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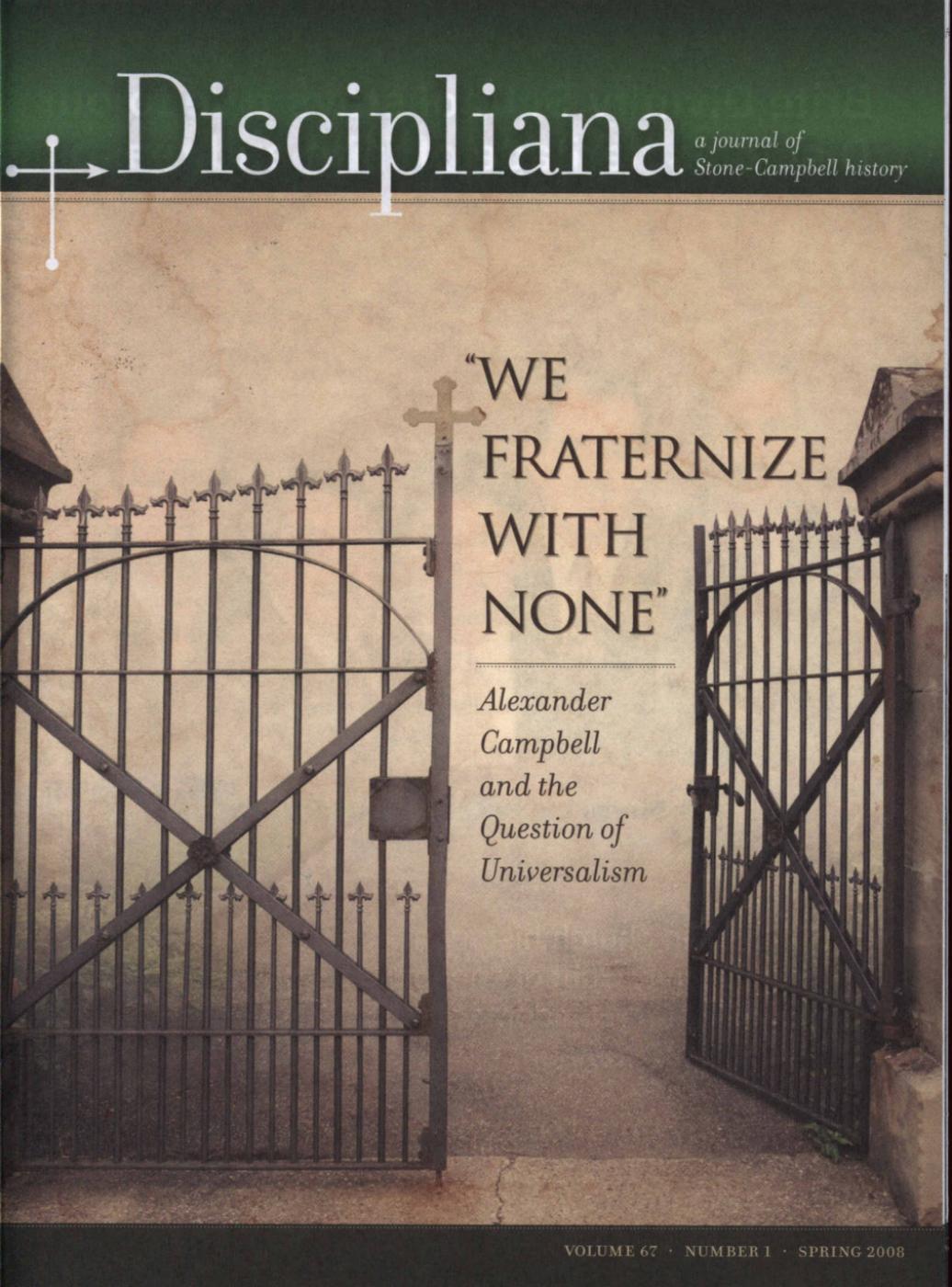


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Discipliana

a journal of
Stone-Campbell history

“WE
FRATERNIZE
WITH
NONE”

*Alexander
Campbell
and the
Question of
Universalism*

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Disciplina Spring 2008

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the

PRESIDENT'S DESK

Welcome to *Discipliana*. If you are searching for the very latest in Stone–Campbell historical studies, you're in the right place.

Since 1941, Disciples of Christ Historical Society has placed the preservation of our faith heritage at the very center of its mission. We believe we have an important and exciting story to tell, one that connects all that is ideal about the past to all of our hopes for the future.

The starting point for each of those stories is a person. To be sure, our common identity with one person—Jesus of Nazareth—is involved in every story. Yet, we also celebrate all those persons who populate our particular stories. These are the tales lived and told over the last 200 years that give the imprint of “Disciples” and “Christians” to the three streams of churches that comprise this

movement we call Stone–Campbell.

That is why we publish this journal. We want you to know the “who” and the “why” of how we have come from *then* to *now*.

As historians, we are convinced that we must know the details of the past. We need to see the places and the people and the circumstances that form the tableaux of history. It is these details that help us to understand, at least in part, why

*The accomplishments of individuals and nations
— whether in the arenas of science, politics, or faith
— are the building blocks of civilization.*

history developed in one way rather than another. We are further convinced that without this understanding of the past, it is difficult to make sense of the present and impossible to make any predictions

about the future. While we are living *now* and have dreams about *someday*, we have come to accept that grappling with all of it begins *then*.

The accomplishments of individuals and nations — whether in the arenas of science, politics, or faith — are the building blocks of civilization. The preservation of their stories by archivists, and the interpretation of their stories by historians, gives us insight to how we arrived from *there to here*. It is the history of all these marvelous lives that shows us, step by step, exactly how we progressed from huts to palaces and from ignorance to enlightenment.

At Disciples of Christ Historical Society, our mission does not involve the preservation of scientific or political history. We leave that in the able hands of others. Our mission involves faith, but a particular faith arising on the American soil and creating a unique chapter in Christian heritage. In fact, we are the only organization in the world that has as its primary purpose the material preservation of this particular faith. When it comes to the Stone–Campbell movement, there are others who have secondary interest, but we stand alone as the premier keeper of this intriguing story.

Our movement has created thousands of congregations and changed millions of lives in the United States alone, not to mention the millions in other nations around the globe. Benevolent ministries bearing the flags of the three streams of this movement have served countless people in virtually every nation. And dozens of institutions of higher education have trained generations in every walk of life — including one U.S. president.

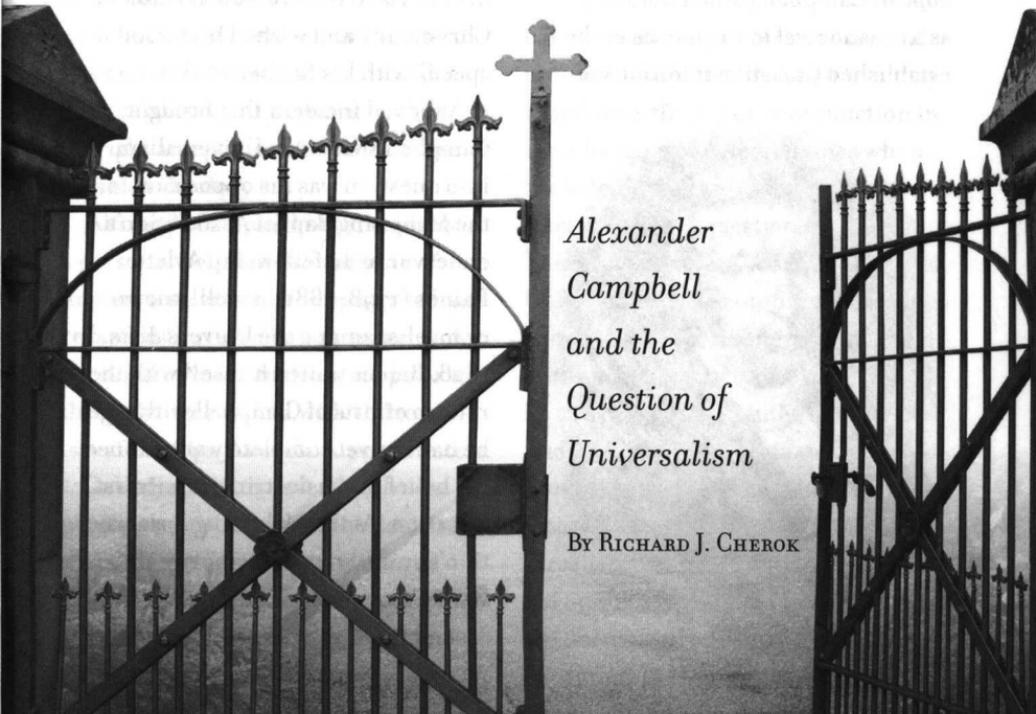
Ours is a story of opening new vistas of faith both at home and abroad, including our historic call for oneness among all Christians. The ideal of unity is now expanded to call for the harmony of all people of faith everywhere. It is an ideal worthy of our devotion, because the realization of unity has the potential to bring the kind of peace and harmony that the world has longed for but never experienced.

In this issue, Rick Cherok explains one struggle in our history to maintain our hope for unity, while also holding on to our core identity. This is an essay that has been prepared especially for our readers and one I know you will find helpful in connecting *then to now*.

— GLENN THOMAS CARSON

“WE FRATERNIZE WITH NONE”

From early in his publishing career, Alexander Campbell made it plainly clear that he opposed the doctrine of universal salvation. “We are very sure that all the Universalists on earth,” he wrote in 1825, “cannot produce one sentence in all the revelation of God that says any thing about the termination of the punishment of the wicked.” Furthermore, he wrote, “I am content to be assured that whosoever hears the gospel and believes and obeys it, shall be saved, and that whosoever hears it and disbelieves it, shall be damned.”¹



*Alexander
Campbell
and the
Question of
Universalism*

BY RICHARD J. CHEROK

Nevertheless, Campbell was frequently called on to clarify his position on Universalism, and was occasionally applauded within the Universalist press.²

The confusion surrounding Campbell's relationship to Universalism probably found its origin in two distinct sources. The first was his expanding reputation as an iconoclastic, frontier reformer of Christianity. Through the pages of his *Christian Baptist*, Campbell gained notoriety as a caustic rival to the norms of the established Christian traditions of

America's antebellum era. The adherents of Universalism, according to Russell E. Miller, also regarded themselves as "a denomination of 'comeouters' who challenged prevailing religious orthodoxies."³ So intimately paralleled were the early Campbellian and Universalist pursuits of Christian reform that the editors of *The Sentinel, and Star in the West*, a weekly Universalist periodical published in Cincinnati, Ohio, commended Campbell for his efforts to restore New Testament Christianity and wished him "God speed" with his further work.⁴

A second incident that brought Campbell's views on Universalism into question was his opposition to the Mahoning Baptist Association's endeavor to disfellowship Aylette Raines (1798–1881), a well-known evangelist among the Universalists. In 1828, Raines united himself with the reform efforts of Campbell, although he had not yet completely abandoned his belief in the doctrine of universal salvation. At the Mahoning Association's annual meeting, shortly after Raines' conversion, the leaders of the assembly suggested that their new member be excommunicated from the



Alexander Campbell (c. 1842)

association because of his continued belief in some of the tenets of Universalism. Both Alexander Campbell and his father, Thomas Campbell, objected to Raines' dismissal from the association, insisting that his private opinions about universal salvation not be made a test of fellowship.⁵ Their victorious effort to retain Raines' membership in the association was undoubtedly recognized by Universalists and non-Universalists alike as a gesture of sympathy toward — if not outright acceptance of — Raines' Universalist theology.

Although Campbell never expressed a personal belief in the doctrine of universal salvation, he appears to have regarded Universalism as an issue of personal opinion in the years prior to the exchanges he had with Universalists after 1830. As such, his encounters with Universalism never involved a personal question about the doctrinal correctness of universal salvation; he always opposed Universalism as a theological system. However, he wrestled with the idea of accepting

Universalism as a nonessential opinion within the life of a believer. Because both Alexander and Thomas Campbell repeatedly expressed their support for the liberty of each individ-

“We fraternize with none who preach that he that believeth not, shall be saved.”

—ALEXANDER CAMPBELL

ual to embrace or reject nonessential opinions about the Christian life, they found no difficulty or contradiction in their backing of Aylette Raines when his beleaguered Universalist ideas were called into question in 1828. Therefore, as long as Campbell viewed Universalism as an opinion, he was convinced it was a nonessential to the faith and a personal belief over which he could express no authoritative jurisdiction as to its acceptance or rejection in the lives of individual believers. Once he rejected the notion that Universalism could be held as a nonessential opinion, however, Campbell saw the doctrine of universal salvation as a dangerous heresy that could no longer

be recognized as Christian. This article will explore Campbell's encounters with Universalism after 1830 and his rejection of Universalism as a tolerable opinion within the Christian life.

Jonathan Kidwell (1799–1849)

The initial foray in Campbell's struggle over Universalism began with the 1831 realization that the advocates of universal salvation were publicly claiming a unity of faith with him.

To counteract these claims — and the notion that he himself

might be a Universalist — the Bethany editor produced a brief essay explicitly stating the opposite. “We fraternize with none,” he wrote, “who preach that he that believeth not, shall be saved.”⁶

The imminent reply of Jonathan Kidwell, the most vocal and immoderate member of *The Sentinel*, and *Star in the West*'s editorial staff, touched off a heated dispute between the two editors that eventually led to further Universalist conflicts for Campbell.

As a convert to Universalism in around 1815, Kidwell became a traveling evangelist, editor, and one of the earliest proponents of Universalism in Indiana and the western part of Ohio. Kidwell's well-deserved reputation as a radical Universalist emerged from his apparent delight in attacking the cherished doctrines of both orthodox Christians and his fellow Universalists. Not only was Kidwell a lightning rod of contention among evangelical Christians but, according to Rus-

To Campbell's claim of victory, Kidwell responded by stating that his opponent had actually “backed out” of the controversy and could in no way claim to have triumphed in the contest.

sell E. Miller, he was “a thorn in the side of ‘respectable’ Universalists everywhere.”⁷

Kidwell responded to Campbell's essay by deriding the *Millennial Harbinger*'s editor for loving notoriety more than truth. “He knows universalism is

not popular," Kidwell wrote of Campbell. So, Kidwell claimed, Campbell had distanced himself from this unpopular view and had misrepresented its ideas. Kidwell went on to invite Campbell to "justify his unfriendly insinuations," and promised that the *Sentinel's* columns would be "at his service" for the publication of his articles.⁸

Campbell's agreement to "expose the absurdities" of Universalism,⁹ however, provoked a perplexing response from the senior editor of the *Sentinel*. Rather than acknowledging Campbell's agreement to uphold his assertions, Kidwell informed his readers that Campbell had actually "invited us into the field of battle" and demanded "the use of our columns for his arguments." Nonetheless, Kidwell boastfully agreed to the challenge he attributed to Campbell, although he demanded that Campbell print his counter essays in the pages of the *Millennial Harbinger*.¹⁰

In the first and second of his three letters to the *Sentinel*, Campbell merely tried to set the record straight with regard to the initiation of their correspondences and to call for a civil tone in their discussion of Universalism.

Noting that Kidwell had initiated the discussion challenge and invitation to print his ideas in the *Sentinel*, Campbell objected to Kidwell's demand for inclusion of his Universalist arguments in the *Millennial Harbinger*. Although he had "intended to publish the whole controversy . . . if it should be interesting," Campbell insisted that it was too late to make stipulations after the invitation had already been acknowledged. A further point of dissension was Kidwell's use of "Drury Lane or Grub Street Rhetoric," which did not, according to Campbell, "comport with the gravity and deliberation of religious discussion." Promising that he would not reply to Kidwell's use of such language, Campbell called for "argument and testimony" rather than "this species of ribaldry and buffoonery."¹¹

Kidwell's verbose response reiterated many of his earlier allegations against Campbell and repeated his claim that Campbell had actually been the aggressor of the argument. Describing Campbell as "slow of understanding," Kidwell charged that his adversary had no "tangible foundation" for his contentions with Universalism.

"If he was about to meet Mr. M'Calla or Mr. Owen, over whose systems he has such a decided advantage," wrote Kidwell, "he would not delay the blow; but he knows notwithstanding all his sneers and flouts about the logic and candor of universalism, that it is not easy to combat."¹²

In a final endeavor to get their discourse underway, Campbell's third essay to Kidwell analyzed a paragraph extracted from the April 21, 1832, edition of the *Sentinel*. Because the editors of the *Sentinel* refused to provide a proposition for discussion, Campbell selected their comments on Revelation 21:8-9 "as one definite exposé of their logic, grammar, and theology." By examining this theological "specimen" of Universalist thought, Campbell explored what he believed to be a misuse of logic, grammar, and theology by his opponents as they attempted to uphold their convictions about universal salvation.¹³

Kidwell responded to Campbell's allegations with a scathing attack against the Bethany editor and a statement of his decision to cease publishing any of Campbell's further writings. Declaring himself "quite out of patience" with

Campbell, Kidwell told his readers that the most recent Campbell article would be "the last piece of his scurrility with which we will defile our paper." Kidwell's lengthy remarks endeavored to provide a rejoinder to Campbell's challenges to the logic, grammar, and theology of Universalism, but his primary objective was to vilify his rival rather than to answer him. With regard to Campbell, he wrote,

[W]e expected to find the dignified scholar, the candid critic, the sober reasoner, the gentleman, the christian, and a clergyman of deep research: but to our utter astonishment and mortification we find the man precisely the reverse of our expectations — a mere superficial polylogist — a quibbler — a sounding brass — a tinkling symbol; whose element is low wit, calumny, dull sarcasm, insult, and abuse.

Kidwell went on to dismiss Campbell as "too small a target to be shot at" before bringing his loquacious diatribe to a conclusion.¹⁴

Upon learning of Kidwell's announced decision to forego printing

any of his future articles, Campbell immediately declared himself the victor over both Universalism and the editors of the *Sentinel*. Their reluctance to accept further essays, Campbell announced, “ends the boast of Messrs. Kidwell and S. Tizzard!!!!” Moreover, he explained, “any *gentleman*” (Campbell italicized the word to emphasize what he considered the ungentlemanly character of Kidwell) who “thinks that he can sustain Universalism” will have the pages of the *Millennial Harbinger* “open to him under equal and impartial laws.”¹⁵

To Campbell’s claim of victory, Kidwell responded by stating that his opponent had actually “backed out” of the controversy and could in no way claim to have triumphed in the contest. “This mighty polemic, who has divided the Baptist church, made other sects to tremble, and defied the universalists,” Kidwell wrote, “has played the coward . . . and retreated from the field of action, without ever attempting to come to an engagement.”

Kidwell went on to call for a renewed debate with Campbell, saying that he would “attack Mr. Campbell on his own ground” if Campbell refused a public meeting.¹⁶ Kidwell maintained his efforts to lure Campbell into a controversy for several years, but the two

Kidwell’s lengthy remarks endeavored to provide a rejoinder to Campbell’s challenges to the logic, grammar, and theology of Universalism, but his primary objective was to vilify his rival rather than to answer him.

men would never again have a formal confrontation. For Campbell, however, the controversy with Kidwell was a steppingstone to a further discussion of Universalism with Dolphus Skinner, the esteemed editor of the *Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate*.

Dolphus Skinner (1800–1869)

What ultimately evolved into the written debate between Campbell and Skinner began with a letter to the

Millennial Harbinger from an individual identified only as "Spencer." Spencer's epistle to the *Harbinger* suggested that the Jews never used the Greek term *gehenna* (generally translated as "hell") as a reference to punishment, so it was more likely to refer to a "temporal judgment, executed in the Valley of Hinnom." Furthermore, he added, the Greek term *aion* (generally translated "eternal") refers to a distinct period of time that is not always unending in duration. As such, he insisted, there exists no biblical support for a punishment that endures without end.¹⁷

Campbell responded to Spencer by explaining what he deemed a more appropriate hermeneutical evaluation and interpretation of the terms *gehenna* and *aion*. Moreover, he insisted, "eternal life and eternal death remain the immutable and invincible sanctions of God's last message to mankind."

"He is no friend of Jesus," Campbell concluded, "who preaches that he who believeth not, shall be saved; or who infers that the righteous and the wicked shall after death be equally pure, holy, and happy for one moment or for duration without end."¹⁸

From the pen of George W. Montgomery (1810–1898), a young Uni-

As a result of "Skinner's quibbling and abusive course in the discussion," Richardson further noted, Campbell regretted his willingness to provide space for Skinner in the Millennial Harbinger.

versalist minister from Auburn, New York, came a letter of reply to Campbell's epistle to Spencer. Montgomery's dispatch tried to build on Spencer's claims and received a response from Campbell that was quite similar to the earlier one offered to Spencer.¹⁹ Some four months after printing the Montgomery letter and his reply to it, however, Campbell had the opportunity to make the acquaintance of the

young Universalist while on a speaking tour that took him through New York. At their meeting, Montgomery asked Campbell if he would engage him in a discussion of Universalism through the pages of the *Millennial Harbinger*. Campbell politely declined the minister's debate invitation, but offered instead to confront one of the more notable members of the Universalist sect.

"I would ... rather encounter some of the older giants ... of Universalism," he said, "for if I killed [Montgomery], these sons of Hercules would say I only killed a mere stripling, which would be unmanly and dishonorable."

When asked for his opinion about the leading figures in the Universalist movement, Montgomery informed Campbell about "the mighty men in Boston," but "represented Mr. Skinner, of Utica, to be as competent as the best of them; nay perhaps, 'a more ready writer than any of them.'" Thus, Campbell agreed to a dialogue with Dolphus Skinner.²⁰

As plans for their discussion were underway, Campbell asked Skinner if it "would not be better" for the two combatants to have a "face to face

discussion" that could be recorded by a stenographer and published for the world's inspection. Skinner, however, opted for a written discussion, claiming it would be "the freest from personalities, from passions, and from rash, hasty, and inconsiderate remarks."²¹ Consequently, Skinner's epistle of February 10, 1837, began an exchange of 40 letters between February 1837 and July 1839, in which the two men debated the doctrines of Universalism. Both sides of the debate were published in each editor's respective tabloid throughout the duration of the correspondence, and at the close of the discussion the 40 letters were compiled and published as *A Discussion of the Doctrines of Endless Misery and Universal Salvation: In an Epistolary Correspondence Between Alexander Campbell and Dolphus Skinner* (1840).

Skinner's primary contention in his debate with Campbell was that the doctrine of "endless misery" would essentially "transform our Creator into a fiend of infinite cruelty, clothe heaven in sackcloth and mourning, and fill the universe with sighs and tears." Because God is omnipotent and all-loving, he

continued, God's purpose is not to punish the wicked throughout eternity, but to reform them so that they can enter into God's holy and eternal presence.²²

In reply to Skinner's philosophical arguments favoring a curative punishment, Campbell explained that his opponent's view necessitated a reform in the life of *every* chastised individual. The doctrine of universal salvation makes it necessary for *all* human beings to respond to God's chastisement of wickedness and be reformed into holy beings. Nevertheless, he persisted, "multitudes are often punished for drunkenness, licentiousness, and a thousand other vices, and afterwards die in the act of transgressing." No evidence exists, Campbell exclaimed, to make one "assume that what fails in this life will be successfully prosecuted in the next." Moreover, he scoffed, "satan and the rebel hosts are not reformed by six thousand years' banishment from the presence of God; and there is no reason to conclude that satan and all other imprisoned spirits are any nigher holiness and happiness now than they were thousands of years since."²³

Campbell further questioned his opponent's view of the essential role that Christ's death played in the redemption of humanity. If God can chastise a person only for his or her own benefit, but never for the sake of God's holy vengeance against evil, Campbell asked, then why did Jesus suffer and die on the cross?

Was it for his own good[?] Was it for his own reformation[?] Was it for an example to others to sustain sufferings when they were themselves holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sin[?] For what did he suffer through life, and for what did he die[?] Did he die to expiate the sins of men, or for his own sins, to magnify God's law and make it honorable; or merely to prove his own sincerity[?] ... for what did he die[?]

The Universalist system, he added, professes no need for "Christ, or Holy Spirit, or Bible, or preacher, or faith, hope, and love, in order to [obtain] future happiness."²⁴

Throughout their correspondence, Campbell repeatedly complained

about Skinner's less-than-courteous approach to the discussion. In the twelfth exchange of letters, Campbell noted that the two men had not even fully discussed their first proposition, but his opponent had already proclaimed himself the victor in several of his essays. As a result, Campbell continued, "Our readers will ... begin to think that you are more in quest of victory than of truth."²⁵ The "uncourteousness" displayed by Skinner, Campbell explained in a later essay, could only be accepted "as an indication of [his] conscious want of argument." Moreover, Campbell complained, "I have found some decent and veritable gentlemen among the Universalian laity; but such folks among their clergy are rare commodities."²⁶

Campbell's friend and associate, Robert Richardson (1806–1876), awarded him a clear victory in the contest, saying he "confuted the Universalist arguments, and proved the certainty of future punishment." Richardson went on to state that the discussion "excited but little interest" because "much of it consisted in mere debates about words and criticisms upon translations of certain words."

As a result of "Skinner's quibbling and abusive course in the discussion," Richardson further noted, Campbell regretted his willingness to provide space for Skinner in the *Millennial Harbinger*. Therefore, when Campbell was satisfied that the contest had run its course, he brought it to a close.²⁷

Jesse Babcock Ferguson (1819–1870)

Following his conflicts with Kidwell and Skinner, Campbell appears to have modified his perception of Universalism. What he once saw as a tolerable



Jesse Babcock Ferguson

personal opinion he gradually came to see as a dangerous heretical idea. Campbell's new perspective on the heretical nature of Universalism was unquestionably brought to the fore in his encounter with Jesse Babcock Ferguson, the popular preacher of the Nashville Church of Christ and editor of *Christian Magazine*. In an 1852 essay entitled "The Spirits in Prison," Ferguson relied on 1 Peter 3:18–20 and 4:1–6 to suggest that Jesus, while his physical body was buried in the garden tomb, descended "in the spirit" into a spiritual world, where he preached the gospel to the imprisoned souls of those who had died in the days of Noah. Ferguson went on to explain that the passages from 1 Peter also indicate that anyone who dies without Christ will have a second opportunity to hear and accept the gospel message, and thus a second chance to gain eternal salvation.²⁸

To Campbell, Ferguson's contentions were nothing short of

Universalism. Although Ferguson did not acknowledge a sentiment toward Universalism in his initial essay, Campbell insisted that a belief in the possibility of a "post-mortem" salvation — a phrase he borrowed from his earlier description of the ideas of Dolphus Skinner²⁹ — could lead to

Ferguson lost nearly all support from the Disciples movement except for that which he received from a small group of loyal members at his Nashville church.

nothing but a universal salvation of all humankind. Any imprisoned soul that experienced even a moment of God's punishment for the wicked, Campbell argued, would readily accept a second offer for salvation. Thus, he noted, the preaching of a posthumous gospel would consist of "a large congregation, a short sermon, and a universal conversion."³⁰

Although Campbell claimed his reproof of Ferguson was "one of the most painful duties" he had ever been

“called upon to discharge,” he relentlessly laid siege to the views expressed by the Nashville editor and called for him to retract his statements.³¹ While devoting more than 100 pages of his *Millennial Harbinger* to the Ferguson controversy, Campbell relied on such words as “dangerous” and “soul ruinous” to describe Ferguson’s post-mortem gospel. Moreover, he demanded “an apology to the whole brotherhood” from Ferguson that “ought to be as public as the offence against truth and good morals was spread over the whole community.”³²

Ferguson responded to Campbell’s attacks by charging that the Bethany editor was trying to make the *Millennial Harbinger* “wear the appearance of an ecclesiastical court, set up to try the faith and character of every man who does not mouth its Shibboleths.” Moreover, Ferguson insisted, Campbell had denounced him as a heretic for nothing more than the expression of a personal opinion. “In this case, so far as doctrine is concerned,” wrote Ferguson, “I have uttered an opinion, that men who have not heard the gospel, will hear it before they are condemned by it. THIS IS THE SUBSTANCE OF

THE WHOLE MATTER.”³³ Ferguson adamantly contended that he had done nothing wrong in expressing his personal opinion, and that Campbell was out of line to question him on this matter.

Despite Ferguson’s objections, Campbell intensified his opposition to the Nashville editor’s post-mortem gospel. Had Ferguson’s theory been expressed in private, Campbell told his readers, then so would “our remonstrance” to the offence have been in private. But because Ferguson expressed his ideas publicly, Campbell argued that the scriptural precedent to “publicly rebuke” such heretical teaching compelled him to make a response.

Were it mere speculation, however visionary, we should allow it to evaporate according to the laws of nature in such cases. But such is not its character. It is an avowal of the want of faith in a future state of retribution, and is as clear a nullification of the terrors of the Lord as can be found in the English language. It places the vilest rebels on earth under a new dispensation of mercy after death, and opens a door

out of hell to the vilest inmate that ever died.

So objectionable were Ferguson's claims of a post-mortem gospel, according to Campbell, that "nothing can undo its mischievous tendency but a formal renunciation."³⁴

By the close of 1853, amid the continuing turmoil of the Campbell-Ferguson controversy, subscriptions to Ferguson's *Christian Magazine* had so drastically dwindled that he was forced to discontinue its publication. Moreover, Ferguson lost nearly all support from the Disciples movement except for that which he received from a small group of loyal members at his Nashville church. With an ever-increasing number of allegations developing about his belief system, Ferguson clarified his theological positions in an 1854 address to the constituents of his Nashville church. In this discourse, he not only confirmed his adherence to a belief in universal salvation but pronounced himself a devotee of Unitarianism and Spiritualism, as well.³⁵ Ferguson ultimately ended his ministry with the Nashville church in 1857 and became a widely traveled

advocate of Spiritualism prior to his death in 1870.

From Opinion to Heresy

A significant turn-around in Campbell's attitude toward Universalism emerged from his contact with the proponents of universal salvation during the 1830s. Although Campbell never adhered to Universalism himself, and actually objected to those who promoted (or "preached") Universalist doctrines, he argued — as illustrated through his dealings with Aylette Raines — for the individual's right to maintain a private belief in at least some of the tenets of the Universalist system. By the early 1850s, however, when Jesse Ferguson espoused ideas that appeared to reflect some aspects of Universalist doctrine, Campbell was no longer willing to treat Universalism as an acceptable personal opinion, but instead saw it as a heresy as dangerous as unbelief itself. So offensive had Universalism become to Campbell that he felt he had no choice but to go on the offensive against the insurgent Universalist ideas, even though Ferguson had not initially espoused a formal belief in Universalism.

Campbell's eventual rejection of Universalism as a personal opinion, coupled with his insistence on the heterodox nature of the system, found its source in two observations about Universalism in the 1830s. First, Campbell noticed the philosophical destination to which the doctrine of universal salvation seemed to be leading many of its advocates. Throughout the 1830s, Campbell witnessed several of the more prominent Universalists of his day gradually lapsing into total atheism.³⁶ By ignoring Ferguson, he likely believed that his silence on the issue would pave the way for others to slip into atheism. Campbell's second observation, which in all likelihood had a more profound influence on his thought, surfaced in response to his interactions with the defenders of the Universalist cause. The impolite and undignified debate tactics employed by Jonathan Kidwell and Dolphus Skinner convinced Campbell that the two men — and perhaps the other pivotal figures within the Universalist camp — could not be regarded as Christian. Armed with this conviction, Campbell could do nothing less than condemn as heresy Ferguson's belief in a post-mortem

gospel, because it ran too closely akin to Universalist ideas.

It's interesting to note that Campbell's rejection of Ferguson's claim that his post-mortem gospel was nothing more than an opinion, or a nonbinding idea to which he believed he was entitled to adhere, was based on his earlier rejection of the Universalist system as an acceptable private opinion. Furthermore, Campbell's condemnation of Universalism as heresy had less to do with his theological stance on the issue — although he was obviously opposed to it — than with his personal relationships with the backers of the system of universal salvation. Thus, in Universalism's transition from "opinion" to "heresy" in the thought of Campbell, the most significant factor was what he considered to be the misguided character of the advocates of Universalism, not their areas of doctrinal difference.

RICHARD J. CHEROK, PH.D.,
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HISTORY AT CINCINNATI
CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY.



NOTES

- 1 Alexander Campbell, "Universalism," *Christian Baptist* 3 (December 1825), p. 203.
- 2 See Alexander Campbell, "Reply to Letter of Robert B. Semple," *Millennial Harbinger* (August 1830), p. 358; and "Queries From Baltimore and Richmond, Touching Universalism," *Millennial Harbinger* (July 1832), pp. 314-316.
- 3 Russell E. Miller, *The Larger Hope: The First Century of the Universalist Church in America, 1770-1870* (Boston: Unitarian Universalist Association, 1979), p. 167.
- 4 J. C. Waldo, "Alexander Campbell," *The Sentinel, and Star in the West* (May 22, 1830), p. 262.
- 5 Robert Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell* (1868; reprint, Indianapolis: Religious Book Services, 1897), pp. 244-248.
- 6 Campbell, "An Evil Report Corrected," *Millennial Harbinger* (September 1831), p. 426.
- 7 Miller, *The Larger Hope*, pp. 207-208.
- 8 Jonathan Kidwell, "The Sentinel's Remarks on the Above Paragraph," *The Sentinel, and Star in the West* (October 15, 1831), p. 405.
- 9 Campbell, "Remarks by the Editor of the *Millennial Harbinger*," *Millennial Harbinger* (December 1831), pp. 533-534.
- 10 Kidwell, "Alexander Campbell," *The Sentinel, and Star in the West* (January 7, 1832), pp. 58-59.
- 11 Campbell, "Logic and Candor of Universalism—Examined, No. I," *Millennial Harbinger* (February 1832), pp. 81-83. Reprinted in *The Sentinel, and Star in the West* (March 31, 1832), pp. 153-154.
- 12 Kidwell, "Analysis of Mr. Campbell's Remarks," *The Sentinel, and Star in the West* (March 31, 1832), pp. 154-158.

- ¹³ Campbell, "Logic and Candor of Universalism — Examined, No. III," *Millennial Harbinger* (June 1832), pp. 241–244. Reprinted in *The Sentinel, and Star in the West* (July 28, 1832), pp. 289–290.
- ¹⁴ Kidwell, "Mr. Campbell — Again," *The Sentinel, and Star in the West* (July 28, 1832), pp. 289–294.
- ¹⁵ Campbell, "Universalism," *Millennial Harbinger* (September 1832), p. 480.
- ¹⁶ Kidwell, "Alexander Campbell's Last Gasp," *The Sentinel, and Star in the West* (October 13, 1832), p. 378.
- ¹⁷ Spencer, "Everlasting Punishment," *Millennial Harbinger* (October 1835), pp. 449–452.
- ¹⁸ Campbell, "Answer to Mr. Spencer," *Millennial Harbinger* (October 1835), pp. 452–455.
- ¹⁹ See George W. Montgomery, "Everlasting Punishment," *Millennial Harbinger* (February 1836), pp. 70–74; and Campbell, "Editor's Reply to Mr. Montgomery," *Millennial Harbinger* (February 1836), pp. 74–78. Both of these letters are contained in Alexander Campbell and Dolphus Skinner, *A Discussion of the Doctrines of Endless Misery and Universal Salvation: In an Epistolary Correspondence Between Alexander Campbell and Dolphus Skinner* (Utica, NY: C.C.P. Grosh, 1840), pp. 16–27.
- ²⁰ Campbell and Skinner, *A Discussion of the Doctrines of Endless Misery and Universal Salvation*, p. 49.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 30–33.
- ²² *Ibid.*, pp. 45–46.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, p. 278.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 280.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 173.
- ²⁷ Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*, vol. 2, pp. 433–434.
- ²⁸ Jesse Babcock Ferguson, “The Spirits in Prison,” *Christian Magazine* (April 1852), pp. 113–115.
- ²⁹ See Campbell and Skinner, *A Discussion of the Doctrines of Endless Misery and Universal Salvation*, p. 286.
- ³⁰ Campbell, “A New Discovery,” *Millennial Harbinger* (June 1852), pp. 313–329. Campbell appears to have changed his view on the issue of the sinner’s response to punishment and the gospel in the afterlife. In his argument with Skinner, as noted above, he argued that there is no evidence to prove that God’s punishment of the wicked would necessarily bring about a reformed and righteous life. With Ferguson, however, he insisted that the briefest experience of God’s eternal punishment would result in a universal acceptance of the salvation offer.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 328.
- ³² Campbell, “The *Christian Magazine* — No. 1,” *Millennial Harbinger* (July 1852), pp. 390–398.
- ³³ Ferguson, “The Attack of the *Millennial Harbinger* on the *Christian Magazine* and Its Editor,” *Christian Magazine* (August 1852), pp. 341–346.
- ³⁴ Campbell, “The Spirits in Prison,” *Millennial Harbinger* (August 1852), pp. 440–441.
- ³⁵ See Ferguson, *Relation of Pastor and People: Statement of Belief on Unitarianism, Universalism and Spiritualism* (Nashville: Union and American Steam Press, 1854).
- ³⁶ Campbell noted in both his periodical and his discussion with Dolphus Skinner that several prominent Universalists (e.g., Abner Kneeland and Orestes A. Brownson) had shifted from theistic to atheistic views. See Campbell, “Universalism and Atheism: As Expected,” *Millennial Harbinger* (March 1830), p. 144; and Campbell and Skinner, *A Discussion of the Doctrines of Endless Misery and Universal Salvation*, p. 189.



MOSSIE ALLMAN WYKER

BY DEBRA B. HULL

Ordained to Change the World

Mossie Allman Wyker was born in 1901 in Richmond, Kentucky, where she was active in the local Christian Church. Like so many others, she first heard the call to Christian service at a youth conference — at Camp

Mammoth Cave. After attending the College of the Bible (now Lexington Theological Seminary) and graduating from Columbia Teachers College with a major in religious education, she was ordained. Although she had been

preparing for national youth work, Wyker began as a local church co-pastor with her husband. Later, she became a member of the state board of the Ohio Christian Missionary Society, on the deans' staff of the Disciples' Young People's Conferences, and president of United Church Women in Ohio.

These experiences led to her important role in the early work of two ecumenical organizations whose origins were intertwined — United Church Women (now Church Women United) and the World Council of Churches. In November 1950, at a meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, the United Council of Church Women joined with seven other organizations to form the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States. Mossie Wyker had been nominated for president of the United Council of Church Women shortly before the merger, and she was elected first president of the General Department of United Church Women, a division of the National Council of Churches.

Due in large part to her effective work on the national level, Wyker was asked to be one of two women representing

Disciples at the inaugural World Council of Churches meeting in Amsterdam, in 1948.

As president of United Church Women, Wyker focused in particular on improving race relations, realizing that African American women did not enjoy the same access to power and influence as their white sisters. From 1956 to 1960, she served United Church Women as a minister-at-large, focusing on sup-

In particular, she urged women not to be “second-class citizens” in their churches, but to use their God-given talents as they saw fit.

porting and encouraging local pastors who were trying to deal faithfully with the racial tensions that were gripping the country. She continued working for United Church Women for many years, serving as a staff member from 1960 until she retired in 1967.

Mossie Wyker's early ecumenical work led her to consider and then write about the role of women in the church in her book, *Church Women in the Scheme*

of *Things* (Bethany Press, 1953). Her focus was on the strength churchwomen who were united could bring to provide alternative solutions to pressing social issues — which she identified as communism, ignorance, sin, poverty, and need. In particular, she urged women not to be “second-class citizens” in their churches, but to use their God-given talents as they saw fit. She believed women should receive the same respect in the church that they were beginning to receive in other areas of society. As she said,

We are discovering that the church is losing many of its best trained and educated women because, while they can serve on policy-making levels in other organizations, in business and in the professions, the church still largely expects them to raise money for missions, serve dinners, and sell vanilla.

In an example of how the world can change, Wyker recalled the evolution of official attitudes at her alma mater, the College of the Bible.

In 1905, President J. W. McGarvey, commenting on the five women stu-

dents, said, “by the time they [study] the scriptures with us they will learn that women are not to be preachers.”

By 1953, President Riley B. Montgomery said, “The College of the Bible accepts women for the Bachelor of Divinity degree because we believe that women should have the opportunity to share equally with men in Christian work and leadership.”

Emphasizing the role women have in supporting one another in ministry, Wyker added, “[I ask that] church women themselves think carefully before they oppose the ordination of women who believe they are called to become ministers of the gospel, and who desire to serve the church to the limit of their abilities.”

In honor of her life of service, Mossie Wyker received a Doctor of Divinity degree from Transylvania College. She died on July 2, 1988, and is buried alongside her husband, James Wyker, in the Berea Cemetery in Madison County, Kentucky.

Debra B. Hull, Ph.D., is professor of psychology at Wheeling Jesuit University in Wheeling, West Virginia.

IN THE NEWS

Celebrating Our Common Heritage: 200 Years and Counting

NASHVILLE — Mark the date on your calendar right away — October 4, 2009. In conjunction with World Communion Sunday 2009, the Bicentennial Task Force has announced plans for a Great Communion of the Stone–Campbell movement that will occur in communities throughout the United States and Canada and around the globe.

Using the occasion of the bicentennial of **Thomas Campbell's Declaration and Address** (1809), the Bicentennial Task Force is issuing a new call for unity among all congregations in the Stone–Campbell movement — the faith communities in the Churches of Christ, Christian Churches/Churches of Christ, and the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). The bicentennial celebration will kick off at the World Convention of Christian Churches in Nashville, Tenn., July 30–August 3, 2008. Following a mass communion service to close the convention, messengers will be asked to return to their

hometowns and cities and begin preparations for joint communion services in October 2009.

“Our hope is that this will not be a one-time event,” said **Douglas Foster**, chair of the Task Force. “Instead, we see the Great Communion as a unique opportunity for the three streams of the Stone–Campbell movement to open dialogue for finding new ways to unite for common mission.”

Foster heads the 16-member Task Force, composed of representatives from the three streams of the movement.

A special bicentennial website, www.greatcommunion.org, will be available by this summer with educational, promotional, and liturgical helps for congregations celebrating the bicentennial. Printed materials are also planned, including a book giving a twenty-first-century voice to Thomas Campbell's call for unity. *One Church* will be published by Leafwood Publishers and released in

time for World Convention. (For the latest offerings from Leafwood, visit www.bibleacu.com/leafwood.)

The bicentennial celebration is sponsored by the Historical Society. For more information now, go to

www.discipleshistory.org. The Great Communion website will be up soon with everything congregations need for planning and celebrating their heritage together.

Save the Date

NASHVILLE—The Historical Society is busy redesigning, refurbishing, and renewing its Exhibit Hall. This summer, the Society will dedicate this space in our historic building in honor of one of our great lay leaders, **Oscar Haynes** of Washington, D.C.

Now is the time to mark your calendars: July 29, 2008, is the day after the biennial National

Convocation closes in Memphis — and the day before World Convention begins in Nashville. Please plan to be with us at 2:00 p.m. — and let us know you are coming at mail@discipleshistory.org.

The Exhibit Hall will feature annual exhibits, beginning with the history of the National Convocation.

Exciting New Histories Underway

Two new histories of the Stone—Campbell movement, sponsored by the Historical Society and to be published by Chalice Press, are now underway. Next year will bring a new Disciples history from Disciples scholar **D. Duane Cummins**. And in 2012, the

world history of the movement, being compiled by 14 of our top historians, will be available to give a global perspective to all things Stone—Campbell. (For the latest Chalice Press titles, visit www.cb21.com.)

DID YOU KNOW?

Did you know that 2008 marks the centennial anniversary of the birth of Lyndon Baines Johnson, 36th president of the United States? Johnson was one of three U.S. presidents who were Disciples (the others were James Garfield and Ronald Reagan), but the only one whose funeral was held at National City Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in Washington, D.C.

To learn more about this Disciple who became president, visit the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library and Museum in Austin, Texas, or on the web at www.lbjlib.utexas.edu.



Evangelist Billy Graham and his wife pose with the First Family after services at National City Christian Church, August 21, 1964. From left: Ruth Bell Graham, Lady Bird Johnson, Graham, President Lyndon Baines Johnson, and his daughters Luci and Lynda Johnson. Graham was a guest preacher at the church.

AP PHOTO/JOHN ROUS

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— DR. CHARLES GAINES
FORMER VICE MODERATOR

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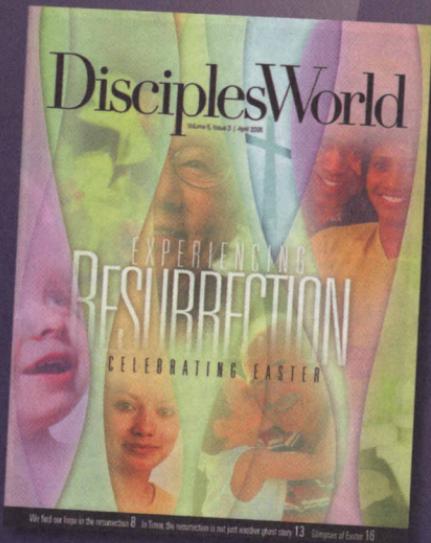
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In the puzzle that is China,
Christianity
is alive and well



Sorting through images of China in the past few weeks is a major puzzle. Look here and you see a view of ancient dynasties. Turn around and find a scene depicting a plow through fertile fields. Here is a village of farmers, their shining light as evening with millions of other lights. From the center rises a maze of backbones lined with modern buildings, their lights as vibrant as traditional herbs. The ever-present smell of rice, the sound of water, the fragrance of herbs, and the rising of the sun.

It's hard to wrap your mind around the puzzle that is China, but one thing stands out clearly — the Protestant church is growing here at a rate that astounds even the best of us.

In September, I traveled to China with a group of new church pastors — some of them returned here to the Disciples — on a pilgrimage designed to explore the history of Disciples in China, and to share the new church picture in a country where just 30 years ago, during China's Cultural Revolution, planting a church was a crime.

Our group reflected the diversity that is the Christian Church in North America — two African-Americans, a Haitian-American, two Puerto Ricans, a Mexican-American, a Canadian pastor from South Korea, two Chinese-Americans, and four English-speakers. We traveled, we ate, we drank, we worked, we were amazed.

A growing flock
A church is growing in a field in a remote area of a remote area.

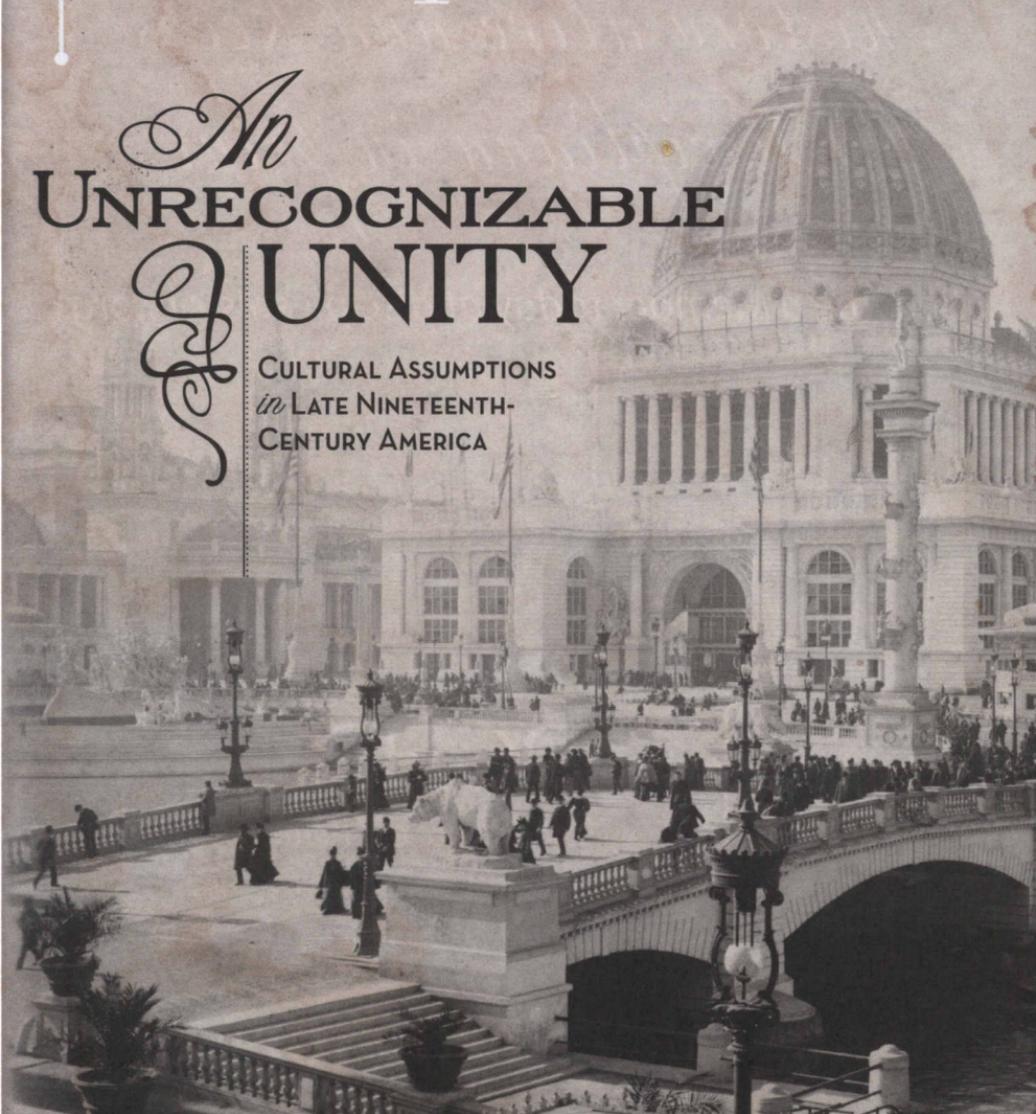
BY SHERRI WOOD EMMONS

22 | *DisciplesWorld* | January/February 2007



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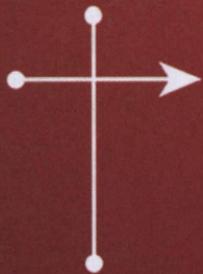
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in LATE NINETEENTH-
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the

PRESIDENT'S DESK

Tensions. When we speak of any relational situation — whether it is family, politics, or religion — there are always tensions present. Note that I have put that in the plural, because it is never just one tension that causes the strife we experience. Rather, it is a multitude of tensions, both big and small, which add up to cause misunderstandings and rifts and splits. It matters not if we are considering the present day or a period long past, tensions have always been part of the human adventure.

Perhaps we see those tensions most clearly in our religious life. Again, we could be looking at Christianity, or Judaism, or Hinduism, or any faith group and discover tensions. Our subsection of Christianity is the Stone-Campbell movement, and we certainly have had our share of tensions. In fact, both the “Christians” in nineteenth-century Kentucky and the “Disciples,” their counterpart in Pennsylvania and

Virginia, were born out of tension. From the very beginning, then, our faith family has dealt with tensions. Sometimes it has seemed that we even enjoyed it.

You could tell our story by imagining two dinners, hosted on two consecutive nights. On the first night you host a very pleasant guest. He is a listener. He is a gracious person who wants to know what you think, how you feel, and what your hopes are for the future. He seems to understand you at every turn of the evening and, when it is time to depart, embraces you, blesses you, and promises to pray with you in all that God is calling you to do.

At the second dinner you host a debater. He rarely lets you finish a sentence. He already knows all the right answers and is glad to tell you what they are. He understands that as long as you agree with him, you are right. And when it is time to depart, he shakes your hand and says that he hopes that,

someday, you will come around to his way of thinking.

Which guest would you rather have in your home? Your guest the first evening was Barton Warren Stone, founder of our faith movement. The second evening you hosted a certain other Disciples founder. The contrast of these two dinners represents the tension we have always had, and still have, within the Stone-Campbell movement. On one hand, we say we long for unity; on the other, we sometimes insist that “we know best.” We can’t have it both ways.

There is no other faith group besides the one that calls itself Disciples that is better suited to lead a movement for the unity of all people of faith. But first we have to deal with those internal tensions. We must issue a new call to the Stone-Campbell family to become *one*. We already know that many within the family will not hear our call, but still we must send out a message of Christ’s love and harmony that begins at home and includes everyone. We must find new ways — twenty-first-century ways — to join together for the great mission of sharing the gospel with the whole world. This new group of Disciples would then be in position to step forward and invite

every person of every faith to come to the table of unity.

In many cities across North America we are being given good examples of how we can start. Disciples congregations and Progressive Churches of Christ congregations are meeting for prayer and reflection that, they hope, will lead to the “how to” of connecting these churches for ministry. Some of these groups include representatives from the Christian Churches/Churches of Christ, as well.

The tensions we have always endured are still very real. But just because we have inherited these misunderstandings leading to tensions doesn’t mean that we have to live them or pass them on. We know that God is calling us to unity. We know that Christ invites every person, each and every one, to his table. We know what it is to feel the love and receive the mercy of God. We know that a true unity movement is long overdue.

Let us together issue an invitation in the spirit of Barton W. Stone. Let us adopt that spirit ourselves. Once again let’s all make unity our hearts’ desire. And then, this time, let’s do something about it.

— GLENN THOMAS CARSON

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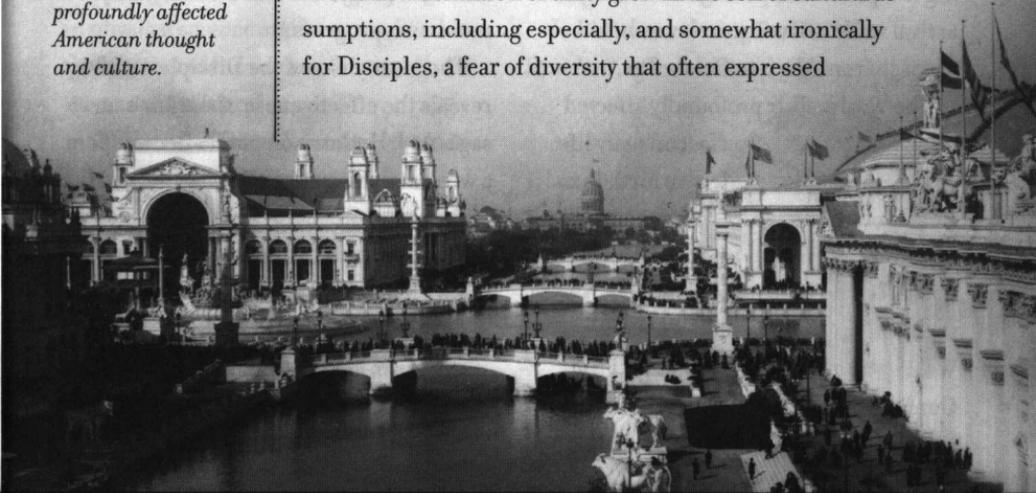
by MARK TOULOUSE

CULTURAL ASSUMPTIONS *in*
LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA

Beginning in the 1890s, a broadened notion of unity began to emerge in the pages of *The Christian Oracle* (later *The Christian Century*), *Christian Evangelist*, and, to a lesser degree, *Christian Standard*. This new understanding of Christian unity took the traditional understanding of the term and so fully redefined it, so completely filled it with new content, that it became unrecognizable among those who held steadfastly to older understandings.

The 1893 World's Fair in Chicago profoundly affected American thought and culture.

The new definition of unity grew in the soil of cultural assumptions, including especially, and somewhat ironically for Disciples, a fear of diversity that often expressed



itself in anti-Catholicism; racism directed toward African Americans, Native Americans, and others; prejudice against all non-Christian religions; nativistic, anti-immigrant sentiments; and a cultural belief in unity and social coherence, as if these were goods in themselves, apart from any methods used to develop them. These cultural assumptions were

bolstered by a century of massive territorial expansion in America and nearly unlimited immigration throughout most of the nineteenth century. Events in the 1890s brought these prejudices to the surface in new ways. Editors associated with *Christian Evangelist*, *The Christian Century*, and even *Christian Standard* most fully embraced these social tendencies.

The World's Fair and the World's Parliament of Religions

The trend toward a more vibrant embrace of social unity can certainly be attributed to a number of factors. One of the more significant precipitating events occurred in 1893—the World's Columbian Exposition, or World's Fair, celebrating the 400th anniversary of Columbus' arrival in North America. It was held in Chicago from May 1 to October 31.

The World's Fair profoundly affected American culture. Its effect on daily life continues to our time. It gave birth to the Pledge of Allegiance, Columbus Day, and the Ferris wheel. It introduced Americans to the electric light bulb, carbonated soda, the hamburger, Cracker Jacks, Cream of Wheat, Aunt Jemima Syrup, Juicy Fruit Gum, picture postcards, and Pabst Beer—which, by the way, won a blue ribbon at

the fair: hence, Pabst Blue Ribbon Beer. Children's writer L. Frank Baum visited the fair and afterward created Oz. The midway of the fair and Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show inspired both Coney Island and Disneyland. The fair celebrated commerce and technology, and made both synonymous with progress.¹

The journalism of the Disciples in 1893 reveals the effectiveness of the fair's message. As J. H. Garrison put it after he spent a week at the fair:

Can any one fail to see that those nations which have accepted Christianity in its purest forms are the advance guard of the world's civilization, leading all other nations in material inventions, in wealth, and in all the arts of life?

Surely this lesson will not be wholly lost upon thoughtful minds of all the peoples of the earth. ... And so, in every department, the past is contrasted with the present to the glory of the latter. Along all these lines of progress mankind has been feeling its way upward to higher and better things.

... There is no sign of a halt in human progress. We have not yet exhausted the possibilities of human genius.³

There is no notion of human sin found anywhere in Garrison's effusive praise, no idea that the future could possibly contain a holocaust or an atomic bomb. Truthfully, the fair reinforced ideas Garrison already held. Nearly eight months earlier, Garrison had praised the "wonderful progress in physical science and invention and in the mastery of the forces of nature ... for the benefit of man."

"To the ear of faith," he wrote, "the footfalls of God in human history are clearly audible, and all these wonderful improvements are the highway He is building along which redeemed and crowned humanity is to march to the City of God."³

Not only did Garrison make technology synonymous with progress, he equated both with the will and activity of God in the world.

Garrison also spoke passionately about the message the fair conveyed about unity, noting, "One of the most vivid impressions made upon us, as we looked upon this mingling of nationalities in friendly rivalry, was that of the growing unity of the race — the dawning consciousness of brotherhood."

The fair helped progressive Disciples like Garrison begin to think of unity in broader terms, not only the unity of the church but the so-called "unity of the race."

The awe and wonder of technology also found expression in the pages of *The Christian Oracle*: "[the fair] is in itself an assertion of the worth, the dignity, the grandeur of Man. ... It is the apotheosis of the race. It puts a crown upon the son of man which belongs to him only as a son of God."⁴

F. D. Power, writing for *Christian Standard*, offered a building-by-building

Disciples editor J. H. Garrison wrote glowingly of the 1893 World's Fair.



PHOTOS COURTESY OF THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY

tour of the fair after having spent five days attempting, but failing, to see it all.

Who will be able to measure the influence of such an exhibition ... in impressing the nations with the character of our Christian institutions? ... So much for fifty cents has never been offered before in the world's history.

And then, likening the fair to the Kingdom of God, Power wrote, "The whole combination of white and gold palaces reminds us of no picture more forcibly than the vision of John of the holy Jerusalem descending out of heaven from God."⁵

In the journal's "Around the World" section, a *Standard* editor offered a decidedly more guarded, and theological, take on the fair:

I mingled the other day with a quarter of a million of people who were viewing the most stupendous collection ever made of the monuments of human achievement. Man's masterpieces by the thousands were there, and each one added its own quota of stimulus to human pride. ... In all the million manifestations of power there was

nothing to lighten sorrow, to destroy sin, or to baffle death. ... The more fully human power is developed the plainer does it become to the clear-eyed that it can provide nothing for the deepest, most abiding needs of man; and by so much does the need of the gospel become plainer. This is the greatest lesson of the world's greatest exposition.⁶

This is the lone theologically expressed word of caution in the midst of the effusive praise found in all three Disciples journals. In general, Disciples uncritically accepted the "leitmotifs that dominated all aspects of the Fair,"⁷ including the fair's belief in the wonderful power of technology and the "evolutionary hierarchy of cultures."⁸

Richard Hughes Seager described the fair this way:

The Columbian celebration claimed to be the World's Columbian Exposition, not simply white America's, and it sought to represent the entire globe in a single, unified vision. People of other colors, creeds, and ethnic traditions were not excluded, but their inclusion was based on precarious grounds

which, as in the case of American blacks, placed them in a position clearly subordinate to the progressive, allegedly universal vision of the Greco-Roman, Christian White City.⁹

Of course, one of the most important features of the fair, for these Disciples journals, was the World's Parliament of Religions (WPR), held during the last month of the Exhibition. Christians dominated the Parliament, delivering 152 of the 194 papers. Other religions represented were Buddhism (12 papers), Judaism (11), Hinduism (8), Islam (2), Parsis (2), Shintoism (2), Confucianism (2), Taoism (1), and Jainism (1).¹⁰ Although the stated purpose of the WPR was to promote better understanding between and among all the major religions of the world, the material that formed the heart

of the meeting revealed other attitudes. The most common attitude among Christians who participated assumed the superiority of Christianity to all other religions.

In short, the WPR raised hopes for a new unity across the world, a unity that would result when non-Christian religions would see that all their truth is contained, in better form, within Christianity. It also helped Christians to celebrate the variety of Christian witness found in the World's Parliament, and to imagine ecumenical cooperation in new ways. Philip Schaff, in his address, argued for a form of Christian unity that would enable both unity and independence to coexist.¹¹ Both the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America (1908) and the first international missionary conference in Edinburgh (1910) would, within two decades, emerge from this kind of vision.

After the WPR, *Christian Evangelist* quoted the conclusion of Lyman Abbott's *Outlook*, "that the real question for the world is, not between different forms of religion, each of which contributes something which the others lack, so that out of all a universal religion is yet to be constructed [the thesis of Swami Vivekananda's address], but between

Christian Standard editor F. D. Power likened the World's Fair to John's vision of Jerusalem descending from the heavens.



the doctrine of Strauss that man is not a religious creature, and the Christianity of Jesus Christ."¹²

Christian Evangelist affirmed, alongside this view, the *Outlook's* belief that speakers for the world's religions demonstrated a "profound spiritual earnestness" that evidenced "some message from God." *Gospel Advocate* immediately seized on this claim and concluded, "it does not accord at all with the Bible conception."¹³

Contrary to the majority of the Disciples response, David Lipscomb had nothing appreciative to say about the WPR.

Confident in the superiority of Christianity, *The Christian Oracle* interpreted the willingness of other religions to participate with Christians in the WPR as evidence of an attitude toward Christianity

"which has not heretofore characterized them and which betokens an approaching era of conquest of the only world-embracing religion."

A fundamental principle of the religion of Christ is that it shall make the conquest of the world. ... The trouble of the world of mankind is not that it is

not *religious*, but that it has not the *best* and only *true* religion, the religion of the Christ of God.¹⁴

At the conclusion of the WPR, an editor of *The Christian Oracle* expressed his confidence that the event would enable "the Christian world ... to push her conquests into all lands, ... to go to paganism, not with her divisions and strifes, but with the religion of the New Testament."

The World's Parliament of Religions raised hopes for a new unity across the world, a unity that would result when non-Christian religions would see that all their truth is contained, in better form, within Christianity.

Enthusiasm for the WPR found equal expression in *Christian Standard*, which only lamented that Disciples were not invited to speak to the full gathered assembly.¹⁵

The Disciples formally participated in the WPR by holding their own congress, as all denominations were invited to do, on September 13–14 in Chicago.

J. W. Allen commented in the *Oracle* that among "this great Babel of voices," he found it "refreshing and stimulating to listen to these clear and settled utterances of men" who "spoke not as those in quest of truth, but as those who had found Him, who is 'the way, the truth, and the life.'"¹⁶

Disciples delivered eight addresses during their congress, including two on the topic of Christian union written by F. D. Powers and B. B. Tyler, both of whom were also regularly associated

with the *Standard*. Tyler's address, "The Promise of Christian Union in the Signs of the Times," presented his belief that secular affairs and tendencies all pointed in the direction of union. Tyler, like most Disciples leaders at this time, developed considerable optimism that all the signs associated with technology, progress, and civilization, so powerfully in evidence during the World's Fair, pointed in the direction of real union across both Christianity and the world.¹⁷

The Spanish-American War

The Spanish-American War (1898) became another cultural event that created considerable excitement in Disciples circles. Throughout the war, Disciples journals turned jingoistic and praised Commodore Dewey and his naval exploits. *Christian Evangelist* even honored him with a cover.¹⁸

Gospel Advocate was, of course, the exception. The *Advocate*, following the leadership of David Lipscomb, preached pacifism and conscientious objection to participation in the war.¹⁹ J. D. Tant reminded readers of the *Advocate* that "there can be Christians in Spain as well as in America, and those people are your brethren." He urged

Christians not to become murderers for the sake of the country.²⁰

Lipscomb and the *Advocate* differed from other Disciples journals in at least two ways. First, Christians were not to participate in or enthusiastically support the war. Second, Lipscomb was not taken in by the idealistic and moral purposes expressed as reasons for participating in the war.

But Lipscomb, like other Disciples of the time, had confidence that God directed the events surrounding the war and had purposes to reveal through the war. In other words, the Spanish-American War was God's war.²¹

In this claim, all the journals were agreed. God, the “King of Nations,” placed “it into the hearts of the people to interpose in behalf of a sorely oppressed people,” wrote the editor of the *Oracle*:

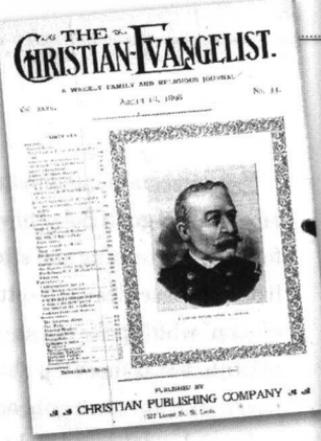
For we fully believe that the time is at hand in the gracious and beneficent purposes of God when he will bring into judgment all nations ... and when he will overturn and destroy the nations that are hindering the Christianization and elevation of mankind.²²

With such deft theological reasoning, the war took on ultimate purposes related to the Kingdom of God.

The war was easily linked to the Christian optimism that generally accompanied the postmillennial outlook, that God was moving history in a progressive direction toward the ultimate realization of the kingdom of God.²³ As Garrison had expressed it in 1891, “our Christian civilization” inexorably moves forward “toward perfection.”²⁴ The world needs this influence, and God rewards those who aid it.

Speaking of the former English prime minister, Garrison wrote, “One [William Ewart] Gladstone will weigh more in

Christian Evangelist honored U.S. Navy Commodore Dewey with a cover during the Spanish-American War.



the scale of humanity than fifty millions of naked savages in the African tropical forests.”²⁵ This sentiment does not seem all that compatible with the traditional Christian sentiment that all are precious in God’s sight.

Christian civilization represented progress. Therefore, “the pessimist” has “no rightful place in the Christian Church.” Looking forward to the twentieth century, Garrison prophesied, “Judging from present tendencies, and from what has been accomplished in the last decade, we may reasonably hope to see wonderful advancement in all the great departments of human life.”

In listing his areas of progress, he included an emphasis on unity: the union of citizens in America to purify politics; the union of Protestants to work together in caring for the poor and evangelizing the heathen world; and an expression of confidence that the unity of Christians

would have a naturally positive “moral effect on the world” that would weaken general “infidelity.”²⁶ This belief in progress and its optimistic connection to unity — always a Protestant (as opposed to Christian) unity — naturally found itself resonant with American moralizing during the Spanish-American war.

For Disciples, the war linked Anglo-Saxons to Protestants and both of these to the notion of civilization. Inherent tendencies toward anti-Catholicism found exceptionally strong expression just before and during the war.

“The Anglo-Saxon peoples,” wrote Garrison, “discarded Romanism, and they have progressed up out of a barbaric semi-civilization.” Civilization in Spain, on the other hand, “is retrogressing.”

This belief was backed up by the rhetorical question: “Who ever heard of a Spanish inventor, a Spanish scientist, or a Spanish philosopher?” The “church of Rome” must assume complete responsibility for the fact that the people in Spain and its colonies “are ignorant, vicious and poor.”²⁷

Thus, Disciples touted the war as “a triumph of the open Bible and public schools against priestcraft and the monastic idea.” The victory in this war, claimed *Christian Standard*, “is the victory

of Protestantism.”²⁸ And the “government of the United States is the richest gift of Protestantism to the world.”

This link between America and Protestantism was strong enough, but the editors wanted to make the point even more clearly by claiming that true Protestantism was linked with both America and the Disciples of Christ; they are the “Standard-Bearers of Protestantism”:

The religious world today is drifting in opposite directions: either toward Rome, with her human head enthroned as God on earth, or the position of the disciples of Christ, with their divine Head, and with the New Testament as his supreme voice.²⁹

Catholic priests were also described as being in league with Satan to keep humans from the truth of Protestantism.³⁰ These kinds of generalizations about Catholicism were everywhere in Disciples literature during the 1890s. If Catholics ever had numbers in America, “Trust them for a brutal assertion of power.”³¹ The vast percentage of children and young adults who commit crimes “received what education they possessed in parochial schools.”³² In another editorial,

Christian Evangelist claimed, "Our jails are filled with graduates of the parochial schools." "The public schools," argued the editor, "graduate Americans," while the "parochial schools turn out foreignized papists who bear little love for America and American institutions."³³

In this war, Protestants also exhibited virulent forms of racism. Notions of unity formed around race and ethnic identification.

"The habit of lying," *Christian Standard* opined, "seems to be as inveterate in certain races as in individuals of all races." *The Christian Oracle* claimed, "the different nations and races of men have their distinguishing or differentiating traits of character the same as individuals," and "The Spaniards have been characterized by cruelty, cunning, tyranny and egotism."³⁴

"The Spaniard," explained Garrison of the *Evangelist*, "is very much the same, on whatever side of the world you find him." He derisively affirmed the judgment of the English writer who said, "there is something Spanish in the Spaniard which causes him to behave in a Spanish manner."³⁵

This racism obviously fit into the general ethos of mainstream culture during the 1890s, something Disciples epitomized to the fullest extent. Anglo-Saxon

pride and certainty of superiority ran high in these circles.

The war brought these Disciples editors to an explicit recognition that America now had "a world mission as well as a national one." They never entertained any doubt but that the Philippines should be retained and colonized — including, of course, American missionaries following the flag.³⁶ The isolationism of the past, they wrote, "must now give way or be modified by our manifest destiny."³⁷

America had to take its place as "a great Christian nation whose power in aiding the spread of truth and righteousness must be exercised in order to fulfill its God-ordained mission."

According to editors at the *Oracle*,

In the near future this country will stretch forth its hand and establish ports of its own across the Pacific, and when once these are established the march of progress of the Anglo-Saxon nation will begin, ending only when that race dominates the greater portion of the world.³⁸

When the war brought out this concern for the international and divinely appointed role for America in the "civilization"

of the world, it also led to a new emphasis on both "Americanization" and "Christianization." And as Christianization moved across the world accompanying the general mission of civilization, it always maintained close ties to Americanization. Look at a picture from the 1898 *Missionary Intelligencer*, the journal edited by Archibald McLean for the Foreign Christian Missionary Society. The picture speaks for itself, but the message today speaks differently to us than it did to them.³⁹

Essentially, "Americanization" became shorthand for the "Christianization" and

unification of all peoples in America. Disciples wholeheartedly endorsed the melting pot idea in which all cultures would be conglomerated into one simmering American identity, where all affirmed the same values — and chief among those values was Protestant Christianity. Therefore, all citizens in America were to give up their "foreign" heritage and become genuinely American, which meant they were all to affirm Protestant Anglo-Saxon values. Writing for the *Century*, B. A. Abbott affirmed that every "man who comes to America to live should become an American."⁴⁰

Immigration and Relations at Home

Throughout the early 1890s, these Disciples, with reputations for tolerant and progressive minds, feared immigration because, as the *Evangelist* put it, America served "as a cesspool for all the sewerage of Europe."⁴¹

America, editors wrote, received "vast masses of foreigners, ignorant of our language and institutions, often immoral and vicious, and they are forming great communities in our cities which refuse to assimilate with our population."⁴²

Disciples demanded "a check upon this wholesale invasion." They applauded



A SAVAGE. A CHRISTIAN.
These pictures represent the same man. The first represents him before he heard the gospel; the second represents him after he had been justified and sanctified by the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God. These pictures speak for themselves.

This picture from the Missionary Intelligencer of 1898 demonstrates Disciples' attitude toward foreign "heathens."

the various manifestations of the Chinese exclusion laws because they did not believe Chinese laborers could be assimilated.⁴³ They argued for greater exclusion of poor Italian immigrants, who “come as camp followers and toll gatherers of the Anglo-Saxon, German, and Scandinavian thrift, which has made everything best in our land.”⁴⁴

By 1910, however, Disciples leader Peter Ainslie took a different tack in his president’s address delivered before the American Christian Missionary Association:

God is directing these streams of immigration, and all the laws in America can not shut down the gates. Come they will and come they must ... the natural swing of the pendulum in this land is toward atheism or toward the extreme of Protestantism. This is our opportunity. ... It is a shame on American Christianity that Protestant churches in our great cities are moving away from the foreign populations, whom God is sending by thousands up to the very doors of Protestant churches while the church officials are holding a council inside the building to devise some plan by which to get away from the God-sent throng.⁴⁵

Christian Evangelist, so opposed to immigration throughout the 1890s, by 1914 argued, “These people come as friends, and a friendly greeting will do much to make them good Americans.”⁴⁶ By the time *World Call* emerged in 1919, Disciples had come to learn that “one-third of our entire population was foreign-born,” and the work of immigrants was essential to all aspects of American life. “The [one] whom we had been calling ‘alien’ we needed, must have, as an ‘ally.’”⁴⁷

This meant Disciples had to bring the gospel to America so that America could take the gospel to the world. Because “the spirit of Disciples ... is essentially identical with the American spirit,” reasoned Burris Jenkins in 1901, the Disciples are best suited to do this work of Americanization.⁴⁸ A cover for *Christian Evangelist* of July 3, 1902, clearly depicts this confidence in the relationship between Disciples and the American spirit.⁴⁹

This was the kind of spirit that guided Disciples’ relationship to both Native Americans (or “Indians”) and African-Americans (or “Negroes”). The journals referred regularly to both the “Indian problem” and the “Negro problem.” These populations were problems because both needed to be civilized and

"Americanized." Once this was accomplished, there would no longer be a "problem." Disciples editors urged that schools be opened in ways that separated Indian children from their tribes in order break the bond with the past. After "one or two generations," wrote the *Evangelist*, "the savage Indian . . . will have become a thing of the past and the Indian problem will be solved."⁵⁰

This confidence that education would "civilize" the Indians and solve all problems continued into the next century.⁵¹ During the 1890s, in any of these pages, there is little genuine discussion of the problems faced by the Native Americans, or of the government's breaking of treaties, such as the Lakota treaty in February 1890.

The government took steps close to those advocated by the editors. The Bureau for Indian Affairs forced Indian families onto farms and required their children to attend boarding schools where the use of native languages and the study of Native-American culture were forbidden. When the farms failed to produce due to drought and the government cut rations in half, Native Americans began to starve. Popularity of the Ghost Dance followed, which frightened

authorities and eventually led to a bloody massacre.

Christian Evangelist, in response to Wounded Knee, blamed poor management due to political appointments in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. They also blamed the Ghost Dance that "aroused" the Indians to "aid in removing the whites in order to show their faith in the Messiah."⁵²

Even 23 days after the massacre, the journals do not indicate an awareness of it, suggesting that the "Indian question would reach its solution in a few days."⁵³ When editors at the *Evangelist* finally did hear of the massacre, they reported, "the Indian outbreak now happily about terminated, will bring about a thorough examination of the management, and possibly a change of methods."⁵⁴ Meanwhile, *The Christian Oracle* reported there was a good chance that Catholic priests were responsible for inciting the trouble among the Indians to keep the government from extending a public school system to the reservations, a charge editors at *Christian Standard* also levied.⁵⁵

With respect to the "Negro problem," Disciples early on established a "Board of Negro Evangelization and Education." Most Disciples agreed when journals

reported that “no duty whatsoever should rest with greater weight on our consciences than that of coming to the rescue of this people with the power of education and the gospel to enlighten, to save and elevate them.”⁵⁶

One editorial suggested that “material development in the South,” accompanied by “Yankee” immigration to the South, would eventually solve the “Negro problem.” Whites would so outnumber blacks that they could freely grant “rights so soon as they know in so doing they are not imperiling their own.”⁵⁷

Another editorial recommended the possibility of actually colonizing blacks into “a State of their own on equal terms with the other States.” But within two



In 1900, The Christian Century argued, “The negro is inferior to the white man and for that reason deserves all the more careful and patient treatment.”

years, editors at the same journal said, “No intelligent man expects any such thing ever to happen. There is but one thing to look to, and that is Christian education.”⁵⁸

In advocating that money raised through white taxpayers be used to provide education for blacks, again cited as the “only solution to the negro problem,” *The Christian Century* argued, “The negro is inferior to the white man and for that reason deserves all the more careful and patient treatment.”⁵⁹ This kind of condescension marks most Disciples discussions during these years, even among the most progressive and social gospel advocates.⁶⁰

We could discuss a plethora of other topics with respect to this kind of cultural Disciples approach, particularly its advocacy for temperance; for women’s suffrage; for dealing with urbanization and issues related to labor and increasing wealth and economic development in general; for the need to support, endow, and develop a greater education system among Disciples — all these concerns have something to do with the deep interest in progress and technology, Christianization, civilization, and Americanization that emerged so strongly

during the 1890s, in association with great cultural events like the World's Fair, the World's Parliament of Religions, and the Spanish-American War.

The very fact that *Disciples* editors decided that the dawn of a new century demanded a new name for *The Christian Oracle* illustrates an unbridled optimism.

"Optimism," wrote *The Christian Century* editor, "is the spirit of the glorious Gospel."⁶¹ This new century would be the "Christian century." The editor at the *Century* could wax eloquent about the "unity of the race — yea, the unity of all life, even the unity of the universe." He spoke of the way God uses the secular realities of the cities, science and technology, history, psychology, and even modern war like the one just past to bring about unity in everything. Those standing against this kind of unity (the Catholics, immigrants, Indians, blacks, Spaniards, Filipinos, saloons, etc.) must be civilized, Americanized, or "Protestantized" into unity.

We should acknowledge that American culture did not suddenly turn toward these proclivities. They grew out of natural tendencies operating within it. For example, Kristin L. Hoganson and Gail Bederman, in their respective books,

have shown that late nineteenth-century political power maintained a close association with the gender and racial assumptions of the day. The World's Fair and the Spanish-American War both represented and promulgated these inherent assumptions. Cultural assumptions included the belief that great civilizations and their political leadership always had to be "manly" and represent the best aspects of human character — which, as assumptions defined them, in addition to being best represented in men, were also better represented in white men. In the late 1890s, America could not back down from a challenge without seriously threatening both its manhood and its own sense of racial superiority. *Disciples* were as wrapped up in this mentality as any other group of American citizens. The outcome of the war, along with increased cultural adherence, only reinforced and made more palpable such inherent impulses.⁶²

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NOTES

- ¹ All the points found in this paragraph are made by Julie K. Rose in "The World's Columbian Exposition: Idea, Experience, Aftermath," MA thesis (August 1, 1996) at the University of Virginia; found in a hypertext form at <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~ma96/WCE/title.html>.
- ² "World in Miniature," *Christian Evangelist* (8/24/93), pp. 530–531.
- ³ *Christian Evangelist* (1/5/93).
- ⁴ *The Christian Oracle* (8/17/93); see also (10/26/93).
- ⁵ *Christian Standard* (8/12/93).
- ⁶ *Ibid.* (9/9/93).
- ⁷ Joas Adiprasetya, "The 1893 World's Parliament of Religions," p. 5; this paper can be found on the web at http://people.bu.edu/~wwildman/WeirdWildWeb/courses/mwt/dictionary/mwt_themes.707_worldparliamentofreligiions1893.htm#The_1893_World_Parliament_of_Religiions_Adiprasetya, and can be downloaded via pdf from <http://joas.berteologi.net/my-works>.
- ⁸ This quote is from John P. Burris, *Exhibiting Religion: Colonialism and Spectacle at International Expositions, 1851–1893* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001), p. 110; it is quoted in Adiprasetya's paper on p. 5.
- ⁹ R. H. Seager, "The World's Parliament of Religions, Chicago, Illinois, 1893: America's Religious Coming of Age," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1986, p. 51. This is also quoted in Adiprasetya's paper, p. 5.
- ¹⁰ See Seager, p. 87; Adiprasetya, p. 3.
- ¹¹ Philip Schaff, "The Reunion of Christendom," in *World's Parliament of Religions (1893: Chicago, Ill.): World's Congress of Religions; The Addresses and Papers Delivered Before the Parliament and an Abstract of the Congresses Held in the Art Institute* (Chicago: Under the Auspices of the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893), with marginal notes by J.W. Hanson), pp. 615–627.
- ¹² *Christian Evangelist* (10/12/93), p. 643.
- ¹³ *The Gospel Advocate* (10/26/93), p. 99.
- ¹⁴ "The Parliament of Religions," *The Christian Oracle* (9/21/93), pp. 594–595.
- ¹⁵ George F. Hall, "The World's Religious Congresses at Chicago," *Christian Standard* (9/30/93), pp. 778–779; other essays expressing enthusiasm for the Congress: "Religious Congresses," *Christian Standard* (8/26/93), p. 671.
- ¹⁶ Allen, "The World's Congress of the Disciples of Christ," *The Christian Oracle* (9/21/93), p. 595.
- ¹⁷ Coverage of the Disciples Congress, as part of the WPR, can be found in *The Christian Oracle* *The Christian Oracle* *Christian Standard* (9/23/93), p. 758. Tyler's address and the other seven addresses of the Disciples Congress are published in *Addresses Delivered at the World's Congress and General Missionary Conventions of the Church of Christ Held at Chicago, in September 1893* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1893), pp. 157–176. (9/7/93), p. 564; in J. W. Allen, "The World's Congress of the Disciples of Christ," (9/21/93), p. 595; the same article is found in

- ¹⁸ *Christian Evangelist* (8/18/98); this is true even though editors claimed that God had “attended” our warships “with immunity from harm to a degree [that] cannot be accounted for through the exercise of human skill and foresight”; see *The Christian Oracle* (6/23/98).
- ¹⁹ Lipscomb, “War and Christianity,” *The Gospel Advocate* (5/19/98); Lipscomb, “Christianity, a System of Non-Resistance,” *The Gospel Advocate* (6/7/98).
- ²⁰ J. D. Tant, “War — Its Effect upon the Church,” *The Gospel Advocate* (7/14/98), p. 443.
- ²¹ Lipscomb, “The War and Its Lessons,” *The Gospel Advocate* (8/31/98), p. 508.
- ²² “The King of Nations,” *The Christian Oracle* (5/12/98).
- ²³ See Toulouse, “The Postmillennialism of Alexander Campbell.”
- ²⁴ *Christian Evangelist* (1/1/91), p. 2.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.* (1/8/91), p. 18.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.* (1/1/91), p. 2.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.* (3/19/96).
- ²⁸ *Christian Standard* (8/20/98), p. 1106.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.* (4/16/98).
- ³⁰ See Jasper P. Moses, “Satan and the Priest,” *Christian Standard* (3/4/11), p. 348.
- ³¹ *Christian Standard* (1/6/1900); see also *Christian Evangelist* (10/5/93), p. 626.
- ³² *Christian Evangelist* (4/9/96).
- ³³ *Ibid.* (2/27/96).
- ³⁴ *The Christian Oracle* (9/1/98).
- ³⁵ “The War with Spain,” *Christian Evangelist* (4/28/98).
- ³⁶ See *The Christian Oracle* (6/23/98); (8/4/98); (8/11/98).
- ³⁷ *Christian Standard* (5/14/98).
- ³⁸ *The Christian Oracle* (5/5/98); This is nearly a direct quote from Josiah Strong, *Our Country* (1885); see the cover of *Christian Standard* (4/16/98) in War packet; see also *The Christian Oracle* (4/30/98).
- ³⁹ *Missionary Intelligencer* (February, 1898), p. 33.
- ⁴⁰ Abbott, “Issues of Progress,” *The Christian Century* (6/7/00); here Abbott is affirming the words of Willis Fletcher Johnson.
- ⁴¹ *Christian Evangelist* (1/1/91), 1; see also *Christian Evangelist* (4/16/91).
- ⁴² *Christian Evangelist* (5/21/91).
- ⁴³ *Christian Standard* (1/3/91), p. 3; and *Christian Evangelist* (1/5/93), p. 2.

- ⁴⁴ "A Dangerous Invasion," *Christian Standard* (4/25/96).
- ⁴⁵ Ainslie, "Our Fellowship and the Task," President's Address, Topeka, Kansas, October 14, 1910; see *Christian Standard* (10/29/10), pp. 1892-1893.
- ⁴⁶ "Improvement at Ellis Island," *Christian Evangelist* (11/5/14), p. 1421.
- ⁴⁷ Kathlene B. Winter, "Made-in-America Democracy," *World Call* (1/19/19), pp. 46-47.
- ⁴⁸ This address, titled "The Disciples of Christ and the American Spirit" and delivered by Burriss Jenkins at the 1901 meeting of the American Christian Missionary Society in October of that year, is described in *Christian Evangelist* (10/24/01), p. 1351.
- ⁴⁹ *Christian Evangelist* (7/3/02).
- ⁵⁰ *Christian Evangelist* suggested, "education is an essential element in the solution of the Indian problem." America needed to become more "effective in the work of civilization." See *Christian Evangelist* (1/29/01).
- ⁵¹ See *Christian Evangelist* (6/23/98), where editors wrote, the "school at Carlisle, Pa., for Indian pupils, is giving unmistakable proof that the boys and girls of the savages of our western plains and mountains are quite capable of being educated and trained for the various occupations of civilized life." In Merrill E. Gates, "The Present State of Indian Affairs," *Christian Evangelist* (10/23/02). Gates was secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners. See also LaSalle A. Maynard, "Three Days Among Indians," *Christian Evangelist* (3/12/03), where he wrote: "The Carlisle idea [the Carlisle School in Carlisle, Penn.] furnishes the best practicable solution of the 'Indian problem.' In fact there would be no 'Indian problem' very soon if the principles and teachings set forth in this school were allowed free and full sway in all our future dealings with these people. This is where it differs radically from the negro problem. The social cleavage here is slight, where it exists at all, and it only needs a generation or two of common education, and the enjoyment of citizenship to wipe the line completely away."
- ⁵² *Christian Evangelist* (1/1/91); (1/15/91).
- ⁵³ *Ibid.* (1/22/91).
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.* (1/29/91).
- ⁵⁵ *The Christian Oracle* (2/5/91); *Christian Standard* (2/7/91).
- ⁵⁶ See Chas. Louis Loos, "C. C. Smith's Tract on Negro Evangelization and Education," *Christian Evangelist* (1/26/93), p. 53.
- ⁵⁷ *The Christian Oracle* (1/22/91); see also (9/28/93), p. 610.
- ⁵⁸ *Christian Standard* (1/24/91), p. 65; two years later see, *Christian Standard* (9/2/93).
- ⁵⁹ *The Christian Century* (9/27/00).
- ⁶⁰ See also Alva Taylor, "The Progress of the Colored Man," *The Christian Century* (10/14/09), p. 1010.
- ⁶¹ *The Christian Oracle* (1/4/1900).
- ⁶² See Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998); and Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).



CARNELLA LEESTHER JAMISON BARNES

BY DEBRA B. HULL

Moving Women Forward

In *Christian Women Share Their Faith*, Carnella Jamison Barnes wrote, “The remnants of slave quarters were still visible in the southern hamlet where I was born and spent my early childhood. Those humble

dwellings were a sharp reminder, especially to the Black children of Smith, Mississippi, of how far they’d come and how much farther they had to go, in achieving a place of dignity in their community.”

Carnella Jamison was born in 1911 and received her associate's degree in education from the Southern Christian Institute (SCI), which was established in 1874–1875 by Christian Church leaders for the purpose of providing high-quality education and vocational training for African Americans. Along with many students, she “paid” for her education by working on the farm, in her case, in the milk room making cream and butter.

While at SCI, Jamison, raised a Baptist, made the decision to join the Christian Church — because of its “quiet simplicity” — and affiliated with the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a group that advocated nonviolent action as a means for confronting racism. She first used this approach in changing a school policy that required the one African-American faculty member to eat in the student dining room rather than in the whites-only faculty dining room.

A series of low-paying positions at public elementary schools (where, for a time, she earned a salary equivalent to a cotton field worker) prompted

Jamison to return to school and earn her bachelor's degree at Talladega College. It was at about this time that she began her work on the national level of the Christian Church, often as the only or first African-American, beginning when she became the first president of the mostly white national youth movement, Christian Endeavor. Her success in that position led to increasing recognition by church officials and then to a long list of leadership positions.

“The remnants of slave quarters ... were a sharp reminder, of how far they'd come and how much farther they had to go, in achieving a place of dignity in their community.”

At the age of 28, Jamison was called to become an ordained minister, overcoming the dual challenges of sexism and racism when she received a master's degree in religious education from Chicago Theological Seminary in Indianapolis and was ordained by the Christian Church in 1939. While working at the first Black community

center in Los Angeles, the Avalon Community Center, Jamison met Anderson B. Barnes. They were married in 1946, and she gave birth to triplets—two girls and a boy—a year later.

As might be expected, Carnella Jamison's story intersects with other African-American women important in the life of the Christian Church, including Sarah Lue Howard Bostick, an ordained minister who is particularly remembered for organizing the first African-American Christian Woman's Board of Missions Auxiliary at Pea Ridge, Arkansas. And Jamison was connected with Rosa Brown Bracy, whom she succeeded at the United Christian Missionary Society. All three women are particularly important to the church because of their success in organizing African-American congregations for mission work. In 1978, Carnella Jamison Barnes was recognized as the first African-American president of the International Christian Women's Fellowship. Now called International Disciples Women's Fellowship, this organization witnesses to the gospel through worship, stewardship, study, mission, and social action; a quadrennial assembly is a highlight of its work.

Much of Carnella Barnes' life was devoted to developing community services for the elderly in the Los Angeles area, including advocating for quality housing and attention to the unique religious, political, health, and recreational issues facing older people. In her work, she taught others the importance of political activity in addressing the injustices that make social services necessary.

During her life, Carnella Barnes enjoyed recognition for her service from the wider community. Perhaps her most prestigious award was given in 1986, on the first national observance of Martin Luther King Jr. Day, when she received the Rosa Parks Award from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Martin Luther King Legacy Association. She also received honorary degrees from Jarvis Christian College and Chicago Theological Seminary and was named Disciple of the Year.

After a life extraordinarily well lived, Carnella Jamison Barnes died in 1997.

DEBRA B. HULL, PH.D., IS PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY AT WHEELING JESUIT UNIVERSITY IN WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA.

IN THE NEWS

Lexington Theological Seminary Calls New President

LEXINGTON, Ky. — Dr. James P. (Jim) Johnson, former president of the Christian Church Foundation (CCF), has been called to succeed R. Robert Cueni as president of Lexington Theological Seminary (LTS). Johnson was elected by the seminary's Board of Directors on August 19.

Johnson, an ordained minister in the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), has served as a congregational pastor and denominational leader during his more than 43 years in ministry. He most recently was involved in development for the Mayo [Clinic] Foundation in Rochester, Minnesota.

Richard Griffith, who chaired the search committee, said, "We had many fine candidates for the position, but Jim's experience in administration and fund-raising, and his deep passion for the seminary brought him to the top."

After graduating from LTS, Johnson served congregations in Missouri and Florida. In 1980, he accepted the call to be a development officer for CCF, a general ministry of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). He left CCF in 1986 to become president of the denomination's Church Finance Council, a position he held until 1992, when he returned to the Foundation as president. He left CCF in 2003 to join the Mayo Foundation, helping that institution develop a planned giving program until leaving in 2007. CCF named him president emeritus in 2007. Johnson is married to Nancy, and until his call, the couple was living in Indianapolis.

Lexington Theological Seminary is a graduate theological institution affiliated with the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). For more information, visit www.lextheo.edu.

Fall Streamlines Now Available Online

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — The Fall issue of *Streamlines*, the newsletter of the Historical Society, has been posted online at www.discipleshistory.org.

Discover what's happening at the Historical Society, as well as plans for the upcoming year, by logging on today.

Stalcup Seminar for Congregational Historians

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — The biennial (in even years) workshop for congregational historians was held at the Thomas W. Phillips Memorial, home of the Historical Society in Nashville, September 26–27.

Local historians attended the two-day event, featuring hands-on training for work in congregations.

Mark your calendars now for the next seminar in 2010.

Historical Society interviews Sharon Watkins

The president of the Historical Society recently sat down with Disciples General Minister and President Sharon E. Watkins to talk about her faith, her

family, her calling, and her vision for the Church.

To listen to the interview, go to www.discipleshistory.org.

DID YOU KNOW?

Did you know that 2008 marks the centennial anniversary of the birth of Eva Jean Wrather?

A founding member of the Historical Society, Eva Jean devoted her life to the study of another life — Alexander Campbell. The third and final volume of her “literary biography” of Campbell (edited by D. Duane Cummins) will be released in 2010 by TCU Press. Her legacy lives on at the Historical Society, with an alcove study named in her memory at the Thomas W. Phillips Memorial in Nashville, Tennessee.

Eva Jean was a fixture of Nashville society in the mid-twentieth century,



Eva Jean Wrather, at her desk at the Historical Society in the 1940s.

PHOTO COURTESY OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

a member of Vine Street Christian Church (DOC), and a lover of all things Stone-Campbell. At the fiftieth anniversary of the Historical Society in 1991, the Board of Trustees said that Eva Jean was the dreamer, motivator, and flag-bearer for the Historical Society and its unique mission.

HEARD IT SAID

“In our worship we should strive to be the image of Christ in which others see their unity.”

— DR. ROBERT MARTIN

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF CHURCH LEADERSHIP & PRACTICAL THEOLOGY
SAINT PAUL SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

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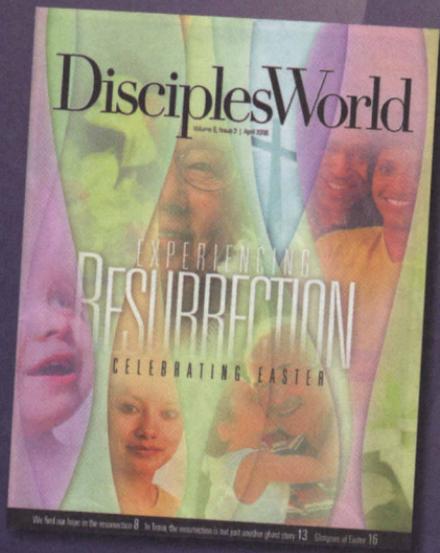
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WORLDWIDE WITNESSES

In the puzzle that is China, Christianity is alive and well



Setting through tangles of China in the pasting together a large puzzle. Look here and you will see a view of concrete skyscrapers. Turn around and find a woman holding a glow through forest fields. Here is a traditional Chinese festival, lit up by night as a reminder with millions of new lights. Turn the corner and a man of traditional dress with a white sash is offering something from his chickens to traditional herbs. The ever present smell of meat chases across with incense, pungent spices, and subtle rising from people's breath.

It's hard to wrap your mind around the puzzle that is China, but one thing stands out clearly — the Protestant church is growing here at a rate that amazes even the handful of ministers and lay leaders who are struggling to cover the needs of their ever-growing flock.

In September, I traveled to China with a group of new church members — some of them relatively new to the Disciples — on a pilgrimage designed to educate us about the history of Disciples in China, and to celebrate the new church presence in a country where over 30 years ago, during China's Cultural Revolution, planting a church was a crime.

Our group reflected the diversity that is the Christian Church in North America — two African-Americans, a Hispanic-American, two Puerto Rican-Americans, a Mexican-American, a Canadian pastor from South Korea, two Chinese-Americans and four English. Everywhere we traveled, we drew curious stares. And everywhere, we were warmly received.

A growing flock
A church in Nanjing is filled to capacity on Sunday morning. In

BY SHEERI WOOD EMMONS

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