples" who followed Campbell is insightfully considered. Especially significant for modern ecumenists, this was not a union accomplished "at the top," but at the local congregational level.

The author adopts the view (also advocated by David Edwin Harrell) that it was the Civil War more than any other factor which divided the Movement. While not ignoring the hermeneutical differences which developed, he considers the spirit of sectionalism to be the most important cause of the tragic division.

In a single “hinge” chapter, Webb outlines the significant events which marked the Movement during the last quarter of the 19th century. Missions abroad, evangelism at home, education and benevolence all advanced. This was the era of great editors such as Isaac Errett, J. H. Garrison and David Lipscomb. It was also the era of J. W. McGarvey (the “conservative” Biblical scholar who is roundly criticized by several writers in the *Case Study* edited by Williams), and the “liberal” Herbert Willett (who is more fairly treated by Webb).

Webb observes, “Note must be taken of the considerable segment of the movement that was moving away from the larger body of Disciples” [p. 236]. As we shall see, Richard Hughes is profoundly offended by such remarks. In his view, the Churches of Christ are not a “segment,” nor are they the ones who “moved away” from the original ground of the Restoration Movement.

Three major issues are identified by the author as the churches entered the 20th century. These were Modernism, the Federated Church proposal and the practice of “open membership.” Webb engages in an extensive analysis of each one but notes especially the problems created by the latter. It was the practice of open membership on the mission field which became focal—a problem further exacerbated by the lack of candor on the part of United Christian Missionary Society leaders.²

Webb calls the Memphis Convention a “watershed.” From that assembly a gulf widened, marked by growth of the North American Christian Convention, the spread of “independent” missions and new educational and benevolent institutions.

Differences in historiography may be seen in the fact that whereas McAllister and Tucker only briefly mention the Commission to Restudy the Disciples,³ Webb devotes a whole chapter to its work, quoting at length from the significant Reports of 1946 and 1947. Later “Consultations on Internal Unity” are also treated by the author.⁴

Webb’s concluding chapters concern each of the three “streams” of the Stone-Campbell Movement—the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), the Churches of Christ and the Christian Church—as each approaches the 21st century.

The final chapter gives an overview of the Movement’s history in Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Canada.

The major weakness of *In Search of Christian Unity* is the lack of an index which was to have been provided in a second edition. Yet, this book is the careful work of an outstanding scholar who is worthy of further study.

Union in Truth: An Interpretive History of the Restoration Movement,
by James B. North

James B. North is Professor of Church History at the Cincinnati Bible College and Seminary, where he has served since 1977. He holds degrees from Lincoln Christian College, Lincoln Christian Seminary and the Ph.D. in American History from the University of Illinois.

After having provided a commendable historical bibliography of Christian Churches and Churches of Christ, James B. North states

the purpose of this present book: "This is intended to be an openly candid presentation" of the thesis "that the Restoration Movement has two central foci—the concern for Christian union and the concern for biblical authority" [xii]. He does not lose sight of this central perspective throughout the book.

The title of the book, *Union in Truth*, is also significant. It is taken from Thomas Campbell's *Declaration and Address of the Christian Association of Washington*. North adopts the phrase because he believes it "reflects both the commitment to Christian unity as well as the commitment to base that union on biblical authority (truth)." North's identification of "biblical authority" with the "truth" to which Thomas Campbell referred should not go unnoticed.

Where Webb chose to commence his story with Barton W. Stone, North begins with the reforms of James O'Kelly and William Guirey and the "Republican Methodists," later known as the "Christian Church," which centered in Virginia and North Carolina. A portion of this body was to join with Stone. The remainder is now part of the United Church of Christ. North also considers the reformation in New England, led by Elias Smith and Abner Jones. He traces the developments which led to the union of Christians in the North and the South.⁵

The Cane Ridge Revival and the ensuing struggle within the Presbyterian Church, is well presented. An overview of the *Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery* is provided.

The author introduces the Campbellian reformation by saying, "Of even more importance than the Stone Movement was the Campbell Movement" [71]. This assertion of the primacy of the Campbells (particularly Alexander) over Stone is viewed by some today as a source of certain contemporary difficulties.

North provides an extended commentary on the major highlights of the *Declaration and Address of the Christian Association of Washington*. He is especially impressed with Proposition VI, which affirms that "inferences and deductions" drawn from Scripture are not to be made "terms of communion, but do properly belong to the after and progressive edification of the Church." North declares, "This is dynamite!" [90].

The author's comments concerning Proposition XI will occasion serious questions among some of his readers. North observes, "Most divisions in the church today do not rest upon different interpretations of Scripture as much as they rest on the perpetuation of certain human teachings" [92].

Alexander Campbell is introduced through a very readable account of his early years, with special attention given to the persons and events which helped to shape his character. The role of his shipwreck in his decision to enter the ministry should interest those who deem Campbell a cold rationalist devoid of religious experience.

The transformation of the Christian Association into the Brush Run Church is recorded. However, it is apparently not within North's purview to reflect theologically upon what made the difference between their identity as an "association," and their identity as a "church."

While relationships with the Baptists were in many ways harmonious, North notes that exclusiveness of some Baptists disturbed Campbell. The author therefore quotes at length Campbell's response to an "Independent Baptist:"

I frankly own, that my full conviction is, that there are many Paido-Baptist congregations, of whose christianity, [sic] or of whose profession of christianity, I think as highly, as of most Baptist congregations, and with whom I could wish to be on the very same terms of communion on which I stand with the whole Baptist society.⁶

This statement of the "early Campbell" is significant for the ongoing debate concerning the difference between the "early" and "later" Campbell.

The eventual separation between the Reformers and the Baptists is treated with balance and objectivity. However, the tragedy of the event—a tragedy later mourned by an aging Alexander Campbell—is seldom sensed, even in accurate and well documented accounts such as this.

The author notes that the union of the Christians who followed Stone and the Disciples led by Campbell was accompanied by dissent on the part of some who accused Stone of abandoning his principles. This raises a question in the reviewer's mind: Must a union of Christians always be accompanied by a consequent schism? Or is such separation schism?

Advent of the American Christian Missionary Society occasioned the accusation that Campbell had reversed himself regarding the propriety of such institutions. North notes that Tolbert Fanning visited Campbell following the latter's return from imprisonment in Scotland only to find him confused and disoriented. We shall see that Richard Hughes lays great emphasis upon this report which implied that by 1849 Campbell was senile.

Concerning the Civil War and its divisive aftermath, North writes, "It is ironic and tragic that a movement that began as a unity movement should so divide over the application of the principles that were supposed to bring unity" [251]. Apparently, something was still lacking. Could it have been grace?

But the Movement entered a new era described by North in Chapter 10, entitled, "The IncurSION of Liberalism." He sees this as a serious challenge to "Biblical authority." In effect, the new "authority" rested in an "evolutionary world view" [257].

But the separation of Disciples and "Independents" has not saved either stream from further problems. Viewing the situation, North asks,

How can we do both without jeopardizing or abandoning one or the other? The question is one of degree rather than exclusion. We must avoid being too narrow in the area of biblical authority while at the same time we avoid being too open in the area of Christian unity. [366]

But if it is “a matter of degree rather than exclusion,” North makes it clear that “involvement with theological liberals is not even considered here.” Evangelicals are a different matter, for “the Lordship of Christ and the authority of His Word is foundational” [368].

It is evident that for North, as well as for us all, “Union in Truth” remains an ongoing quest.

The Stone-Campbell Movement: The Story of the American Restoration Movement, by Leroy Garrett

The name of Leroy Garrett is widely known among members of Christian Churches, Churches of Christ and the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). For forty years he edited *Restoration Review*, a monthly journal of wide circulation. After graduating from Abilene Christian University and Princeton Seminary, he earned a Ph.D. in philosophy from Harvard University. His concern for Christian unity grew through his close association with W. Carl Ketcherside and was expressed in many ways such as the “mini-meetings” he held in people’s homes throughout the world. With his wife, Ouida, he presently lives in Denton, Texas.

This volume is a revision and enlargement of the author’s earlier history of the Stone-Campbell Movement. But this is no mere “face-lift.” Garrett has revised several chapters and added several more which include a thorough study of the nature of movements and denominations, the contributions of women, discussion of various contemporary issues, and a look into the future.

Early in the first chapter, Garrett raises the contemporary question whether this Movement was a “Restoration” or a “Reformation.” He notes that while the term “restore” was sometimes used, the more common way in which the fathers referred to their movement was “the current reformation.” Indeed, as in his first volume, Garrett continues to criticize those modern forms of “restorationism” which teach that the true church ceased to exist, that the New Testament is a “blueprint” for the church in every age, or that denominations are false churches [8, 9]. In some measure, Garrett’s view of “restorationism” may reflect his early background in a very conservative segment of Churches of Christ.

As he turns to discuss the reformation led by James O’Kelly, Garrett seeks to restore Rice Haggard to his rightful place as an influential leader by giving an extended analysis of Haggard’s *Address to the Different Religious Societies on the Sacred Import of the Christian Name*.⁷ It was at Haggard’s suggestion that both the “Republican Methodists” led by O’Kelly and the followers of Stone adopted the name “Christian.”

The Apology of the Springfield Presbytery as well as *The Last Will* of that body are carefully analyzed by the author. He considers the *Imprimis* of *The Last Will* to be “one of the great unity principles in the history of the Movement” [811]. Whether modern religious heirs of Stone think such a union is possible or even desirable is a question.

Relations between Stone and Alexander Campbell are characterized by Garrett, saying, “They agreed to disagree and went on with their work. They thus became a paradigm of the Movement’s plea for unity in diversity” [88]. But most impressive to the author is Stone’s motto: “Let the unity of Christians be our polar star.” The unity Stone

sought was not between churches (a lengthy process) but between individuals. The reformer said,

Let us acknowledge all to be our brethren who believe in the Lord Jesus, and humbly and honestly obey him as far as they know his will and their duty. Let us not reject whom the Lord has received. [90]

Garrett observes that this “was a view of brotherhood that struggled in vain to prevail.”

It is with a vivid description of Thomas Campbell’s last sermon in 1851 that the venerable reformer is introduced. If Lester McAllister entitled Thomas Campbell’s biography, *The Man of the Book*,⁸ Garrett would call him “the envoy of love.”

A helpful overview of the *Declaration and Address* is provided under ten headings. The Propositions are then examined. The author considers the First Proposition most important, for it “has served as the basis of Disciples’ theology of the church, *that the church by its very nature is one, and that it is a contradiction to speak of a divided church*” [109].

We are indebted to the author for noting a letter of Thomas Campbell published in the *Millennial Harbinger* of 1844. There, the elder Campbell wrote,

The church of Christ upon earth is constitutionally and essentially one: therefore, the first relative duty of every member of it is to preserve this unity by loving each other as Christ has loved them.⁹

Garrett summarizes this statement as embodying the life-long teaching of Thomas Campbell: “*The church is one, therefore love.*”

Was Campbell a “sectarian”?¹⁰ The author notes that in 1840 Campbell himself confessed that he had once tried “the pharisaic and the monastic” plan. But Garrett hastens to add that as early as 1826 Campbell wrote, “We, as a denomination, are as desirous as ever to co-operate with all Christians on the broad and vital principles of the New and everlasting covenant.”¹¹ It was “an effort to be non-sectarian in a sectarian context” [156].¹²

The author’s observations on the “unity in diversity” of the Christians and the Disciples would be eminently worthy of note today. He commends the *Address of Racoon John Smith* as “among the most significant documents of the Movement’s history” [194].

It is good that Garrett gives an informative (if brief) overview of the significant roles which women played as local preachers, educators, evangelists and prominent leaders in other ways.¹³

In a chapter entitled, “The Movement Seeks a Norm,” the author traces the difficulties which the Movement experienced as it affirmed unity in faith and freedom of opinion.¹⁴ Contrary to the assertions of some, the Movement was not “creedless.” It had a creed: “Jesus Christ is Lord.” But with Sidney Rigdon’s embrace of Mormonism and Jesse B. Ferguson’s practice of the occult, the meaning of the lordship of Christ became a question. Garrett affirms that the answer was to be found in the words of Thomas Campbell: “What is expressly enjoined by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ and his

apostles upon the New Testament Church, either in express terms or by approved precedent.” The author then observes, “It was a norm with an uncertain future” [275]. This question will be addressed once again in the *Case Study* edited by D. Newell Williams.

Did the Civil War cause the first division in the Movement? Garrett joins older historians such as Garrison and DeGroot in affirming that despite the obvious social tensions, the churches survived the war united. The Movement was “brought to the brink of division,” but it “had not yet fatally sinned against its own principles” [352].

What divided the Movement? Garrett responds, “The separation of Churches of Christ is to be accounted for on theological and hermeneutical grounds more than any other factor” [401].

But with the Sand Creek *Address and Declaration*, proclaimed just eighty years after the *Declaration and Address*, Daniel Sommer and several thousand followers declared for the first time that those who practiced “innovations” would no longer be considered brethren. This led to formalization of the division in the 1906 United States Census.¹⁵

Chapters 18-20 might be called “The Get Acquainted Chapters.” In succession Garrett gives overviews of the three main streams of the Movement.

As historians often do, Garrett cannot resist concluding his work with a prophetic word.

Our destiny must be: to cease to exist as a church or denomination by sinking into union with the Body of Christ at large. . . .

This means that we will be a cruciform church, a people formed by the Cross by being crucified with Christ. The Cross will be both our witness and the source of our unity. As we are drawn to the Cross we will be drawn to each other. [556].

A Distinct People: A History of the Churches of Christ in the 20th Century,
by Robert E. Hooper

Robert E. Hooper is a widely known and respected scholar and speaker among churches of Christ. He received the B.A. from David Lipscomb College in 1954 and pursued graduate work in George Peabody College of Vanderbilt University. He received the M.A. in 1955 and was awarded the Ph.D in 1965. He has served for several years as Chairman of the Department of History and Political Science in David Lipscomb University. He and his wife Virginia have three children and five grandchildren.

Robert E. Hooper states the purpose of this work in the words of a song often sung in churches of Christ. He writes, “This book is an attempt to show how churches of Christ have responded to change, all the while attempting to hold to the one constant—‘God’s unchanging hand’” [xii]. In fulfilling his purpose, Hooper does not intend to give a mere narrative of events. Rather, he seeks “to discover the ideas behind the events.” These ideas have been influenced by theology, culture and “strong personalities.” Of these he will freely speak.

The reader may soon notice that Hooper prefers to refer to “churches of Christ” with a lower case “c,” rather than with an upper case “C.”¹⁶ The author attributes the “exclusiveness” of churches of Christ to their rejection of denominationalism and emphasis upon “the whole church” [1].

Hooper finds in the Alexander Campbell of the *Christian Baptist*, an “iconoclast” who “pursued his goals with a vengeance” [4,5]. But, Hooper notes that by 1832 Campbell had become concerned with the course of unbridled freedom which was creating great disorder among some churches. Campbell expressed his concern through a series of essays on “The Nature of Christian Organization” which placed Campbell “a long distance from his position of early *Christian Baptist* days.” We shall see that Hughes considers this shift an “apostasy.”

Hooper affirms that “the Disciples would have divided had there never been a Civil War.” The War’s impact, however, was “an important ingredient in the developing attitudes within the fellowship” [19]. These attitudes were symbolized in three figures: Daniel Sommer, Austin McGary and Tolbert Fanning. Fanning preceded David Lipscomb. Sommer and the Sand Creek *Address and Declaration* we have previously noted. Austin McGary founded the *Firm Foundation* in 1889.

Sand Creek set the stage for the “official” separation symbolized in the United States Census of 1906. It marked “the emergence of a distinct people—churches of Christ”—a distinction made even more significant during the 1920s and 1930s [43, 57].

The reader who is acquainted with the troublesome history of churches of Christ may be surprised to learn that they perpetuated the pacificism of Campbell, McGarvey, Lipscomb and others in their attitude toward World War I. Many rank and file joined leaders such as A. J. Jernigan, who published in the *Firm Foundation* a letter to President Woodrow Wilson, appealing that “every member of the church of Christ be exempted from compulsory military service” [110]. Readers may also be surprised to learn that in their journals M. C. Kurfees and J. C. McQuiddy both advocated the League of Nations.

Pre-millennialism became an over-arching issue during the decades of the 1930s and 1940s, when R. H. Boll led a number of churches to embrace the teaching. Indeed, the controversy became so prominent that F. L. Rowe of the *Christian Leader* proposed that some publisher would issue a Bible without the Book of Revelation!

The author summarizes these stormy years among churches of Christ, attributing some of it to Southern reaction to Reconstruction and the Great Depression. Social intolerance led to religious intolerance. But charismatic, intolerant leaders must share much of the blame. Hooper observes, “This spirit of intolerance, often cloaked in a defense of the gospel, would further divide churches of Christ in coming decades” [156].

The issue of Christian unity—specifically, the recovery of unity with conservative Christian Churches—became a true concern to some leaders in both groups. The author traces the early efforts undertaken between F. D. Kershner, the irenic Dean of the School of Religion of Butler University, and Daniel Sommer, who in his later years began to seek restoration of the fellowship whose rupture he had once celebrated. But again, there was opposition to these gatherings. H. Leo Boles (whose great-grandfather “Raccoon” John Smith had led in the unity meeting of 1832) declared,

Brethren, this is where the churches of Christ stand today; it is where unity may be found now; it is where you left the New Testament; it is where you left the churches of Christ, and it is where you can find them when you come back. [163]

To this, Edwin Errett responded, indicating that the question was one of Christian liberty where the Bible is silent. Thus the question of “the authority of silence” once again revived, and remains to be solved even yet.

Hooper dates the advent of modern African-American churches of Christ from the withdrawal of a group from the Gay Street church when it introduced an organ and choir. Other Black congregations were formed, led by some very gifted preachers. But the popularity of some of these preachers offended Foy Wallace. He objected to “the manner in which the brethren in some quarters are going in for the negro meetings.” He was especially offended by reports that white women would express appreciation of Black preachers’ sermons, clasping their hands. A month later, Wallace published a beautiful, humble letter from Marshal Keeble, an eminent Black preacher, who wrote,

I take the privilege to thank you for that instructive and encouraging article. I hope I can conduct myself in my last days so that you and none of my friends will have to take back nothing they have said complimentary about my work or regret it.

Please continue to encourage me in my work and *pray for me*.

Wallace was mollified by this letter and called Keeble “the greatest colored preacher that has ever lived.” He and Luke Miller “know their place and stay in it.” This reviewer can only conclude that the plea for Christian unity apparently has nothing to do with social prejudice!

But a new day dawned with new leaders such as M. Norvel Young, Batsell Barrett Baxter and Ira North, who “possessed different qualities, including a wider worldview.” The *Firm Foundation* and the *Gospel Advocate*, led by Reuel Lemmons and B. C. Goodpasture assumed a more positive tone.

Meanwhile, sensitive scholars such as Thomas Olbricht and Leonard Allen, and preachers such as Rubel Shelly call for spiritual renewal. Hooper concludes with this significant assessment:

I believe the Restoration plea remains viable, although there is tremendous questioning from all sectors in the last years of the twentieth century...

If the late twentieth century has something significant to add to the Restoration Movement, it will be a stronger emphasis on freedom in Jesus. [312]

Reviving the Ancient Faith: The Story of Churches of Christ in America,
by Richard T. Hughes

Richard T. Hughes received his B.A. from Harding College, the M.A. from Abilene Christian University and the Ph.D. from University of Iowa. He pursued further study in the University of California. He is co-author of several books with Leonard Allen. He serves as Distinguished Professor of Religion in Pepperdine University. He and his wife, Janice, have one son.

Richard Hughes' chief purpose in writing this important book is to correct the oversight which he believes is reflected in the histories written by Disciples of Christ who have treated the Churches of Christ "essentially as a footnote—and a twentieth-century footnote at that" [15]. Hughes says,

"Such judgments are inadequate for a number of reasons. Most important, they reflect the bias of denominational historiography rather than the actual record." [15]

Foundational to Hughes' treatment of the history of Churches of Christ is Joachim Wach's adaptation of the categories of Ernst Troeltsch to the American religious scene.¹⁷ The author writes,

In that [sociological] sense, there is no "church" in the United States at all....

The point, again, is that in sociological terms every Christian tradition in America must exist as either sect or denomination. That is social reality, and Churches of Christ were—and are—no exception. [4, 5]

The power of that word, "must," should not be lost on the reader. No matter how a people may try simply to be "the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church" in their place, it has been sociologically decreed that they are inevitably either a "sect" or a "denomination."

To understand such assertions, one needs to think in terms of what the author calls, "sociological realities," not "theological ideals." Yet, Hughes declares, "This book focuses chiefly on the intellectual character of Churches of Christ" [8].

But in his useful Glossary, Hughes defines a sect as

a religious organization that insists that it—and it alone—constitutes the entirety of the Kingdom of God. [xiii]

"In the American context," a "denomination" is

a church that recognizes it is only a part of the universal body of Christ. A denomination has typically made its peace with the dominant culture in which it exists. [xii]

(Hughes' Glossary does not include a definition of the "Church.")

The author utilizes these categories in the two major divisions of the book. Part I concerns "The Churches of Christ: The Making of a Sect." This has to do with the Nineteenth Century. Part II concerns the Twentieth Century and is titled, "The Churches of Christ: The Making of a Denomination."

This format is also discerned by Hughes in the career of Alexander Campbell. Thus, during his *Christian Baptist* days (1823-1830), Campbell is a "sectarian." The advent of the *Millennial Harbinger* in 1830 is said to mark the reformer's further transition into a denominationalist or ecumenist. The reader may wonder, however, in which definition of "sectarian" is Hughes speaking—the sociological as used by Wach, or the theological as used in his Glossary? If it is the latter, some students of Campbell may wish to ask, Where in the *Christian Baptist* did the "early" Campbell ever indicate that he

considered himself or his followers to be “the entirety of the Kingdom of God”?

Some may consider over-simplistic Hughes’ assertion that the Churches of Christ take their origin from the “early Campbell,” while Christian Churches follow the “later Campbell” who was “ecumenical.”

Hughes admits that one can find ecumenical statements in the *Christian Baptist*¹⁸, but, contrary to William J. Richardson’s magisterial Campbell Bi-Centennial Lecture,¹⁹ Hughes apparently considers such statements exceptional in the “early” Campbell. Rather, he describes the reformer as “young and brash” [22], “legalistic” [28], “scathing” [38], and “swashbuckling” [46].²⁰

Despite Campbell’s protestations to the contrary, this apparent “shift” from “sectarian” to “denominational” status brought a charge of “apostasy”! This “apostasy” is explained by a report of Campbell’s “senility,” which resulted from his Scottish imprisonment and the death of his son, Wycliffe. But this reviewer finds it difficult to believe that the reformer’s great “Address on War” (1848),²¹ or his equally courageous “Tract for the People of Kentucky” (1849),²² were the products of “senility.”

The reader will wish to attend carefully to Hughes’ discussion of “The Tension between Restoration and Unity” [pp. 22ff] since this is a subject of ongoing debate today. It will also be helpful to note the author’s view of “Campbell and Legalism,” [28-29].

When he turns to Barton W. Stone, Hughes writes,

The first thing to be said if one is inquiring into Stone’s origins is that he was not so much a product of Enlightenment rationalism as he was a product of the First and Second Great Awakenings. [95]

The author finds “three correlative themes” in Stone: Restoration of Primitive Christianity, Christian Unity and Christian Freedom. But Hughes’ most unique treatment of Stone is his presentation of the reformer as an “Apocalyptic Sectarian.” Again, the reader may wonder how the author is using the term, “sectarian,” especially in light of the *Imprimis* of the *Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery*, in which Stone and his colleagues expressed their desire to “sink into union with the Body of Christ at large.”

Hughes makes a strong case for the contrast between the “optimism” of Campbell and the “apocalypticism” of Stone. In his “Oration in Honor of the Fourth of July, 1830.”²³ Campbell said the proclamation of the Gospel would bring in the triumphant reign of the Christ. But during that same decade, Stone was occupied with the Second Coming of Christ, which must necessarily precede the glorious millennium. The author emphasizes this “Apocalyptic Tradition” of Churches of Christ. But this attitude changed as people “abandoned the antimodern, apocalyptic vision of Stone for the rational, progress-oriented outlook of Alexander Campbell [134].

In an exceedingly significant chapter entitled, “Grace, Law, and the Fighting Style,” Hughes places his finger upon a major reason why the “Restoration plea” has spawned so many schisms. Many “Restorationists” had forgotten grace. Hughes attributes this at least in part to a misunderstanding of Campbell [170ff.].

The problem was further exacerbated by the fact that the

premillennialist R. H. Boll laid great emphasis upon the role of grace in human salvation. To oppose premillennialism was for one to oppose grace.²⁴

The natural corollary to the rejection of grace was pride and intolerance, what Hughes calls “the Fighting Style.” Most eminent among the combatants was Foy E. Wallace, Jr. It remained for a few courageous ones such as G. C. Brewer and Jesse P. Sewell to oppose the judgmental and abusive preaching of Wallace, and Fanning Yater Tant who boasted of having a “closed mind.”

But of course there remained other controversial issues, one of which was “The Fight over Modernization.” Hughes quotes W. E. Brightwell, who declared in 1934, “The next religious war will be fought around the issue of institutionalism” [220]. This proved to be prophetic. Their targets were opportune: colleges, missions, “Herald of Truth,” and upscale church buildings.

The thorny problem of race and social justice next receives the author’s attention. The Churches of Christ concentrated upon the gospel of individual salvation and had little time for anything that appeared as the “social gospel.”

Therefore, it is with a true sense of embarrassment for a plea which advocated Christian unity that this reviewer reads Hughes’ chapter on “The Struggle for Social Justice in the 1960s.” Here were outstanding Black leaders such as R. N. Hogan, Marshall Keeble and G. P. Bowser who heroically struggled against enormous odds to proclaim the plea of Churches of Christ. The painful process continued, with white leaders such as John Allen Chalk of the *Herald of Truth* pressing for greater justice. But, Hughes says,

By the 1960s most mainstream Churches of Christ were far more concerned to win acceptance into the dominant “Christian” culture of white America than to battle for social justice, racial or otherwise. [306]

Hughes brings the reader into recent history by describing the advent of the “third battle that proved most crucial of all—a battle that involved nothing less than the legitimacy of their traditional mission and identity” [307].

Having told the reader this complex story he concludes by describing Churches of Christ as a temple which had two pillars. One was “Apocalyptic,” the other was “Restorationist.” But the “Apocalyptic” pillar has been destroyed, leaving only “a brittle restorationist pillar poured from a rationalist mold over two hundred years ago.” Hughes then asks,

After all these years, who really were the inhabitants of this temple? Who and what had they become? Did they have a usable past? And more important, did they have a future as a cohesive Christian tradition?

Those are questions that must be answered by the people who make up this tradition. After all, they are the ones who have told, and will continue to tell, “the story of Churches of Christ in America. [385]

A Case Study of Mainstream Protestantism: The Disciples’ Relation to American Culture, 1880-1989, D. Newell Williams, Editor

D. Newell Williams presently serves as Dean of Christian Theological Seminary. He received the B.A. from the University of Tulsa, the M.A. and Ph.D. from Vanderbilt University. He and his wife Mary Susan McDougal have three children. Sue is a descendant of Henry Errett, father of Isaac Errett.

This important work is of a different genre from those we have previously considered, being the product of many authors. It is a study of changes taking place in mainstream Protestantism, using the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) as a focal point. It was commissioned by the Lilly Endowment through a grant to Christian Theological Seminary.

After a preparatory conference held in 1987, a larger conference was convened in 1989 in which papers were presented concerning the general theme, "Twentieth-Century Disciples: Appraising a Mainstream Denomination and Its Future Prospects." In addition to "in house" papers, comparative studies were also made of Presbyterian and Baptist denominations. *Case Study* is composed of these essays, together with responses which were made by working groups.

As editor, D. Newell Williams provided an Introduction and Conclusion to the papers which were grouped into six sections: "Bible and Theology," "Mission and Image," "Education," "Structure," "Theological, Moral, and Social Profile," "Ecology of Growth and Decline."

In his introduction, Williams notes the use of the words, "mainline," or "mainstream." "Mainline"²⁵ has generally referred to those American denominations which have been "established"—not legally but nonetheless really—by broad public recognition. "Mainstream" identifies those bodies that significantly "contribute to the definition of a society's core values."²⁶ The Disciples are said to have attained "mainline" status with the election of James A. Garfield, a Disciples preacher, educator and legislator, as President of the United States. Hence, this study commences with 1880.

The study is introduced by Williams in the first chapter, entitled, "How and Why the Disciples Have Changed in Relation to American Culture." In this essay, the editor discusses the divisions which have occurred within the Movement. The first separation between Disciples and Churches of Christ was caused by inability to "identify a basis of Christian fellowship that would allow them to remain united despite differences on the use of instrumental music in worship and missionary societies" [4]. The second separation Williams attributes to the controversy over recognizing denominations as "churches." But this was also driven by differences over application of the Darwinian developmental hypothesis to the Bible and the Christian faith which was "once for all" given.

The Disciples now face several pressing issues which Williams introduces: Numerical decline, weakening of commitment to the local congregation and the "Ministry-Laity Gap." Williams analyzes the contemporary weakening of Disciples' influence. He writes,

The primary causes of the narrowing cultural influence of the Disciples are (1) their failure to identify a basis for Christian union that can overcome social and cultural division (the fundamental theological cause of their two major divisions), (2) the difference between the views of their ministers and active laity, and (3) the failure of their professional leadership to identify a distinctively Christian norm for judging theological statements and moral action. [25]

This latter factor (3) continues to be reflected throughout the book.

Of course, the Bible and its interpretation is a key to the history of the Disciples. This is made apparent by M. Eugene Boring when he writes, "Examine the role that the Bible has played in Disciples thought, and you have your hand on the pulse of the denomination's theology" [29]. Boring follows the contributions of several Disciple generations, calling the third the "Crucial Generation." This is depicted through an extensive analysis of the similarities and differences between John W. McGarvey and Herbert L. Willett [38ff].

Leo G. Perdue contributes to this historical overview through further study of Willett and James Philip Hyatt. Perdue finds in Hyatt's discernment of the Bible's unity in diversity a paradigm for the Church. While "not a blueprint for restoration," Perdue notes Hyatt's conviction that "a careful attention" to the Bible's words as distinct from a theory of interpretation, "would lead to a common basis for interdenominational and interfaith dialogue" [99].

Differences between Disciples, "Independents," and Churches of Christ are explained by Clark M. Williamson and Charles R. Blaisdell under the analogy of Robert J. Lifton's division of personality types: the "protean" and the "closed off." The "closed off" Churches of Christ and "Independent" Christian Churches know and are satisfied with who they are. Nor are they ecumenically oriented. (Those who peruse the previous reviews may question these assertions).

According to Williamson and Blaisdell, the "protean" Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) is

open to all influence from everywhere, virtually taking diversity as their norm, they lack identity and centeredness. Wanting to make nothing a "test of fellowship," they fail to recognize that some things are incompatible with the gospel. Averse to critical theological reflection, they fail to be authoritative teachers of the Christian faith. Overwhelmed by the flood of imagery and feelings flowing over them, they become walking affects.

No wonder such a church might shrink. Its members might discover that it adds little to the life of contemporary Americans. If we do not teach the Christian faith and communicate to people the excitement generated by understanding themselves in the light of the gospel, can we blame them for finding that everything presented as "Christian" is available elsewhere? [108]

James O. Duke and Joseph D. Driskill provide a valuable analysis of Disciple theological developments from 1940 to 1980. Despite its considerable variety, Duke and Driskill find that this new theology "proved valuable in opposing restorationism, commending denominational restructure, and promoting Christian action in ecumenical, national, and world affairs" [163].

The phrase, "opposing restorationism" leads this reviewer to note that there is probably no "target of opportunity" more commonly chosen in these essays than "restorationism." But what is it? Where is it defined?

The section entitled "Mission and Image" commences with an overview of the changing thought of Disciple leadership by Anthony L. Dunnivant. The reader is then led to consider a most important paper by Mark G. Toulouse entitled, "Practical Concern and Theological Neglect: The UCMS and the Open Membership Controversy." This essay may be read with special profit in comparison with the works by Webb, North and Garrett which have already

been reviewed. Affirming that “Disciples of Christ have been a theologically impoverished people,” Toulouse proceeds to note that much of the controversy over open membership was motivated by “practical concern.” He traces the controversy from early debate about the incipient practice through the stressful period when the unadmitted policy of the UCMS was under challenge during the Memphis International Convention, to the “General Principles and Policies” of the Division of Overseas Ministries (adopted in 1981 by the Anaheim General Assembly), to the “Jesus Resolution” which the 1987 Louisville Assembly rejected.

The reader may be interested in the progression of this debate from a simple question concerning Christian baptism and church membership to the very christological center of faith. Meanwhile, this reviewer awaits a more adequate discussion of the meaning of “membership,” and its relation not only to baptism but also to the Eucharist.

Ministerial education has played a major role in the evolution of Disciples of Christ from what Richard L. Harrison, Jr. has called “a move from nineteenth-century conservative evangelicalism to an increasingly liberal stance” [297]. His description of transformation of the College of the Bible (in which my grandfather studied) into Lexington Theological Seminary is of special interest.

The Working Group Responses merit attention equal to the major papers. For example, Karen D. Binford, recorder for the “Bible and Theology” Working Group described “several areas of concern.” First was

the strong evidence of the loss of a consistent and coherent Christian witness which had been present in the writings of Campbell and Stone and the Reformed tradition that birthed them.... As a result the Disciples church is presently seen as having nothing to offer that is different from the rest of the culture...

This group also felt that the basic need was for development of strong, clear statements of what it means to be Christian... [165-166]

Martha Grace Reese, recorder of the “Disciples’ Mission and Self-Image” Working Group wrote,

Disciples are also faced with a crisis of self-understanding...

The focus of our search for identity cannot be self-preservation, however; it must be centered on faithfulness to the Gospel. [276]

The Working Group Response to “Ecology of Growth and Decline” was written by Jeff Gill. It affirmed,

As a church, we are called to proclaim the good news of God’s love made manifest in Jesus Christ and to witness to that love in word and deed to all people....

In fact, our group has agreed that any adaptation we attempt must be directed toward attempts to better maintain and proclaim the gospel—not toward institutional survival. The Gospel must be our norm for appropriate change, not the survival of the Disciples of Christ. [555]

A most thoughtful Conclusion was provided by D. Newell Williams entitled, "Future Prospects of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)." "The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) might well be troubled regarding its future prospects," he writes. Failure to "claim a basis for Christian union" that would enable Disciples to remain united "despite emerging cleavages in American society and culture" is a major reason. Williams further finds this malaise in the gap between clergy and laity, and in "the failure of the Disciples professional leadership to identify a distinctively Christian norm for judging theological statements and moral action."

However, this "distinctively Christian norm" is not the Bible because "liberals *cannot* believe" it to be "an infallible revelation from God." The norm can only be the Gospel. Williams leans upon Alexander Campbell's *Christian System* to validate the view that the Gospel is not simply the *facts* of the Gospel, but the *meaning* of the facts [563-565]. Williams affirms that Disciples

must speak a word that adds a quality to human existence not to be found outside of the Christian community. As Alexander Campbell and some contemporary Disciples have understood, this word is nothing other than the gospel of God's gracious love for all made known in the apostolic witness to Jesus Christ. [574]

[That message] "received in faith, alone has the power to unite the church." (CS, pp. 87-91, 220-21), [563-565]

These six books give heirs of the Stone-Campbell Movement much to ponder.

Notes

¹See Eduard Schweizer, *Church Order in the New Testament* (London: SCM Press, Third impression, 1979), p. 191, fn 717.

²This lack of candor is criticized by Mark G. Toulouse in "Practical Concern and Theological Neglect: The UCMS and the Open Membership Controversy," in D. Newell Williams, *Case Study*. See below.

³See Lester G. McAllister and William E. Tucker, *Journey in Faith: A History of the Christian Church* (Disciples of Christ) (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1975), p. 401.

⁴A significant difference in historiography is to be seen in the way the Movement's historians record or ignore the untimely death of Edwin Errett and the radical change in the Christian Standard's editorial policy. Webb thinks it important to give an account of this tragic but crucial event which had far-reaching consequences for the Brotherhood.

⁵North's work is noteworthy in tracing with some detail the relations which for a while developed between the reformation led by Stone, and that in New England led by Elias Smith and Abner Jones. His research fills in a gap in the common knowledge of what happened to preclude development of some kind of union between the two groups. While differences of ecclesiology were factors, after fifteen years, a simple misunderstanding was discovered to have played a role.

⁶ *Christian Baptist*, (May, 1826), p. 203; quoted in North, op. cit., p. 141.

⁷ This document was written in 1804 and rediscovered by John W. Neth of Milligan College in 1953. It is reminiscent of a sermon preached by the Presbyterian, Samuel Davies (d. 1760), entitled "The Sacred Import of the Christian Name." Haggard could have read it in a three volume collection of Davies' sermons which was published after his death. Davies succeeded Jonathan Edwards as President of the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University).

⁸ See Lester McAllister, *Thomas Campbell, the Man of the Book* (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1954).

⁹ See "Extract of a Letter," *Millennial Harbinger* (1844), p. 104.

¹⁰ See below, the review of Richard Hughes, *Reviving the Ancient Faith*.

¹¹ "To an Independent Baptist," *Christian Baptist*, Vol. 3, No. 9.

¹² Modern Christians would profit from study of two great public endeavors of Alexander Campbell during 1829-1830. These were the reformer's active and prophetic participation in the Virginia Constitutional Convention and his debate with the atheistic social reformer, Robert Owen. From the first, valuable insights may be gained into a Christian's responsibility as a social prophet. For its part, the Campbell-Owen debate anticipated issues which the Church has faced throughout the 20th century and will doubtless encounter in the century which approaches. Garrett notes that the most significant question throughout the debate was, as it is now: "What is man? Whence came he? Whither does he go?" [165]

¹³ Garrett does not mention an enormously effective woman preacher, Sadie McCoy Crank of Missouri, who baptized 5,000 people in the course of her ministry.

¹⁴ This reviewer is particularly pleased that the author provides an excellent overview of Robert Richardson's little book entitled, *The Principles and Objects of the Religious Reformation, Urged by A. Campbell and Others, Briefly Stated and Explained*. Published in 1853, this exceedingly perceptive volume very much needs to be reprinted and widely circulated throughout the churches today.

¹⁵ Sommer succeeded Elder Benjamin Franklin as editor of the *American Christian Review*.

¹⁶ See Leroy Garrett, *The Stone-Campbell Movement*, p. 460.

¹⁷ In 1911, Ernst Troeltsch authored a magisterial social analysis of religion in Europe entitled, *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen*, tr. from the original German by Olive Wyon, with the English title, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* 2 Volumes (New York, Harper & Row, 1960). See Troeltsch, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 331ff.

Viewing the scene in Europe, Troeltsch determined that there were two contrasting forms of Christian faith: The "Church-type," and the "Sect-type." A "Church" is the official, tax-supported ecclesiastical institution established by law, which all citizens enter through infant baptism. A "Sect" is a body composed of voluntary members who believe that "God is best served by free and uncoerced devotion." Therefore, one enters a "Sect" voluntarily.

¹⁸ See Campbell's "Letter to an Independent Baptist" in the *Christian Baptist*, Vol. 3 (1 May 1826), p. 204.

¹⁹ See William J. Richardson, "Alexander Campbell as an Advocate of Christian Union," in *Lectures in Honor of the Alexander Campbell Bicentennial, 1788-1988*, Nashville: Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1988), pp. 101 ff.

²⁰ Regretfully, such terms may confirm some of Hughes' Evangelical readers in their decision to ignore Alexander Campbell. The "young and brash" reformer was 35 when he commenced the *Christian Baptist*.

²¹ See Alexander Campbell, *Popular Lectures and Addresses* (Cincinnati, 1879), pp. 342ff.

²² See the *Millennial Harbinger* (1849). pp. 241ff.

²³ See Alexander Campbell, *Popular Lectures and Addresses* (Cincinnati: 1879), see especially pp. 377ff.

²⁴ See R. H. Boll, "Words in Season," *Word and Work* Vol 37 (October 1943), 245-247; quoted in Hughes, 171.

²⁵ See William R. Hutchison, ed., *The Travail of the Protestant Establishment in America, 1900-1960* (Cambridge: 1989), pp. 3-4.

²⁶ See Wade Clark Roof and William McKinney, *American Mainline Religion: Its Changing Shape and Future* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1987), p. 236.

**Atonement Theology in the late Nineteenth Century:
The Pattern of Discussion**
by John Mark Hicks*

Atonement theology illustrates the theological flux that characterized the American nineteenth century when three major theories of atonement were hotly debated. The classic Protestant position (e.g., Calvin) is **penal substitution** where Jesus vicariously suffered the full satisfaction of God's wrath toward sin in his own person. The competing traditional theory, which dates at least from the time of Abelard (d. 1142), is the **moral influence** theory, where the cross expresses God's persuasive love for humanity through which God ignites the flame of love in our hearts. The third major theory emerged out of the Dutch Calvinist-Arminian struggle in the early seventeenth century. It is called the **governmental theory** since Christ is the one through whom the moral Governor, God the Father, reorders a morally disordered universe in accordance with the fundamental moral laws of the universe for the public good. It appeared as a mediating hypothesis between penal and moral theories in the writings of the Dutch Remonstrants, especially Hugo Grotius (d. 1645).¹

Reflective of the late eighteenth century, Barton W. Stone once recalled that in his "memory between 40 and 50 years ago there was no controversy in our country among the sects" on the doctrine of atonement. "All were then orthodox according to the present standard of orthodoxy."² That situation had changed by the early nineteenth century. Stone himself published his views as early as 1805 in his work *Atonement*.³ By the time of the union between the Reformers (the Campbells) and the Christians (Stone) in 1832, there were three distinct understandings of what Christ accomplished on the cross within the Stone-Campbell Movement. While Thomas and Alexander Campbell represented a traditional penal substitution theory, Barton W. Stone represented a broad moral influence tradition and Walter Scott represented the governmental tradition.⁴ This diversity did not ameliorate. It remained part of the theology of the Stone-Campbell Movement throughout the nineteenth century.

The Emergence of a Pattern

The Penal Theory of Atonement. In the mid- and late nineteenth century, three historic atonement theories were advocated within the Stone-Campbell Movement. Jacob Creath wrote a four-part series on the death of Christ for the *Millennial Harbinger* in 1863.⁵ Writing a letter to Campbell, he recalled how he had thoroughly discussed this subject with him, and how he had been told by Calvinist Baptists in the 1820s that Campbell held a Unitarian (moral influence) view of the atonement, but had discovered

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differently. Creath provides a Campbellian understanding of the atonement which reflects the orthodox tradition found in the original Protestant Reformers.⁶ Campbell himself reiterated these views at the 1860 meeting of the American Christian Missionary Society when he gave an address on the "Divine Philanthropy."⁷ In the 1867 *Millennial Harbinger* H. G. H. (*sic*) defended a penal substitution view of atonement through his defense of the imputation of Christ's righteousness as the ground of justification before God.⁸ The penal theory, therefore, was strongly represented within the Stone-Campbell Movement in the mid-nineteenth century.

In the third quarter of the nineteenth century, Robert Milligan and Dr. Hiram Christopher authored biblical theologies which attempted to understand the flow of redemptive history. Although Robert Milligan in the 1859 *Millennial Harbinger* commented on Romans 3:25-26 in the vein of a governmental theorist while he condemned moral influence theories,⁹ in his *Scheme of Redemption* (1868) he offered a fuller understanding of his own view of the atonement as encompassing the idea that "all the demands of Law and Justice have been fully met and fully satisfied by the sin-offering of Christ."¹⁰ Thus, the "*chief object of the incarnation and death of Christ was to meet and satisfy the claims of Justice against the sinner*" (p. 236).

Christopher likewise advocated a penal theory of atonement. His 1875 work *The Remedial System* began with the Trinity, moved through the creation of the world, the fall of humanity, and God's redemptive covenants as they consummated in the work of Christ's incarnation, atonement, and resurrection which anticipates the eschaton. The center of his discussion, reflected throughout the book, is the work of atonement in Christ. In Anselmian terms, Christopher argues that the incarnation was "not an expedient, but an imperative necessity."¹¹ The incarnation was necessary because the atonement—whose necessity is rooted in God's "inflexible demands of justice"—demanded a human character forged by human experience (p. 220). While the provision of the atonement arises out of God's love, the nature of the atonement arises out of God's justice. Were the atonement "wholly an arbitrary measure, it can be no justification of God" (p. 237). Justice must be satisfied. Consequently, Christ, as our human substitute, was our sin-offering upon whom God laid our sin and treated him "as though he were the sinner, and suffered accordingly" (p. 227). Thus, in the great exchange, our guilt is imputed to Christ and his righteousness is imputed to us.¹²

The Governmental Theory of Atonement. It is clear, then, that in the mid-nineteenth century, particularly in the *Millennial Harbinger* and in two major redemptive-historical textbooks, the penal theory of atonement was alive and well. However, at the same time the governmental theory grew more dominant within the Stone-Campbell Movement. Indeed, by the late 1860s, the governmental theory was probably the most prominent theory in the Stone-Campbell Movement. It is symbolic that the Movement's longest essay on atonement

defended the governmental theory in contrast to the penal and moral theories. Published in the April 1868 issue of the conservative journal *Lard's Quarterly* under the pseudonym of "Clement" (*sic*), the essay is a well-argued and careful exposition of governmental atonement though it never so designates itself.¹³ It defends the necessity of a substitutionary punishment of sin to propitiate God, but redefines these key ideas in a governmental fashion. For example, the incarnation is grounded in the necessity that one whose "rank and personal worth" is great enough to call attention to God's administration of his government (p. 167). The concept of substitution present in the essay does not involve a legal imputation of guilt as in the penal theory, but simply a "substitution of his person instead of the offenders; and a substitution of his sufferings instead of their punishment" (p. 169). Christ satisfied the "administrative" justice of God, but not the "commercial" (equivalent payment) or the "retributive" (the full demerit of sin) justice (pp. 177-9). In contrast to the moral theory, the death of Christ rendered God propitious in the sense that "it opened a just and honorable way for his grace to be exercised" in the moral governance of the universe. God had a "justifiable reason" to be gracious since proper honor had been displayed to his government and he had acted for the public good (pp. 186,7). Since God justified himself in the death of Christ as a defender of the public good and moral order, no one can charge God with injustice. Consequently, governmental atonement enables God to justly accept our faith and obedience as righteousness (pp. 189-91). God, then, can be both just and justifier because he has demonstrated his righteousness in the death of Jesus.

Thomas Munnell emerged as the leading defender of the governmental view through his articles in the *Christian-Evangelist* over the last two decades of the nineteenth century.¹⁴ Munnell had earlier offered his opinion in two substantial essays. The first was published in an 1868 collection of sermons entitled the *Living Pulpit*.¹⁵ Another was published in the 1882 *Christian Quarterly Review*.¹⁶ These two essays constitute an explanation of the "philosophy of atonement," according to Munnell.¹⁷ In fact, in his numerous articles in the *Christian-Evangelist* he pointed his readers back to these two previous essays.¹⁸ He regarded the second essay as pushing his earlier understanding toward an "ultimate philosophy" of how justice and mercy are balanced in the work of Christ.¹⁹

According to Munnell, the cross was not an "arbitrary, but a necessary antecedent to the pardon" of sin.²⁰ God's justice must punish sin. The problem which atonement answers is how humanity might be pardoned and at the same time not "impugn the justice of God."²¹ Governmental principles form the substructure of how this might be done. Jesus Christ suffered as a "qualitative" (as opposed to quantitative)²² substitute whom God accepted in our stead. He was our "legal" or governmental representative. But, as the later essay clearly states, he was not punished in our place nor was our

guilt imputed to him.²³ He did not suffer the penalty of sin. “The demands of the law were met, in the Prince, in a way that secures the stability of government, which is now enabled to exercise the desired mercy with safety.”²⁴ This excludes any mere moral influence. The death of Christ “*in some way* justifies God in forgiving sin,” so that “by the moral worth” of his sacrifice God is enabled to justly “issue pardon to all who penitently believe.”²⁵ However, because Christ did not suffer the equivalent penalty nor was he punished for the sins of the world, his vicarious offering should not be understood in a penal or commercial sense. Instead, we should understand that a “sympathetic heaven” agreed to accept the moral worth of Christ’s sacrifice as satisfaction for the demands of justice. This “merciful estimation” preserves good government and at the same time offers grace without full satisfaction or payment for sin.²⁶

The influence of the governmental theory during 1860s and 1870s is also seen in the *Gospel Advocate*. Even though David Lipscomb found some of Munnell’s legal terminology in his 1868 sermon objectionable, they both held an essentially governmental theory of atonement. Nevertheless, according to Lipscomb, Munnell had modernized “Calvinistic phraseology” (substitutionist terminology). “The term *legally* responsible is repeatedly used by our Brothers and if it has meaning at all, it means that when Jesus was *legally* bound, the sinner was *legally* free. The old Calvinistic idea precisely.”²⁷ While he wanted to avoid a simple moral influence theory,²⁸ Lipscomb objected to substitutionary language which he believed entailed a Calvinistic theology. “Now the whole truth is, there is no such idea taught in the Bible as that Jesus died as a substitute for, in stead, in place of, the sinner. The idea had its origin in the speculations of metaphysical system builders, not from the teachings of the Holy Spirit.” Since Christ did not suffer the penalty due to sinners, that is, spiritual alienation from God, he “was not in any proper sense a substitute for the sinner.”²⁹ Christ suffered, however, to secure the good ends of God’s government.³⁰ Lipscomb blamed the renewal of interest in substitutionist terminology on the “tendency of many of our young brethren, claiming a superior education, to substitute the style and phrases of scholastic theology, for the terms and styles of the Bible.”³¹ Lipscomb thought the issue of whether to use biblical language or not had been settled when Stone and Campbell controverted the issue “thirty years ago.”³² However, despite the different nuances in Lipscomb and Munnell, the two held a substantially governmental view of the atonement.³³ The fact that both Munnell and Lipscomb—representatives from different spectrums of the Stone-Campbell continuum—advocated the governmental theory indicates its influence and popularity.

The Moral Theory of Atonement. During the 1860s and 1870s the moral influence theory was often the foil for the penal and governmental thinkers. Moral influence was the theory to avoid. W. K. Pendleton, for example, believed its error “fatal” since it omits

“that which alone makes Christ truly a Redeemer.” It is a theory “of the earth, earthy.”³⁴ Nevertheless, its influence grew.

In a lengthy 1869 *Gospel Advocate* article Rees Jones contended that the “vicarious suffering of Jesus Christ” is a “spurious gospel.” Christ did not die as a substitute, nor satisfy justice or reconcile God to humanity. The atonement was entirely directed toward humanity, and not to God.³⁵ In what Issac Errett called the “*sound anti-progressive*” *Bible Index*,³⁶ an anonymous article advocated a moral influence theory and reduced the death of Christ, according to Errett, to an exemplary martyrdom.³⁷ In the 1885 *Christian Quarterly Review*, Bailey maintained that the function of Christ’s death is to enable us to know “that He taught *fully and truthfully* the terms upon which God will accept us.”³⁸ The major advocate, however, of the moral influence theory in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was J. S. Lamar. He published his views in two major essays, one as an appendix to his 1877 commentary on Luke, and the other in Garrison’s 1891 *The Old Faith Restated*.³⁹

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, moral influence grew to dominate the thinking of the left wing of the movement which came to be known as the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). J. H. Garrison recommended Lamar’s appendix,⁴⁰ and the *Christian-Evangelist* became a forum for debating the superiority of the moral influence theory to penal and governmental theories. In the same year that Lamar’s commentary on Luke was published (1877), G. L. Harney published an eight-article series in *The Christian* stating the case for the moral influence theory.⁴¹ A. B. Jones followed with several articles defending the moral influence theory in which he dismissed Munnell’s discussion in the *Living Pulpit*.⁴² In response, Munnell as well as others engaged the discussion, but the governmental theory was losing ground among the Disciples.⁴³ For example, W. H. Bryan feared that his only hope, “the vicarious life and death” of the Savior, was being eroded by the floods of moralistic theology.⁴⁴

However, it was in the 1895-1896 *Christian-Evangelist* where the debate between the three theories of atonement was fully engaged. H. M. Brooks⁴⁵ published four articles and Peter Vogel⁴⁶ thirty-three articles in defense of the moral influence theory of atonement. Vogel, for example, argued that the “chief power to reconcile lies in the death of Christ, because therein his love reached its highest manifestation.” Reconciliation is achieved by Christ’s example and by the “direct transforming power” of God which dwells within us. However, transformation is something “everyone must do for himself, which Christ himself did, and which he has qualified himself to aide us in doing, and which everyone in his own measure must qualify himself to help his fellow man to do and so be salt in the earth.”⁴⁷ The power of the atonement is transformation; God dwells in us through Christ as a “living force” which creates righteousness in us.⁴⁸

Munnell, representing the government theory,⁴⁹ and S. C. Pierce a penal substitution advocate,⁵⁰ responded to Vogel. Munnell questioned Vogel's process view that each soul must "get well for itself," and argued that it is a view which leads to "pure Unitarianism" and questions the deity of Christ.⁵¹ S. C. Pierce maintained that the substitutionary work of Christ was both passive and active: Christ's death "takes the place of sufferings which otherwise must be borne by others," and his "obedience or perfect keeping of God's law, was substitutionary work, or work done for man."⁵² Pierce also recognized that "Unitarianism" or continental modernism dominated the discussion of the atonement in the last decade of the nineteenth century.⁵³

In the nineteenth century, the general pattern of atonement discussion moved from penal substitution to the governmental theory to the moral influence theory. This pattern differs little from developments within the Reformed and Methodist traditions.⁵⁴ It reflects broader cultural and theological influences of continental thought upon the American theological tradition.

Renewal of the Penal Theory of Atonement. However, in the last decade of the nineteenth century and in the first few decades of the twentieth century, the theory of penal substitution was renewed in the *Gospel Advocate*, as it had always had a small presence in the *Christian-Evangelist* and a more prominent presence in the *Christian Standard*.⁵⁵ The resurgence of the penal understanding might be traced to the influence of James A. Harding and the Nashville Bible School.⁵⁶ R. H. Boll, for example, who studied in Nashville in the 1890s and taught with Harding at Potter Bible School, maintained, contra the early Lipscomb, that the "principle of *substitution*" is the fundamental explanation of that doctrine of atonement where the price of eternal death was paid by Jesus Christ. "God does not save sinners by making excuse or allowance for their sins and arbitrarily letting them pass, but by sending his Son to shoulder the debt and assume responsibility of the penalty on our behalf, while strictly accounting for everything."⁵⁷

At the turn of the century, the *Gospel Advocate* and Harding's *The Way* renewed the traditional theory of atonement. Even Lipscomb appears, as far as I can determine, to have had a change of heart. In 1897, Lipscomb approved terminology he had earlier condemned, e.g., the language that Christ died "in the stead" of the sinner.⁵⁸ This return to the Campbellian perspective and a rejection of Stone's theory of atonement was more urgent because of the growing strength among the Disciples of Christ of the new continental theology which stressed moralistic theories of salvation as well as biblical criticism. Indeed, the Disciple's return to moral influence thinking appears to have been more driven by contemporary European theology than it was by the historical memory of Stone. At least this is what southern conservatives believed.

The Discontinuance of Discussion

This brief survey indicates that contrary to some accounts the discussion of the atonement did not dissipate with the deaths of Stone and Campbell.⁵⁹ Rather, it continued within the Stone-Campbell Movement even, at many times in its history, as the centerpiece of discussion. For example, in the first five years of the *Christian Quarterly Review* (April 1882-January 1888), there were six major essays on the doctrine of atonement (two governmental, three moral and one penal substitution).⁶⁰

However, three themes were constantly hammered by those who did not want to engage in a thorough discussion of atonement theories because they were satisfied with the simple language of Scripture. First, we should speak only in the language of Scripture and eschew all metaphysical and scholastic terms about the atonement. Second, we should concentrate on proclaiming the facts of the gospel rather than explaining its philosophy. Third, we should resist arguing about theories of atonement since these are unrevealed and tend only to divide the movement. These themes dampened and discouraged discussion. They pushed the meaning of the death of Christ into the background while pushing the human response to the gospel into the foreground. It moved discussion away from what God did to what we must do. It moved the discussion from the past historic accomplishment of redemption to its present existential application. One good example is a sermon by John Sweeney entitled "What Must I Do to Be Saved":⁶¹

The death of Jesus is the sole meritorious, or compensative cause of our salvation. But even the atonement is not a practical question. . . . How the death of Christ met the demands of justice and satisfied the claim of the Law against us, is not a practical question. It is enough for us to accept the facts as stated in the word of God. . . . It is not what God, or Christ, or the Holy Spirit do? But what must I do? That's the practical question with us in the whole matter.

Another example is J. W. McGarvey who insisted that the discussion of theories was unprofitable and unnecessary. Such theorizing seeks to understand something God did not reveal, and "the human mind can never be sure what his reasoning on the matter is." Instead, McGarvey counsels, "it is enough for us to know and act upon the human side."⁶² He calls us to accept the fact of God's act in Christ, the fact of God's revelation, and he surmises that "if men had accepted this fact without attempting to explain it, we should have been spared much perplexity."⁶³ When it comes to explaining the atonement, McGarvey admits he is ignorant. No one "knows what the reasoning of God was on this subject, by which he felt compelled, according to His own infinite nature, to refuse to pardon a single sin except through the blood of His Son." God has not revealed this, and we should not speculate about it.⁶⁴ Consequently, McGarvey discouraged discussion of the atonement except when it came under

attack from the destructive quarters of higher criticism and continental theology.⁶⁵

Issac Errett is the soul-mate of McGarvey on this topic. While rejecting any mere martyr theology or moral influence atonement,⁶⁶ he states that since Scripture “reveals no *philosophy* of atonement” we cannot demand “consent to any theory.”⁶⁷ After a brief history of atonement theories, Errett admits that there is some truth in all of them. But “the subject is too vast to be grasped,” and “it is best, in the humble spirit of discipleship to accept what is revealed, without prying too curiously into mysteries which we cannot master.”⁶⁸

Others as well decried the attempt to get behind the Scriptures and explain the meaning of the atonement. In the *Christian* J. T. Miles, for example, called for the simple preaching of the gospel according to Acts 2 without discussing whether “the death of Christ was vicarious or not” or “the *philosophy* of the plan of salvation.”⁶⁹ Probably the best illustration of this tendency are several articles by C. W. Sewell in the 1876 *Gospel Advocate*. There is no theory, according to Sewell, which “is not fraught with mischief.”⁷⁰ Sewell intended to offer “no opinion beyond the facts declared in the words.”⁷¹ “We need no themes, no views,” he writes, except what “is said in the Bible,” and we need no words which are “not found in the Bible.” If we do otherwise then we will introduce foreign ideas and it will produce “division and strife.”⁷² The bottom line for Sewell is that “since Christ died all who become reconciled to God through him, and obey him to the best of their ability, will be saved.”⁷³

There is some truth here. All theories of atonement are only approximate understandings of the mind of God. What Scripture offers us are metaphors, like redemption, expiation, liberation, adoption, propitiation, etc., which point us to the reality of what God has done in Christ. No single theory can encompass all of these metaphors. But this does not mean we do not explore them, probe their meaning or understand their contemporary application. There is no single right theory, but this should not discourage discussion. Rather, through theological reflection on these metaphors we come to understand the deeper substructure of our faith. Then we are able to recontextualize the theological meaning of atonement for contemporary audiences. To ignore or discourage discussion is to settle for a superficial understanding of the atonement which, in turn, impairs our capacity to communicate the gospel in the contemporary world. Consequently, even though the full mystery of the atonement is beyond our understanding, the attempt to understand what God has done in Christ through exploring biblical metaphors is necessary for the relevant proclamation of the gospel. It is not enough to proclaim the fact that Christ died for our sins and then call people to faith and baptism. The church must explain what it means for Christ to have died in order to engender faith and obedience, and it cannot explain what it does not understand. Repeating the words or facts in old wineskins will fail to communicate what ought to be a

dynamic understanding of how God is reconciling the modern world to himself through the cross of Christ.

Conclusion

In the middle of the often heated exchanges concerning the atonement of Christ, whole sections of the Stone-Campbell Movement rejected the discussion of theology. It exchanged the discussion of theology for the repetition of facts stripped of meaning, for the repetition of historical realities without theological interpretation. The movement reduced theology to a repetition of the words of Scripture, and moved it toward a proclamation of the facts of Scripture without probing the depths of what those facts mean. As a result, discussion of the atonement ceased and a focus on the human dimension of salvation intensified. Over-emphasis on the human side of salvation neglected the gracious act of God in Christ. When our attention turned from what God had done to what we must do, then what Christ had accomplished became merely a human opportunity to comply with God's law.

We have been content to proclaim the facts of the gospel without probing the mystery of the gospel; to proclaim the death, burial and resurrection of Jesus without understanding the theological principles which frame its meaning. A proclamation of facts without meaning is a proclamation that will reinterpret the gospel through the lens of a contemporary grid. When we fail to interpret the gospel—to seek to understand it, to reflect on and apply its theological principles—we will inevitably give the gospel a meaning which was never intended. If there is no conscious effort to understand the meaning of faith, it will be interpreted by default. The default will be drawn from our modern or post-modern grids which will impose a meaning on the gospel from without rather than understanding the gospel from within. For this reason, the interpretation of the atonement must continue. The discussion must be re-engaged to communicate the gospel to the contemporary church and world.

Notes

¹An excellent survey of atonement theories as well as the biblical material is H. D. McDonald, *The Atonement of the Death of Christ in Faith, Revelation, and History* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1985). An older, but still important survey is Robert S. Paul, *The Atonement and the Sacraments: The Relation of the Atonement to the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1965). For a discussion of the Calvinist-Arminian-Remonstrant complexities of atonement theology, see my "The Theology of Grace in the Thought of Jacobus Arminius and Philip van Limborch: A Study in the Development of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Arminianism" (Ph.D. dissertation, Westminster Theological Seminary, 1985), pp. 189-206.

²Stone, "Remarks on Achipus' No. 5," *Christian Messenger* 5 (July 1831), 161.

³Stone, *Atonement: The Substance of Two Letters Written to a Friend* (Lexington, KY: Joseph Charles, 1805), pp. 14-15. Cf. also Stone's *An Address to the Christian Churches in Kentucky, Tennessee & Ohio on Several Important Doctrines of Religion*, 2nd edition (Lexington, KY: I. T. Cavins & Co., 1821).

⁴See my "What Did Christ Accomplish On The Cross? Atonement In Campbell, Stone And Scott," *Lexington Theological Quarterly* 30.3 (Fall 1995), 145-70.

⁵Jacob Creath, "Importance of the Death of Christ," *Millennial Harbinger* 34 (February 1863), 58-60; (March 1863), 135-37; (April 1863), 161-63; and (May 1863), 229-32.

⁶Creath, "Importance," *Millennial Harbinger* 34 (February 1863), 58. Campbell placed himself among the views of the traditional Reformers. He writes: "For myself, I acknowledge that my sectarian partialities, as well as my more mature convictions, are all on the side of the general views of the Protestant reformers in those questions which involve the person, office, and work of the Messiah," "Campbell to Broadus," *Millennial Harbinger* 13 (April 1842), 211. So also H. G. H., "Pardon," p. 461: "It was the great doctrine of the reformation, which our first reformers made their chief study."

⁷Campbell, in *Popular Lectures and Addresses* (Nashville, TN: Gospel Advocate reprint of 1861 edition), 562.

⁸H. G. H., "Pardon and Justification," *Millennial Harbinger* 38 (September 1867), 457-62: "And so likewise justification is by the same blood. Because the law pronounced death because of transgression, and as Christ came to keep the law on account of man's inability, he must needs die,—his blood must be shed in order to fulfill that law, and to procure our justification from the breaking of the law...Christ having had the sins of his people imputed to him, that is, laid on him, and having made satisfaction to the justice of God, for them, he was acquitted, discharged and justified" (pp. 458-59, 461).

⁹Robert Milligan, "Synoptical Exposition of Scripture. No. v.—Romans III:21-31," *Millennial Harbinger* 30 (April 1859), 188-192. "It is enough for us to know that the blood of Christ has magnified the law of God and made it honorable; that it has removed old governmental difficulties out of the way; that the only remaining hindrances are in the sinner himself..." (p. 190).

¹⁰Robert Milligan, *An Exposition and Defense of the Scheme of Redemption* (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1868), 236-37; cf. 226-36.

¹¹H. Christopher, *The Remedial System; or, Man and His Redeemer* (Lexington, KY: Transylvania Printing and Publishing Co., 1875), 217.

¹²*Ibid.*, 229. See also, p. 232: "Thus, when the sins of the world were laid upon Christ he was treated as though he were the sinner in fact, although he was sinless; and when the sinner accepts Christ as his atonement, God imputes or counts to him, or invests him with, the righteousness of Christ which becomes his character on account of his acceptance of Christ."

¹³Clement, "The Atonement," *Lard's Quarterly* 5 (April 1868), 158-193.

¹⁴For example, among many, Thomas Munnell, "Atonement," *The Christian* 17 (16 January 1879), 5; (20 February 1879), 5; "The Atonement," *The Christian-Evangelist* 19 (22 December 1881), 1; "Necessity of the Atonement," *The Christian-Evangelist* 32 (5 December 1895), 775; "Philosophy of the Atonement," *Christian-Evangelist* 32 (12 December 1895), 791; "Atonement-Reconciliation," *The Christian-Evangelist* 32 (26 December 1895), 822; "Bro. Vogel on Atonement," *The Christian-Evangelist* 33 (9 April 1896), 237.

¹⁵Thomas Munnell, "Atonement," in *The Living Pulpit of the Christian Church* (Cincinnati: R. W. Carroll & Co., Publishers, 1868), pp. 87-101.

¹⁶Thomas Munnell, "The Atonement," *Christian Quarterly Review* 1 (April 1882), 1-13.

¹⁷See the first page of each essay in the previous two footnotes.

¹⁸For example, Munnell, "Atonement," *The Christian* 17 (16 January 1879), 5 and 17 (20 February 1879), 5.

¹⁹Munnell, "The Atonement," *The Christian-Evangelist* 19 (22 December 1881), 1

²⁰Munnell, *Living Pulpit*, 87.

²¹*Ibid.*, 95.

²²Munnell, *Christian Quarterly Review*, 2.

²³*Ibid.*, 3.

²⁴Munnell, *Living Pulpit*, 98.

²⁵Munnell, *Christian Quarterly Review*, 8.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 10.

²⁷David Lipscomb, "Living Pulpit," *Gospel Advocate* 10 (19 March 1868), 265.

²⁸He clearly does so in "The Blood of Christ," in *Salvation From Sin*, ed. by J. W. Shepherd (Nashville: Gospel Advocate Co., 1950), 162. See also David Lipscomb, "The

Object of Christ's Death," *Gospel Advocate* 25 (27 June 1883), 406; (6 July 1883), 423; (18 July 1883), 449.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 267.

³⁰Lipscomb, "Living Pulpit," *Gospel Advocate* 10 (5 March 1868), 221; see also "Living Pulpit," *Gospel Advocate* 10 (27 February 1868), 198-9.

³¹Lipscomb, "Living Pulpit," 267.

³²Lipscomb, "Living Pulpit," 199.

³³This was also the view of other writers in the *Gospel Advocate*. See, for example, the series by C. W. Sewell, "What has the Death of Christ Accomplished for the World?," *Gospel Advocate* 14 (18 January 1872), 59-61; (25 January 1872), 79-81; (1 February 1872), 110-11; (8 February 1872), 131-3; and (7 March 1872), 234-6, as well as these other articles by Sewell, "Without the Shedding of Blood there is no Remission," *Gospel Advocate* 18 (23 June 1876), 590; "Orthodoxy of the Atonement," *Gospel Advocate* 18 (27 July 1876), 704-5; and "Scripture on the Atonement," *Gospel Advocate* 18 (24 August 1876), 818-9.

³⁴W. K. Pendleton, "The Doctrine of the Atonement," *The Christian Quarterly* 4 (July 1872), 305.

³⁵Rees Jones, "A Spurious Gospel," *Gospel Advocate* 11 (15 July 1869), 649-57.

³⁶Issac Errett, "Unsound Doctrine," *Christian Standard* 9 (13 September 1873), 292.

³⁷"How Christ was Made Sin," *Bible Index* 1 (August 1873), 147-8.

³⁸L. Y. Bailey, "The Atonement," *Christian Quarterly Review* 4 (July 1885), 373.

³⁹J. S. Lamar, "Appendix to Chapter XXIV. 44-47: The Atonement," in *New Testament Commentary*, Vol. II.—Luke (Des Moines, IA: Eugene S. Smith; reprint of 1877 edition), pp. 287-300; and "The Ground of Man's Need of Salvation, or Sin and Its Remedy," in *The Old Faith Restated*, ed. by J. H. Garrison (St. Louis: Christian Publishing Co., 1891).

⁴⁰J. H. Garrison, "Questions and Answers," *The Christian-Evangelist* 28 (5 February 1891), 89.

⁴¹G. L. Harney, "The Atonement of Scripture," *The Christian* 15 (16 August 1877), 2; (23 August 1877), 2; (6 September 1877), 2-3; (13 September 1877), 2; (20 September 1877), 2; (27 September 1877), 2-3; (4 October 1877), 2-3.

⁴²A. B. Jones, "A View of the Atonement," *The Christian* 16 (26 December 1878), 1; "Editorial Questions about the Atonement," *The Christian* 17 (2 January 1879), 1; and "Bro. Munnell," *The Christian* 17 (30 January 1879), 1.

⁴³Munnell, "Atonement," *The Christian* 17 (16 January 1879), 5; (20 February 1879), 5, and J. M. Henry, "The Atonement," *The Christian* 17 (20 February 1879), 2.

⁴⁴W. H. Bryan, "Death of Christ," *The Christian* 17 (13 March 1879), 2.

⁴⁵H. M. Brooks, "Atonement," *The Christian-Evangelist* 32 (19 September 1895), 605; (17 October 1895), 663; and "The Necessity of the Death of Christ," *The Christian-Evangelist* 33 (9 January 1896), 22-23; (23 January 1896), 54.

⁴⁶Peter Vogel, "Atonement," *The Christian-Evangelist* 32 (17 October 1895), 662; (24 October 1895), 679; (7 November 1895), 710-11; (14 November 1895), 727; (21 November 1895), 742; (5 December 1895), 774-5; (19 December 1895), 807; (26 December 1895), 807; (26 December 1895), 822; 33 (2 January 1896), 7; (9 January 1896), 22; (23 January 1896), 70; (6 February 1896), 86; (13 February 1896), 102; (20 February 1896), 118; (27 February 1896), 135; (5 March 1896), 151; "Two Atonement Reviewers," *The Christian-Evangelist* 33 (4 June 1896), 358; "Thomas Munnell's Atonement Review," *The Christian-Evangelist* 33 (11 June 1896), 374; "Thomas Munnell's Atonement Review II," *The Christian Evangelist* 33 (25 June 1896), 406-7; "Review of Pierce's 'Christ's Vicarious Death'," *The Christian-Evangelist* 33 (9 July 1896), 441; "Christ's Death," *The Christian-Evangelist* 33 (1896), 470, 485, 508, 543, 558, 582, 599, 630, 646, 662, 678, 742.

⁴⁷Vogel, "Atonement," (1896), 166.

⁴⁸Vogel, "Munnell," p. 406.

⁴⁹Munnell, "Bro. Vogel on Atonement," *The Christian-Evangelist* 33 (9 April 1896), 237, 543, 551.

⁵⁰C. S. Pierce, "Christ's Death Vicarious," *The Christian-Evangelist* 33 (28 May 1896), 343; "Vogel's Review of 'Christ's Vicarious Death'," *The Christian-Evangelist* 33 (9 July 1896), 441, 476, 485, 508, 543, 558, 582, 599, 630, 646, 667, 678.

⁵¹Munnell, "Bro. Vogel on Atonement," 237.

⁵²Pierce, "Christ's Death Vicarious," 343.

⁵³S. C. Pierce, "Why did Christ die? No. 4," *Christian Standard* 37 (26 July 1902), 1196.

⁵⁴David F. Wells, "The Debate over the Atonement in 19th Century America," *Bibliotheca Sacra* (April-June 1987), 123-43; (July-September 1987), 243-53; (October-December 1987), 363-76; (January-March 1988), 3-14 and Robert Chiles, *Theological Transition in American Methodism: 1790-1935* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1965), pp. 144-83.

⁵⁵For example, the series by S. C. Pierce, "Why did Christ die? No. 1," *Christian Standard* 37 (26 July 1902), 1032-3; "No. 2," *Christian Standard* 37 (2 August 1902), 1065-6; "No. 3," *Christian Standard* 37 (16 August 1902), 1130-1; and "No. 4," *Christian Standard* 37 (30 August 1902), 1196-7. Cf. also J. J. S. Perowne, "The Atonement," *Christian Standard* 23 (8 September 1888), 573.

⁵⁶See my "K. C. Moser and Churches of Christ: A Historical Perspective," *Restoration Quarterly* 37 (1995), 139-57, especially pages 151-3. Also see the discussions of grace in Richard Hughes, *Reviving the Ancient Faith: The Story of Churches of Christ in America* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 168-189.

⁵⁷R. H. Boll, "Why Blood?," *Gospel Advocate* 55 (23 January 1913), 74. See also "Was Christ our Substitute?," *Gospel Advocate* 55 (20 February 1913), 170-1.

⁵⁸Lipscomb, "The Blood of Christ," *Gospel Advocate* 39 (5 August 1897), 485. For his earlier rejection of this language, see "Living Pulpit," 267.

⁵⁹Contra Bill Love, *The Core Gospel: On Restoring the Crux of the Matter* (Abilene, TX: Abilene Christian University Press, 1992), 121: "Stone left a deposit of discouragement where the study of the atonement is concerned."

⁶⁰The moral view represented by Jones, "Government," 2 (July 1883), 425-35; Bailey, "Atonement," 4 (July 1885), 369-74; R. T. Matthews, "New Testament Idea of Righteousness," 3 (January 1884), 53-65; the governmental view represented by Munnell, "Atonement," 1 (April 1882), 1-13; Lipscomb, "Blood of Christ," 5 (January 1888), 67-90; and the penal view is represented by I. B. Grubbs, "The Doctrine of the Epistle to the Romans," 3 (April 1884), 267-84.

⁶¹John Sweeney, *Sweeney's Sermons* (Nashville, TN: Gospel Advocate, 1892), 252-53. I am indebted to C. Leonard Allen, *The Cruciform Church* (Abilene, TX: ACU Press, 1990), 119, for this example. Allen is essentially correct in his assessment of the displacement of the cross in Restoration preaching, and confirms my reading of the atonement debate in Restoration literature.

⁶²J. W. McGarvey, "Did He Suffer the Penalty?," in *Biblical Criticism* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Standard Publishing Co., 1910), p. 326.

⁶³Ibid., 332.

⁶⁴McGarvey, *Sermons Delivered in Louisville, Kentucky* (Nashville, TN: Gospel Advocate Co, 1974; reprint of 1894 edition), 51.

⁶⁵See his articles on the atonement and the role of Christ's blood in *Biblical Criticism*.

⁶⁶For example, Issac Errett, "The Death of Jesus," *Christian Standard* 14 (1 March 1879), 68 claims that the work of Christ was more than a moral influence.

⁶⁷Issac Errett, "Unsound Doctrine," 292.

⁶⁸Issac Errett, "The Atonement," *Christian Standard* 15 (5 April 1879), 108.

⁶⁹J. T. Miles, "The Simplicity of the Gospel," *The Christian* 15 (16 August 1877), 1.

⁷⁰C. W. Sewell, "Without the Shedding of Blood there is no Remission," *Gospel Advocate* 18 (23 June 1876), 590.

⁷¹C. W. Sewell, "Forgiveness &c Again," *Gospel Advocate* 18 (30 June 1876), 607.

⁷²Ibid. 610-11.

⁷³Sewell, "Scripture on the Atonement," *Gospel Advocate* 18 (24 August 1876), 819.

Robert Oldham Fife Named Fund

Robert Fife, now of Johnson City, Tennessee, was born in Illinois, but reared in California and Washington where his father ministered among Christian Churches. Ordained to the ministry in 1937, Robert held pastorates throughout the mid-west early in his career. Currently adjunct professor of church history at Emmanuel School of Religion, he has taught and lectured worldwide, and is a distinguished historian of the Christian Church. He has published numerous books and journal articles. Robert is a life member of the Society and this fund was established by his gift.

Eugene N. and Bonnie L. Frazier Named Fund

The Fraziers have both served on the Oklahoma Regional Staff, Gene as Regional Minister. He has been a Trustee of the Disciples of Christ Historical Society. During his forty-seven years of pastoral ministry he served churches in Missouri and Kansas. Bonnie has been President of the International Christian Women's Fellowship. The Fraziers now live at the NBA community of Foxwood Springs, where they are involved in activities at the Center and at Raymore Christian Church. Gene and Bonnie are members of the Society and this Named Fund was established with their gift.

Elaine Marie Lund Named Fund

Marie has been a member of National City Christian Church since 1947. She has been active in the Sanctuary Choir, CWF, and served several terms as a deacon. Marie began attending Sunday School at Park View Christian Church (now Shepherd Park) in Washington, D.C. when her family moved from Chicago. This fund is an expression of Marie's continuing support of the Society.

Joseph M. and Winnifred W. Smith Named Fund

Joe and Winnie are best known as Disciples missionaries to China and the Philippines. Joe was associate professor of Mission and World Religions at Christian Theological Seminary and later Executive Secretary, Department of East Asia for the Division of Overseas Ministries. Winnie has served on national boards and was vice president of the International Convention. She held three interim pastorates in Indiana and Illinois to introduce congregations to a woman minister. In retirement they have served seven co-interim pastorates in Georgia, Tennessee, Virginia and South Carolina. The Smiths are life members of the Society and established this fund with their gift.

The Fourth Annual Forrest H. Kirkpatrick Historians' Seminar in joint meeting with the American Society of Church History April 25-26, 1997

The Historical Society is honored to welcome colleagues of the American Society of Church History. The Kirkpatrick Seminar will begin with a joint session with ASCH at 7:30 on Friday, April 25. Professor Henry Warner Bowden of Rutgers University will address the issue, "The Problem of Denominational History." A panel will make the initial response followed by discussion from the audience.

On Saturday, April 26, the Kirkpatrick Seminar will feature three lectures and discussion of "Interpreting the Stone-Campbell Movement's History for its Present Day Members (and other interested parties)." The lecturers will be Henry E. Webb, retired professor of Milligan College and Emmanuel School of Religion, who will discuss his writing of *In Search of Christian Unity*; Mark G. Toulouse of Brite Divinity School, who will present his approach to the question from his experience of writing *Joined in Discipleship: the Maturing of an American Religious Movement*; and Douglas A. Foster of Abilene Christian University who will follow the same procedure as he discusses writing *Will the Cycle Be Unbroken?*

The lecturers have been asked to address the challenges of writing denominational histories/studies that are simultaneously:

1. academically sound
2. interpretive in the sense of offering fresh angles of vision that organize complex material into more "digestible" forms
3. publishable and marketable
4. faithful to the essence of those who made the history that is being recounted.

Seminar participants are invited to an ASCH workshop on creating congregational histories which is scheduled for 3:30 on April 26. Anthony Dunnivant of Lexington Theological Seminary will lead the workshop.

The Kirkpatrick Historians' Seminar has been held each spring in Nashville for the last three years. Seminar participants are welcome at ASCH sessions held at nearby Vanderbilt Divinity School, April 24-26. The cost of registration for the Historians' Seminar is \$25. Please contact the Historical Society for registration and housing information.

Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1101 Nineteenth Avenue South, Nashville, TN 37212
(615) 327-1444 FAX (615) 327-1445 e-mail: dishistsoc@aol.com

Registration Fees	
Individual	\$25.00
Couple	\$50.00
Group (5 or more)	\$125.00
Total	\$25.00

Registration Information:

Registration is required for all participants. Registration fees include a copy of the seminar materials and a meal on Friday, April 25. Registration is on a first-come, first-served basis. Space is limited. Registration deadline is April 20, 1997. Registration fees are non-refundable. Registration fees for couples and groups are for the entire seminar. Registration fees for individuals are for the entire seminar. Registration fees for couples and groups are for the entire seminar. Registration fees for individuals are for the entire seminar.

Registration by Address:

Registration fees for individuals are \$25.00. Registration fees for couples are \$50.00. Registration fees for groups (5 or more) are \$125.00. Registration fees for individuals are \$25.00. Registration fees for couples are \$50.00. Registration fees for groups (5 or more) are \$125.00.

DISCIPLES OF CHRIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1101 NINETEENTH AVENUE, SOUTH
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Notice to Church Historians: If your congregation produces bulletins and newsletters with desktop publishing software, you may wish to begin submitting your annual materials on computer disk. Beginning January 1, 1997, DCHS will acknowledge receipt of bulletins and congregational materials if a self-addressed, stamped postcard is provided by the congregation.