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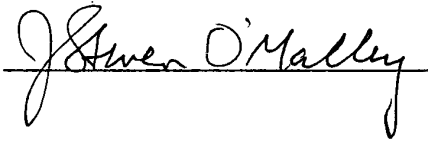
A PROGRESSION OF METHODIST RADICALISM: AN EXAMINATION OF THE HISTORY AND ETHOS OF THE THE FIRST SIXTY YEARS OF THE NAZARITES AND THEIR HEIRS (1855-1915) IN THEIR SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CONTEXT

by
Liam Iwig-O'Byrne

Approved: 

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment
of elective requirements for the degree of
Master of Divinity
Asbury Theological Seminary
November 1993

ABSTRACT

A Progression of Methodist Radicalism

by

Liam Iwig-O'Byrne

The Free Methodist Church came into existance at the very end of the Antebellum Era, and the first two generations span the early Progressive Era. These were times of great change, such as national market, an influx of continental Europeans, and many revivals and reforms, including abolition and temperance. Revivalism and American Culture had caused Methodism to be altered to fit first the pioneer spirit, and then the Jacksonian (and later) progressive spirit, which helped give rise to the highly poplular holiness movement.

In this mix of complex dynamics the Free Methodist Church came into existence, from traditional but reform-minded Yankee Methodists excommunicated from their church due to social and cultural tensions, as well as ecclesiastical politics. The new church maintained a strong (and seemingly traditional) stance on doctrine and a very strong stance on behaviorial and political issues.

The second generation saw a continuing shift in perspective, while various radical groups, very independent minded, came to existence within the new church. These groups eventually split off from the church, except for two of the radical leaders, one of whom died very young. These considerations help in evaluating the present church, which seems as enmeshed in American Evangelical Culture as the early church was in Yankee culture.

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c. 1993

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Many people have helped me in the process of developing this thesis. My interest in Wesley and holiness traditions was sparked by my Pastor, J. Garth Betry, and still more so by another pastor in the conference, Stan Kinney. Welsey's Works were given to me by a retired pastor, Herbert J. Baker, and my college mentor, David N. Ashton, aided me immensely in my process of critically thinking through Wesleyan issues. My first semester at Seminary I took a class in Patristics with Dr. David Bundy, at the time acquisitions director of B. L. Fisher Library. and his example of simply astonishing scholastic ability and his interest in and perspective on Wesleyanism inspired my continued searching. The basic premises of this thesis were first voiced in conversations with him. He encouraged me to talk with Dr. William Faupel, the Library Director, who proved of immense help, and supervised an independent study with me on early Free Methodist views of entire sanctification. Dr. Faupel also instructed my thesis research class, helping me fine tune my proposal and imparting to me a new way of viewing history, looking at paradigms and paradigm shifts. Dr. Faupel in turn introduced me to the Reference and Special Collections Librarian, Dr. William Kostlevey, another published holiness scholar who spent many hours in conversation and gave me countless leads in information, not to mention volounteering to do hours of reading and interacting regarding my thesis.

Many others have been helpful in producing this work. My thanks go out to Don Joy and Esther James, whose ancestors were some of the "radicals" discussed in this work. All workers at the B. L. Fisher Library have been extremely helpful as I dug out all information that I could, as well as those in the John Wesley Seminary Foundation Library (directed in turn by Pastors Art Brown and Clyde Van Valin) housed in the Wilmore, Kentucky Free Methodist Church and the Leslie Marston Historical Center housed in the Free Methodist World Ministries Center in Indianapolis, Indiana. Dr. R. Stanley Ingersol, first through his disseration, then through phone conversation, and finally in person at the Nazarene Historical

Archives in Kansas City, Missouri helped me greatly in supplying me with a great deal of significant material and information that I did not have before. Dr. Howard Snyder has also kindly consented to allow me to quote his paper on the Pentecost Bands. Dr. Snyder is the foremost expert anywhere on this group.

Special thanks needs to be given to Dr. Steve O'Malley, who has been my insightful reader and advisor in this project.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

I. The Problem and its Setting

A. The Statement of the Problem

This research proposes to examine the ethos (distinctive beliefs and practices) of the first generation of the Free Methodist Church (1855-1885, beginning with the period of the troubles in the Genesee Conference and ending when the second generation leaders began to come into prominence), and that of the second generation (1885-1915, ending when B. T. Roberts and Vivian Dake had died, connections between Free Methodists and the now long ousted radicals had been entirely severed, and E. E. Shelhamer's ministry was well-established), and what meaning this has to Free Methodists in 1993.

B. The Subproblems

1. The first subproblem. The first subproblem is to provide a framework for understanding and interpreting the events, beliefs and practices of the first two generations of Free Methodists in the context of the social and religious landscape of late Antebellum (1830-1860) and early Gilded Age (1860-1900) America.

2. The second subproblem. The second subproblem is to examine the history and ethos (particularly regarding concepts of salvation and reform) of the first generation of the Free Methodist Church (1855-1885), and to evaluate them.

3. The third subproblem. The third subproblem is to examine significant subgroups and new leaders in the second generation of Free Methodism, examining their history and ethos and evaluating them, as well as concluding, examining the present (1993) status of the Free Methodist Church.

C. The Hypotheses

The first hypothesis is that all data must be seen in the context of a conscious framework to be understood, including the social and religious history of that era and the development of the Free Methodist Church and its antecedents. Thus, the undergirding philosophical approach of this study is described by Charles Kraft as critical (mediated) realism. This approach has four basic assumptions, that there is a reality that can be experienced in

part by people, that this reality is distinguishable from the human perception of it, that reality is too large to be entirely grasped by anyone and that the observer is both significant yet limited in observation.[1]

The second hypothesis is that the first two generations of Free Methodism had a generally agreed upon ethos emerging from its historical and sociological background, but that there were some significant differences between the ethos of the Eastern and Western segments of the church, as well as between the first and second generations, between the established leadership and new leaders in the second generation, and between the Western (Midwestern) and Southern (Southeastern) approaches to holiness traditions and Free Methodism.

The third hypothesis is that there was a second group, or set of groups in the second generation of the Free Methodist Church, the radicals, each with a similar ethos. This ethos emerged from the radicals' sociological and historical backgrounds, each group viewing themselves as an authentic continuation of the first generation of Free Methodism and thus of Methodism. Also, an understanding of the ethos of the first two generations of the Free Methodist Church and the dynamics which caused them can aid Free Methodists in the 1990's in understanding themselves, evaluating the present status of the denomination, including two present radical groups, each with its own ethos, as well as the recent (1990) headquarters move, and having a context with which to view the future.

D. The Delimitations

The study will not attempt to give a detailed chronology of events, with only a few exceptions, such as the events touching the conference's attitudes toward the Vanguard and Fire-Brand movments.

The study will not attempt to explain how a group can plan to

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[1]Ian Ludbrook Grant, "Worldview Sourcebook: The School of World Mission Models" (M.A. thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, June, 1986), 29.

make specific changes in its own present ethos.

The study will not examine the individual personality factors in detail.

E. The Definition of Terms

1. Ethos. Ethos is the distinguishing beliefs, customs and attitudes of a person or group.

2. Model. "A symbolic representation of selected aspects of the behavior of a complex system for particular purposes."[2]

3. Movement. "A group of people who are organized for, ideologically motivated by and committed to a purpose which implements some form of personal or social change; who are actively engaged in the recruitment of others; and whose influence is spreading in opposition to the established order within which it originated."[3]

4. Paradigm. Kuhn is the first to use this term to describe broad traditions. Two essential characteristics of a paradigm are that is unprecedented enough to draw away from competitive models, and sufficiently open to leave a great deal for its adherents to work out. Actual practice results in models that lead to coherent traditions. These traditions are based on certain metaphysical assumptions in its "fundamental conceptual categories."[4] Faupel, in his dissertation on Pentecostalism, examines religious paradigm shifts. His definition of paradigm is "the mechanism by which the fundamental motifs are transmitted through history by the use of models."[5]

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[2]Ian Barbour, Myths, Models and Paradigms: A Comparative Study in Science and Religion (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), 6.

[3]Luther Gerlach and Virginia Hines, People, Power and Change: Movements of Social Transformation (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Incorporated, 1970), xvi.

[4]Thomas S. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 10.

[5]D. William Faupel, "The Everlasting Gospel: The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought" (Ph.D. diss., University of Birmingham, 1989), 40.

5. Radical. This refers to a significant departure from the usual, particularly as a return to roots, and thus if this concept is part of a group's self-identity, it can indicate a value judgement that certain practices within a tradition (the acting out of a movement's ethos) no longer matches perceptions of what that practice had been previously, or originally, and thus current practice is faulted and original practice esteemed. In reference to a movement or it members, this term refers to a group whose ethos, however similar, has significant differences in ethos either from the movement within which it functions or from which it has separated, or from its social context as a whole. It also refers to a group whose ethos is seen as the return to an earlier or original ethos of the group.

6. Worldview is defined by Charles Kraft as the "central assumptions" shared by

> the members of a culture or subculture which are presumed to be true without prior proof or logical reasoning, allow people to interpret their life experiences and integrate the people's life and experience into an explanatory whole.[6]

In this study, the term movement, defined above, will be used rather than the terms "culture" or "subculture."

F. Abbreviations

1. AC is the abbreviation for the Annual Conference Minutes of the Free Methodist Church, published yearly.

2. EC is the abbreviation for The Earnest Christian and the Golden Rule.

3. FB is the abbreviation for the Fire-Brand Movement, or its paper, the Fire-Brand.

4. FM is the abbreviation for The Free Methodist.

5. FMC is the abbreviation for the Free Methodist Church.

6. MEC is the abbreviation for the Methodist Episcopal Church.

7. MH is the abbreviation for Methodist History.

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[6]Grant., 205.

8. MHR is the abbreviation for the Michigan Holiness Record.

9. PB is the abbreviation for the Pentecost Bands.

10. SCC is the abreviation for J. G. Terrill's St. Charles Campmeeting.

11. VG is the abbrevation for the Vanguard movement, or its paper, the Vanguard.

12. WTJ is the abbreviation for the Wesleyan Theological Journal.

G. Assumptions

1. The first assumption. The first assumption is that the ethos of a group undergoes constant change and is influenced by the developing history of a group and changing sociological realities.

2. The second assumption. The second assumption is that changes in ethos and the causes of these changes often go undetected, yet these changes and their causes help to shape the ethos, and thus a group is often not usually almost entirely unaware of some aspects of their ethos.

3. The third assumption. The third assumption is that an understanding of a denomination's history, particularly the development of its ethos, is useful for a denomination to understand itself more fully and to plan for its future.

4. The fourth assumption. The fourth assumption is that the Free Methodist Church's (FMC's) understanding of itself as the full continuation of original Methodism is not entirely accurate, and has affected the denomination's understanding of itself.

5. The fifth assumption. The fifth assumption is that certain repeated trends are observable in American Methodism and Free Methodism, and that these trends are detectible and perhaps preventable by people within the denomination.

H. The Importance of the Study

Little has been done recently in researching Free Methodist history, despite the recent upsurge in Wesleyan/Holiness studies. The last detailed history was written in 1960 by Bishop Marston, and except for one dissertation by James Reinhardt in 1971 for the University of Iowa, the researcher is aware of no recent completed

major work that attempts to examine the early history of the FMC critically (although several relatively recent articles and book segments are made use of, and are reviewed in the next section), nor is the researcher aware of any study at all on the broader ethos of the FMC. Currently the FMC is in a time of dramatic transition, with much planning for the future. Much of this planning deals with changing the ethos of the denomination, and understanding the FMC's present ethos in light of early changes in its ethos can aid the denomination in making informed decisions.

II. The Review of the Related Literature

A. Primary Sources

1. Periodicals. All the periodicals of the denomination are of particular interest and will be used thoroughly. The changes in the Discipline often reflect slight changes in thought patterns and rising tensions. The reports given in the Annual Conference Minutes give a detailed look at the development of the denomination's approach in different regions, as well as at reform movements and their growth. This had helped to demonstrate early differences in the first generation between the eastern and western segments of the church. The Earnest Christian, (EC), with the editorials of Roberts reprinted in Holiness Teachings, (HT) gives an amazing amount of detail regarding the FMC's approach to entire sanctification, a concept that consumes the majority of articles and editorials in the magazine. Experiences of various people are given, usually spending the most time on their experience of entire sanctification. The official magazine, the Free Methodist, (FM), along with the editorials by Roberts published as Pungent Truths, gives similar information, but has a much broader interest, including a great deal on conversion and justification. Information on second generation groups is also provided by the Trumpet, Vanguard (VG), Fire-Brand (FB), Law and Gospel and Michigan Holiness Record (MHR).

2. Biographies. Biographies provide an excellent look into the inner workings of the church. Some of these books are about people involved before the FMC was incorporated. There are books

as well from the first and second generation Free Methodists.

3. Histories. This study also makes use of histories of the MEC and FMC, both official histories and informal examinations of the history, such as Terrill and Hart.

B. Secondary Literature

1. Sociological background. Since many of the historical aspects of this thesis deal more with worldview, patterns of thought and other aspects of ethos rather than with specific historical events, a background will be provided making use of relevant sociological studies. Current material on the concepts of movements and schisms and the dynamics involved will be employed.

2. General historical sources. In all the traditional histories of the FMC, little attention is given to the social and religious history of the time. This study cannot deal with this history in great detail, but significant attention will be given to two periods, the late Antebellum (1830-1860), and the early Postbellum, or Gilded Age (1865-1900) of American society. This period (1830-1900) is also referred to as American Victorian society. General histories for these period will be used, as well as materials dealing with specific issues in detail. The economy, reform politics, culture and revivalism of the time will also receive focus.

3. Wesleyan/Holiness studies. Traditional histories of the FMC often overlook the significance of the holiness movement in the FMC, since Free Methodism has traditionally viewed itself as part of Methodism, but not as part of the holiness movement. This study contends that this view is not completely accurate. The holiness movement had its "popular" and its "radical" side, and at times the FMC recognized itself as part of this network, on the radical side. Sources on the movement will be consulted, as well as sources on early American Methodism.

4. Free Methodism. The Official histories of Hogue and Marston, and Zahniser's biography of B. T. Roberts offer considerable detailed information and interpretation of primary materials. Dr. Reinhardt explores social and personal reasons

behind the original schism that resulted in the FMC. Wall did a study appearing in the WTJ regarding early changes in the FMC's Discipline and ethos. Paul Livermore published an essay on the first Discipline, Methodist History (MH) has provided two articles on the Nazarites, and Benjamen's and Norton's histories on Methodism have valuable information of the formation on the FMC, with Benjamin's work being particularly extensive. Culumber, Snyder and Bundy have done work on the PBs. An oral history interview with Shelhamer's dauther, Esther James, will be made use of as well, as well as personal conversations with Don Joy, a grandson of a PB member, as well as personal conversations with Bill Kostlevey and Stan Ingersol.

III. The Data, Their Treatment and Interpretation

A. The Data

Many specifics as to the kinds of data are provided in the review of the literature above. The data is of two kinds: primary data and secondary data. The nature of these two type of data will be given below.

1. The primary data. This includes the periodicals, biographies, histories, correspondence and tracts of the MEC, Holiness Movement and FMC described above.

2. The secondary data. This includes the materials on sociology, worldview, and the history of Victorian American society, the MEC, the Holiness Movement and the FMC.

B. The Criteria for the Admissibility of the Data

Any material directly from the first and second generation Free Methodists or their observers is relevant, as the issues involved in the study do not include technical accuracy only, but also what individuals and groups believe and feel. Secondary sources dealing the with MEC, Holiness Movement or FMC can be evaluated by making use of the primary data. Other secondary sources are well documented.

C. Research Methodology

Ethos will be examined through the primary data and the secondary data on the MEC, Holiness Movement and FMC, and it will

be interpreted by using the secondary data. First, the secondary data relating to general social trends and revivalism, the MEC and the Holiness Movement will be used to provide a groundwork for looking at the primary data and secondary data dealing with the FMC. This will involve an examination of the history (with an evaluation) and ethos (regarding salvation and reform) of the early FMC (1855-1915) and then of the radical groups with the FMC. Issues relating to the present situation in the denomination will then be briefly discussed.

D. The Specific Projected Treatment of Each Subproblem

All the data needed is located in the Asbury Theological Seminary's library (the B. L. Fisher Library), the John Wesley Seminary Foundation Library (housed in the Wilmore FMC, Kentucky), the Church of the Nazarene Archives in Kansas City, Missouri, and the World Ministries Center of the FMC in Indianapolis, Indiana.

1. The first subproblem. The first subproblem is to provide a framework for understanding and interpreting the events, beliefs and practices of the first two generations of Free Methodists in the context of the societal religious landscape of the late Antebellum (1830-1860) and the early Gilded Age (1860-1900) America.

The data needed is historical and sociological studies providing information on the economy, political activity, the broad culture and the phenomenon of revivalism, focusing when possible on western New York state and the central Midwest (particularly Illinois where the Western work of the FMC was started) in Victorian America, and the MEC and Holiness Movement of this time.

2. The second subproblem. The second subproblem is to examine the history (with an evaluation) and ethos (regarding salvation and reform concepts) of the first generations of the FMC (1855-1885).

Primary and secondary data is needed on the history and ethos of the early FMC (1855-1885), and secondary sociological data is needed to help interpret this information.

3. The third subproblem. The third subproblem is to examine

significant subgroups and new leaders in the second generation of Free Methodism, examining their history and ethos and evaluating them, as well as concluding, examining the present (1993) status of the Free Methodist Church.

Primary and secondary data is needed on the history and ethos of the radical groups within the early FMC. From the authors experience and aquaintances in the FMC, its present status will be examined in the light of FMC history.

IV. The Qualifications of the Researcher

The researcher is a fourth generation, life-long participant in the FMC, having chosen to become a member eleven years ago (at the age of fifteen) after examining the main histories of the church (McGreary, Marston and Hogue) and being excited by the heritage and traditions of the FMC. This heritage has remained a continual interest, being intertwined with the researcher's personal development at many levels. The researcher was educated in a Free Methodist Bible college (Aldersgate in Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan) and this study is his last work for his Master of Divinity Degree at Asbury, the seminary chosen by the vast majority of Free Methodists. The researcher has spent the last several years often investigating at great length and minute detail various issues in the history of the FMC, and has had opportunity to attend many different Free Methodist churches, as well as meet many important Free Methodists and people significant in Wesleyan/Holiness studies. Finally, the researcher is currently co-pastoring a Free Methodist church with his wife in Winfield, Kansas.

PART I:
THE SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF THE EARLY FMC: THE ANTEBELLUM PERIOD AND THE GILDED AGE

CHAPTER 2. THE SOCIETAL LANDSCAPE OF EARLY FREE METHODISM

This study examines the Free Methodist Church (FMC) as a movement arising out of the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC). The tensions arising in the Genesee Conference of the MEC caused a shift in the current paradigm, which greatly enhanced the tensions and resulted in the FMC. To examine the original paradigm shift experienced in the formation of the FMC, and the later difficulties faced within this paradigm, an examination of the societal landscape of the late Antebellum (1830-1860) and the early Gilded Age (1865-1900) follows. Special attention will be given to Western New York and the elements of reform and revivalism that are the context of this new paradigm.

I. Economic and Demographic Shifts

The late Antebellum period brought new economic realities. George Thomas indicates that the central elements of these changes were individualism and entrepreneurship.[1] An influx of foreign (mostly English) investments, various transportation investments and increased foreign trade led to growth in the 1830's and 1840's. The result was local production entering national and international markets. This led to other dramatic changes in transportation, such as canals, bridges, roads and eventually railroads and newspapers. Government also increased in size with more involvement in national and state structures, and more laws and lawyers. Residents knew the broader system that they were becoming part of. Exchange rates were determined more by the monetary system than by the local community. Although family farms still dominated the North and Midwest, home industries were replaced by new kinds of merchants. Even the family farmer now had to deal with strangers and middlemen. No longer did good crops necessarily guarantee financial success. The market was the added variable. Specialization increased the possibility financial failure. However, the market grew steadily and farmers were quite successful farming. Thus, individual entrepreneurs came to dominate the early

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[1]George M. Thomas, Revivalism and Cultural Change: Christianity, Nation Building, and the Market in Nineteenth-Century United States (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 6-7.

growth of agriculture and industry, largely in the North and Midwest. This also meant that local "protocapitilistic" communities entered into the highly rationalized market on the national and international scene.[2]

By 1830 the North was still over five-sixths rural, and exports were largely agricultural. Then the industrial revolution occurred. Subsistence farming was replaced with the commercial farming mentioned above. Urban population grew at a faster rate than the country's growth rate as a whole. Thomas Jefferson had been a staunch supporter of agriculturalism, but by 1816 he admitted that manufacturers were necessary. Apparently this was the general consensus, as manufacturing increased 127% from 1820 to 1840. During the same time period, agriculture increased only 79%. Massachusetts and New York were the areas that industrialized most quickly.[3]

Increasingly economics became the concern of the Gilded Age. Shi quotes Mark Twain from 1871 as writing, "What is the chief end of man? - to get rich. In what way? Dishonestly if he can: honestly if he must. Who is God, the one, only and true. Money is God." So it seemed. Despite occasional economic depressions, a great increase of wealth occurred among a new and growing middle class (salesmen, government employees, clerks, technicians, managers, salaried professionals, etc.) and a dramatic increase in the number of the very rich. In 1861 there were only a few dozen millionaires, but there were four thousand by 1900. Success was

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[2]Ibid., 35-37.

[3]Ann Douglass, The Feminization of American Culture (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1977), 50-51. Economic realities also necessitated a shift in the position of women. According to Ann Douglass, they began to lose privileges. Despite the long tradition of midwiving, woman were effectively barred from the newly revamped medical profession, and appeared less often in a host of professions.

defined as extensive materialism won in competitive atmosphere.[4]

Particularly significant was the amazing influx of immigrants. At the American Revolution, there were 2,500,000 Americans. In the 1820's there were 150,000 immigrants, but the decade of the 1840's brought 1,700,000 immigrants, and the next decade another 2,500,000. About one half of the immigrants were Irish in 1850, and one half of the rest were German. By 1885 the immigration had doubled, to 500,000 per year. The decade of the 1880's brought 5,200,000. Of the 8,000,000 immigrants from 1855-1890, 3,500,000 were German, 2,500,000 were Irish, and the rest included Scandinavians, Western Europeans, and some Eastern Europeans and others.[5] This brought radical changes to the country as these new populations continued to increase.

II. Political Action

Douglass indicates that history was viewed in the nineteenth century as increasingly political. American history was viewed in terms of the spread of liberty. From the beginning American history stressed the importance of politics.[6] The central political concerns of the American Victorian period were reforms. These were especially the concern of the FMC.

A. Abolitionists

Abolition was the most contentious political issue in the Antebellum era. Barnes contends that the roots of Western abolitionism are in the Western Revival. The wealthy Tappan brothers and their friend, the revivalist Charles Finney, were particularly significant in the advance of abolition. America was following England's lead in benevolence (England eliminated slavery

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[4]David E. Shi, The Simple Life: Plain Living and High Thinking in American Culture (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 155.

[5]Ann Novotney, Strangers at the Door: Ellis Island, Castle Garden, and the Great Migration to America (New York: Bantam Books, 1971), 57-58, 77, 88-89, 96.

[6]Douglass, 175.

nearly three decades before the United States), much as it did in other areas, such as literature. Problems particularly hit the movement due to the increasingly extreme William Lloyd Garrison. A more reasoned, but no less compromising, stance is represented by the Lane Rebels and Oberlin College, especially the sending out of the Seventy to preach the gospel of abolition, and the work of Finney's convert Theodore Weld.[7]

As mentioned above, there were two types of abolition. William Lloyd Garrison, representing the more extreme element, employed Beecher's concept of immediate repentance as a model for his reform. Western abolition, however, was based more on Finney's concept of the new heart, that is, not just a simple rejection of all the past, but a complete switch of one's commitments, from self to the highest good. Thomas theorizes that Garrison, later to represent rejection of all religious and social institutions, originally supported abolition because of his contact with Lyman Beecher in Boston. There he noticed the benevolence of the wealthy merchants was more politically based, but that of the more numerous middle-class had the religious impulse of Christian zeal. Their belief, as taught by Beecher and then accepted by Garrison, was that only Christianity could rescue the nation. Restoring the country's morals was only possible through a revolution, with missionary, tract and Bible societies, not by wealthy philanthropists dispensing charities.[8] It is to be noted, however, that the two different models for abolition arose gradually. In 1839 Garrison commented that his concept of sanctification was the same as Asa Mahan, president of Oberlin.[9]

The use of Christian experiences as paradigms for abolition underwent a significant shift by the 1840's. Strong refers to the

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[7]Gilbert H. Barnes, "The Western Revival Origins," The Abolitionists (Hindsdale, Illinois: The Dryden Press, 1973), 11-12.

[8]Thomas, 37, 31.

[9]I am indebted to William Kostlevey for this observation.

thesis of David Scott that in the 1830's conversion was the paradigm for involvement in abolition, and Strong then theorizes that by the 1840's voting for abolition was seen as part of perfectionism, choosing holiness over sin.[10] Abolitionists believed in the perfectibility of man, and thus once the blacks were freed society would naturally take care of the rest, giving them a wide assortment of economic opportunities, allowing them to live in peace with others, educate their children and have the respect of the community. This did not happen, as society's repression replaced that of the slave master's. The power of prejudice was underestimated. Dillon contends that America was unconsciously greedy and pragmatic, sacrificing principle for material success. Many efforts were made that empirically proved that the blacks were capable of the same intellectual ability, as well as possessing the same ability in other areas, yet these results did almost nothing to abate the prejudice of anyone in the Gilded Age. Actually, it seemed to increase due to constant efforts of the leaders of dogmatic racial rhetoric. "Appeals to reason and to moral principal waged unequal battle with self-interest and pride."[11]

Considering the above, it is clear that Reconstruction prejudice meant that what was actually the original goal of the reformers was not achieved. If the only goal of the abolitionists had been the ending of slavery for economic and political reasons, resistance would not have been so strong. Actually they wanted revolutionary upheaval, to so reorder American values and restructure American society as to have all individuals to act

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[10]Douglas Mark Strong, "Organized Liberty: Evangelical Perfectionism, Political Abolitionism, and Ecclesiastical Reform in the Burned-Over District," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1990), 7.

[11]Merton L. Dillon, "The Abolitionists as a Dissenting Minority," Dissent: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism (Dekalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1968), 88-91.

responsibly, with appropriate concern for the rights of all people. This demand for individual responsibility for society's direction rather than just complying with the social flow came across as an intolerably intense moral revolution.[12]

This also reflects the naivete of the abolitionists. There was a great deal of faith in the effectiveness of volunteer organizations, reflecting deep commitment to the idea of progress. The nation could be converted by organizing and influencing public opinion through Christian pressure groups. The goals were stable society, strong public religious habit and Protestants united in their faith. Unfortunately, they discovered that all their democratic techniques (propaganda, public meetings, open societies and free literature) could be used against them by more radical reformers. leading towards abolitionism (at first recommendations were for colonization), and then by still more radical reformers, eventually leading to the Civil War.[13]

B. Anti-Masonry

Although reactions against the Freemasons were never a prominent feature of national reform movements, except perhaps for a brief period in the 1830's, it was a significant issue to Western New Yorker's, and was especially an important issue to the so-called "Nazarite" party that became the FMC. Charles Finney, also from Western New York until his move to Oberlin, published a book against Masonry, and it reflects a common sentiment. Chapter titles include "Sworn to Persecute," "Awful Profanity of Masonic Oaths," "Perverse and Profane Use of the Holy Bible," "Freemasonry Imposes on the Ignorant," "The Claim of Freemasonry to Antiquity is False," "The Boasted Benevolence of Masons a Sham," and "Freemasonry a False Religion."[14]

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[12]Ibid., 97.

[13]Thomas, 35.

[14]Charles Grandison Finney, The Character, Claims and Practical Workings of Free Masonry (Chicago: National Christian Association, 1924).

Lynn Dumenil gives a detailed account of early anti-Masonry feeling. Masonry had been popular throughout New York, but its ranks were greatly depleted in the 1820's and 30's due to the Anti-Masonry movement, although it largely recovered by 1880. Originally from a medieval guild, more and more members became speculative (not actual stone masons) and focused on building "spiritual instead of material temples." In 1825, there were 20,000 Masons in New York. The supposed murder of William Morgan in Batavia, New York in 1826, and acquittal of four Masons by a jury and court made up largely of Masons brought about an uproar. Dumenil refers to David Brion Davis' theory that this was an irrational response to the social disorder of antebellum laissez-faire individualism, egalitarianism and economic expansion. Similar rhetoric was used at the time against Catholicism and Mormonism, with the stakes viewed as the need of defending democracy and Protestantism against organizations antithetical to American values. This united people of diverse economic, religious and political interests.

Others contend that the response of anti-Masonry was not so irrational. Dumenil refers to the work of Ronald P. Formisano and Kathleen Kutolowski, which shows that in many ways Masonry did challenge democratic values, as many Masons with power or position blocked further investigations of the Morgan incident. It seems that they did subvert the law and do a cover-up on a large scale. It's rituals were anti-egalitarian. Lipson and Formisano contend that the central ingredient of anti-Masonry was religious. In the second great awakening, Masonry was seen as the agent of the devil. The strongest opposition was in the "Burned-Over" district (Western New York) which had seen repeated revivals.[15]

Although the Morgan incident occurred in the Genesee conference of the MEC, no action was taken regarding it in its Annual Conferences, or in the General Conferences of 1828 or 1832.

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[15]Lynn Dumenil, Free Masonry and American Culture, 1880-1930 (Princeton University Press, 1984), 3-7.

At this time no ministerial member in good standing was involved in anti-Masonry. Methodist bishops held strict control over ministers, using severe judicial procedures against any involved in a perceived conflict of interests. The conference could even withhold money from a preacher. Also, Methodist preachers were so itinerant that they could not get involved in local crusades. Presumably bishops did not respond to the Morgan issue at first, and later it was too political an issue. At this same time a major disruption over Francis Asbury's authoritarianism resulted in a new Methodist sect, the Methodist Protestant Connection.[16]

C. Women's Issues

Women began to organize in the early antebellum period to fight against immorality. Oneida county in Western New York developed an early organization against sexual offenders. The moral reform organized by women had the goal of promoting and enforcing a strict code of ethics. Informal women's networks in society were found to be the ideal base for the spread of reform. In the 1830's the problem of immorality appeared to grow larger and larger. Calls arose for penalties for seducers and prostitutes. These reforms focused largely on the young and unmarried, and often sprang up in the wake of revivals.[17]

Another prominent issue was women preachers. Female preachers existed among the Friends, Free Baptists and Christians from early times, and the Methodists by 1812. They cooperated in audible congregational responses in the Episcopal churches, and except for Sunday services they had full liberties among the Baptists. They prayed aloud in the weekday meetings of the Presbyterians as they felt the need. Women formed the great majority in all churches, dominated revivals and prayer meetings, and urged the male family

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[16]William Henry Brackney, "Religious Anti-Masonry: The Genesis of a Political Party" (Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 1976), 133-137.

[17]Mary P. Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 23.

members to be converted. Finney and Weld were accused of innovating by allowing them to pray in promiscuous assemblies." It seems that Finney's opponents had an inaccurate view of their own history.[18] Women in the Brethren tradition were preaching as early as the 1840's. In 1847 Charity Opheral received a "note of commendation to liberate to public speaking." It is not certain just what this meant. The 1857 General Conference forbid the licensing of women, although this rule was not universally enforced. Lydia Sexten had a quarterly conference liscence to preach from 1851 on. Finally in the 1889 Conference women were granted the right to receive licenses to preach from quarterly or annual conferences.[19] In the newly-formed (1883) Brethren Church (Ashland Group), women were allowed to preach in 1890.[20] The Quakers had allowed women full participation in ministry since their founder had strongly supported it in the seventeenth century. There were female Quaker ministers in America even in the eighteenth century.[21]

The issue of actually preaching brought much more controversy than other forms of female church involvement. Arguments for women to be allowed to preach included that God had called them (testimonies of specific female preachers), women were needed to accomplish the work in this new day, it enriched the church, women were already preaching and should be recognized and the re-

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[18]Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (Ithaca: Cornell University press, 1950), 177-178.

[19]James E. Will, "Ordination of Women," in Vol. 2 of Women in New Worlds (Nashvile: Abingdon, 1981), 291-295.

[20]J. A. Flora, "Ordination of Women in the Brethren Church: A case Study From the Anabaptist-Pietist Tradition" (a paper submitted for the Evangelical Theological Society Papers series in 1986), 7.

[21]Anna Louise Spann, "The Ministry of Women in the Society of Friends" (Ph.D. diss., April, 1945, State University of Iowa), 1-10, 149-150.

examination of traditional interpretations of certain scripture passages (or disregarding those passages all together). Arguments against allowing women to preach included general historical and social reasons, the traditional interpretation of certain scriptures (such as that Eve fell before Adam), and the suggestion to celebrate the expanding role of women in the church but deny them the right to preach.[22]

D. Temperance, Prohibition and the WCTU

Zikmund indicates that drinking patterns changed from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. Before, people generally drank at home, at community celebrations or at taverns, which were not strictly male enclaves, but later they became so, and men were more likely to binge drink, and to drink at the tavern rather than at home. Before this, the rather slow economy could endure drinking interspersed with work. However, according to Zikmund, the nineteenth century required a great deal of diligence, and temperance was seen as a needed trait for the worker, especially by the employers, the capitalists. There is strong evidence, however, that the increased drunkenness Zikmund explains above preceded the temperance movement, and thus was not largely (or perhaps, hardly at all) a movement whose purpose was to control labor. Women were enlisted in making this once-accepted part of the family moral code a new taboo. Zikmund (holding that the temperance movement caused increased drunkenness rather than the reverse) indicates that once drinking was no longer acceptable, drinking more easily led to binges and other problems.[23]

Temperance had long been an issue in the United States, but the organized crusade did not begin until the early nineteenth

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[22]Barbara Brown Zikmund, "The Struggle for the Right to Preach," The Nineteenth Century, Vol. 1 of Women and Religion in America (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1981), 194-204.

[23]Barbara Leslie Epstein, The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1981), 107-109.

century, led by Lyman Beecher. In 1815 some in New England organized state Temperance societies. These spread quickly, supported by churches and charities. In 1826 Beecher and his cohorts formed the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance. Early on it assumed that moral suasion would be enough, and did not even consider prohibition. Indeed, when mentioned, prohibition was strongly argued against. The emphasis of this movement was the boundless potential of America, but that the perfecting of the country could be spoiled by intemperance, which led to crime and poverty.[24]

Within five years the American Temperance Society had 2200 temperance societies and 170,000 members. Two years later there were over six thousand societies and one million members pledging total abstinence. All but five of the twenty-four states had state societies. This growth was the result of the support of the evangelical community. Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregationalists and Methodists all encouraged the formation of societies in local churches. The General Conferences of Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Methodists all passed resolutions urging abstinence. Support was even broader than suggested by these facts, with the support of many wealthy and upper class people. Temperance "courted influence as well as wealth," getting support from people prominent in the public eye in the fields of medicine, law and government. Temperance was viewed as the only healthy and patriotic, not to mention moral and Christian, option.[25]

Desire eventually arose for states to give local areas the option of banning alcohol by denying liquor licenses, which eventually happened. Finally, the whole state of Maine banned

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[24]James Logan McElroy, "Social Reform in the Burned-Over District: Rochester, New York as a Test Case, 1830-1854" (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Binghamption, 1974), 112-118.

[25]Ian Robert Tyrell, "Drink and the Process of Social Reform: From Temperance to Prohibition in Antebellum America, 1813-1860" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1974), 66-69.

alcohol in 1851. By this time the movement had abandoned their approach of moral suasion to legislation, from individual conversion to outlawing sin.[26]

Prohibitionists avoided connecting with only one political party. Also, support for prohibition arose in the 1850's partly because of the large influx of immigrants and the "natavist" desire to control them, to cause the immigrants to conform to the traditional values of America. The movement did gain momentum right at the time of the beginning of the Republican party. It spread west and had the same single-minded devotion of abolition, but with negative reflections on beer-drinking Germans and whiskey-drinking Irish. This caused cultural resentment, and soon the new immigrants were voting in significant numbers. Thus, prohibition became a cultural conflict that ruined its chance of political success. The Republican party, wanting wide support, chose not to support prohibition, eliminating for the time any reasonable hope of solving intemperance through politics.[27]

Immediately following the Civil War, prohibition gained support simply because of the increasingly vast successes of prohibition opponents. The Prohibition Party was created in 1867 in Michigan, and Illinois followed the same year.[28]

Prohibition of this era had its most dynamic strength in the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). This movement began with Women's Crusades in the latter part of the century. They greatly resembled earlier revivals. Defense of religion was seen as the special task of women. The crusades were so intense, even more so at times than the protracted meetings of an earlier generation, that they could only continue as a movement for about a year before the emotions of most people involved were exhausted.

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[26]McElroy, 122-124.

[27]Tyrell, 200.

[28]John Kobler, Ardent Spirits: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition (London: Michael Joseph, 1974), 95-98.

The WCTU was formed in its place. From the loose network of the Woman's Crusade groups came a larger, more tightly knit and democratic organization. The connection of temperance to the defense of home and the advance of women was now made explicit. Values from female evangelism and the Woman's Crusade were made the basis for political and social action. Although still highly religious, the Women's Crusade and the WCTU were the beginnings of secularization of "church-centered women's culture."[29]

Frances Willard became the second president of WCTU. She argued that women needed the vote if Prohibition were to succeed. From Illinois, she challenged the first president of WCTU's conservatism, as Willard wished to link temperance with suffrage and other issues. WCTU called it the "do-everything policy." At first the WCTU tended to support the Republicans, but President Garfield so badly disappointed them that they formed a counterpart to the National Prohibition Party. WCTU's party and the National Prohibition party fused in 1882.[30]

E. Formation of the Republican Party

The roots of the Republican party go back to the Burned-Over district in the 1830's. Things were rapidly changing at the end of that decade. The Liberty party (supporting abolition) was formed, and a broader coalition of abolitionists were joining it, abolitionists less concerned with the more radical issues, such as equal rights for all people despite race. There began to be more urban residents involved than residents from the small villages, and these were not as often sympathetic with the perfectionism or even the religion of the earlier abolitionists. National leadership started to come from outside Western New York, and moved towards pragmatism, compromise and coalition. The dream of having a perfect society of "interconnected, homogeneously-reformed small villages" was slipping. The dream was becoming more urban and

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[29]Epstein, 110.

[30]Ibid., 114-122.

commercialized, as urbanized America was becoming more and more pluralistic and uninterested in evangelical revivalism.[31]

However, the Liberty party did remain strong in Illinois right up to the formation of the Free Soil party. In 1846-1847 it was actually gaining ground in some places in Illinois over the Whigs.[32]

Former Liberty party members joined with a group of New Democrats called the Barnburners, who were more interested in making a statement to their former party than helping the slave, and once the Democratic Presidential candidate was defeated, the Free Soil party began to suffer from the same obscurity as the Liberty Party. In 1854 these issues were resurrected over a new slavery controversy in Nebraska, and they took the name "Republican." They were almost rivaled by another new party, the "Know-Nothings," a secret party organized in lodges and opposed to Catholic and foreign immigrants, wanting to keep the country mainly Protestant and Anglo-Saxon.[33]

Thomas notes that Republicanism was anchored in egalitarianism, freedom and the abstract individual. A somewhat sacred dignity was attached to human labor (with its dignity and efficiency maximized when free), and they believed that economic growth required world competetivism and was based on inner improvements and collectivized labor. Local authority gave way to Federal authority. Western farmers were committed to Republicanism due to Western alienation from the South. Everything coalesced in the issue of slavery. Postbellum emphasis was on centralization, military mobilization and the lack of recognition of disadvantaged subgroups. Thomas also stresses the connection between the

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[31]Strong, 291, 293.

[32]Vernon L. Volpe, Forlorn Hope of Freedom: The Liberty Party in the Old Northwest, 1838-1848 (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1990), 129-130.

[33]George H. Mayer, The Republican Party, 1854-1964 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 24-27.

economy, revivalism and the Republican party.[34]

F. Labor

In 1897 Gladden wrote concerning current social factors. He writes negatively concerning factories, with their impact upon the health of women and girls, the infant mortality rate, child labor, crowded urban living and the division of the country into two classes, capitalist and laborer. Increases in renting resulted in a new lack of attachment to home and neighborhood. Gladden contends that now it is too easy to escape creditors, that girls marry too young and that the employment of women and children drive down men's wages and require too much time from home. In the context of this very negative view of the new labor situation, Gladden reflects on the four objectives of labor unions, to benefit charities, to improve work conditions, to provide education and to work for shorter hours and higher wages. Finally, Gladden glances at the disadvantages of having corporations, which seem to be such a powerful and disturbing influence, greatly enhancing natural inequalities. They impede many people's free action and enterprise. In effect, he believed that America already had a form of socialism (viewed negatively by Gladden) with the corporation, and as with all other forms of socialism, this one brought a "leveling and deadening effect." It would seem, if Gladden was correct, that a free, developing and growing market was destroying the very values that made it possible.[35]

The desperation to get cheap labor put the evils of the capitalists in a clear light. However, the scene was not always as clear as it seemed. Contract labor (importing laborers from Europe seemingly to reduce wages and eliminate strikes) is one example. However, this did not happen in large numbers. Indeed, it was only

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[34]Thomas, 8, 91-96.

[35]Washington Gladden, Social Facts and Forces (New York: Kennikat Press, 1971), 14-34, 56-69, 96.

done with highly skilled European workers.[36]

As with all the reform movements of this era, the labor movement was closely tied to theological ideas. In the early movement, soon after the Civil War, the guiding concept was postmillennialism, which was used to justifying trade unions and more radical reform. The person of Jesus was quite prominent in the imagery and rhetoric of the labor leaders, who used Him as a model. Labor leaders were likened to Jesus, who Himself associated with common people, such as the disciples. He was an "agitator," despised and put to death to appease the ruling class. It was felt that Christ would suffer in American society either as a labor leader or a tramp. Christianity was used to condemn child factory labor as well. Another leader wrote, "If the system be right, then Christianity is a lie." Another observed that "Labor Day is one of the signs of the millennium."[37]

III. Culture

Culture includes many aspects of society, including the aspects mentioned above. Some other aspects, however, are discussed below.

A. Victorian Thought

Shi notes that the simplicity of the populism and transcendentalism of the Antebellum and war years did not last. The Civil War, Reconstruction and Darwinism were leaving their mark. Optimism and Romantic Naturalism were fading, but proponents of the simple traditional life were still prevalent.[38] The Antebellum had two forces, the French Romantic thought influencing an expanding generation, and the "spirit of robust individualism

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[36]Charlotte Erickison, American Industry and the European Immigrant, 1860-1885 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), vii.

[37]Herbert G. Gutman, "Protestantism and the American Labor Movement: The Christian Spirit in the Gilded Age," Dissent: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1968), 145, 149-150, 155.

[38]Shi, 156.

resulting from a fluid economic." The result was a buoyant spirit of hopefulness that expressed itself in democratic programs and faith in a benevolent progress." This slowly decayed after the war due to three sources; centralization stratifying economics, the rise of mechanical science and an attitude of skepticism arising from industrialism, physical sciences and European intellectualism.[39]

Thomas notes shifts in the context of values from social relations to the individual linked to structures outside the local community and authority. Institutions become means rather than ends. The rational organization of social life is seen as part of the plan to secure the collective good. This rationalization has three parts; the state, market and individual; and these three become the centers of tension.[40]

Howe looks extensively at American culture at this time, referring to it as the Victorian culture. He indicates that the Victorian ages was a time of being self-conscious about history. Quoting G. M. Young, Howe states, "Victorian history is before all things a history of opinion." There was at this time a preoccupation with national identity which was concerned with economic growth and its results. Modernization was central, particularly in economic and social realms in the forms of urbanization and industrialization. As such, modernization transformed the whole culture.[41]

Regarding religious identity, one can view the Victorian culture as basically Protestant. The Victorian era entered in the 1830's during America's greatest evangelical revival. In the

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[39]Vernon Louis Parrington, The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America: Completed to 1900 Only (n.p.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), xxiii.

[40]Thomas, 39-40.

[41]Daniel Walker Howe, "Victorian Culture in America," Victorian America (n.p.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976), 6-7.

twentieth century, the failure of Victorianism is equated with the decline of evangelical Protestantism, especially in its ability to shape culture. However, liberal Protestants had done much to shape the culture as well.[42]

B. Emotions

It can be argued that there was a distinct approach to emotions in the Victorian era, an approach that was slightly different before the Civil War from after it. Marriage and home was seen as a quiet place away from the over stimulation and crowds of the work place. Here arguing and anger were never to occur. The goal was complete harmony accomplished by refusing to express your anger or difference of opinion. The goal was never to have that first fight or those first words of anger. Children were to be raised so that as adults they would not express anger. This was the era when the term "tantrum" was first coined. An anger-free and nurturing mother was seen as the key in raising children in this manner. As Calvinism and determinism gave way to Wesleyanism and optimism, children were often no longer seen as innately angry, but innately innocent, even good. Some mothers reached the point of never feeling conscious anger. At first the approach to children was to ignore the anger, and then later anger was to be strongly reproved. Only in Postbellum society was anger in children seen as natural, and a possible goad to constructive behavior.[43]

C. Class

Victorian culture originated in the bourgeoisie, and it flourished while the bourgeoisie predominated. The class in which this culture took shape was a result of the industrial revolution. It appeared in the United States in the 1830's, different from the merchant class of the colonial period and much larger. Urban life

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[42]Ibid., 9

[43]Carol Zisowitz Stearns and Peter N. Stearns, Anger: The Struggle for Emotional Control in America's History (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 38-55, 71-73.

created a new material environment. People were industrial, commercial, cosmopolitan and self-assertive. Some traits, such as steady work, punctuality and compulsive behavior in general, were useful to capitalist employers who actively supported these ideas. When workers took on Victorian values and lifestyles it generally resulted in upward social mobility, which was the tangible aspect, and participation and identification with this larger culture, the intangible aspect. Rural, small town elements were also present, although they had more similarity to colonial times. These villages become more and more absorbed into the array of print and railways that exported Victorianism everywhere.[44]

D. Urban and Rural Life

American cities relied mainly on the printed word. Not only did it continue its dominance in legal and commercial realms, but it also increased in social and intellectual realms. There were private and public efforts in all cities to meet the demands, with public libraries; daily, weekly and monthly periodicals (local papers supplying the neighborly information that had bonded smaller communities in the past) and mass opportunities for higher education.[45]

Rural society was expanding as well, and held many values cherished by the new urban bourgeoisie. Howe states that the country conservatism balanced the urban urge to change, even rebelling against it. The Republican party was successful by combining rural and urban Victorianism in its support of "modern" values. This value system was a combination of these modern and the "premodern" ideals. Some of the premodern ideals include hard work, delayed gratification, sexual repression, and conscientiousness (or perhaps, compulsiveness). Better terminology might be "traditional" and "additional" values. Howe's terms put the traditional values in a negative light, and imply

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[44]Howe, 9-11.

[45]Blake McKelvey, The Urbanization of America, 1860-1915 (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Roger's University Press, 1963), 220.

that they were on the wane, and always more prevelant the more rural an area, a person or a group was, but this is clearly not the case. The reforms indicated above were at least and actually often more popular in more rural areas.

One of the "modern" values of Victorianism was that of competitiveness, which reflects their feeling of power and excitement with which they faced the world and participated in economics, party politics, and denominationalism and the fascination they had with achieving mastery over their passions. They desired rational order in society and the individual, which can be traced to the Enlightenment and Newtonian cosmology. Thus, rebellion against this culture was often seen as anti-rational. This reflects the need for psychological security within all the societal changes. The value of time was also stressed, as people were "future-oriented."[46]

Patterns of personal amusement also began to change. Urban groups after the Civil War led the resurgence of horse racing, baseball and new games. A craving for amusement existed among urban youth and adults. Rapid growth had done away with many previous pastimes of families and neighborhoods. The tavern gave way to the large commercial hotels, as well as restaurants,

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[46]Howe, 11, 18-20. I am indebted to William Kostlevey for his urging to more critically examine Marxist and Anti-Marxist approaches to sociological religious history. The fault of both of these perspectives is to overgeneralize the class structure, that rural means conservative and uneducated, while urban means liberal and well educated. However, the very time period here under consideration is one of the most difficult to fit to such a model. Another fault is attributing too much causation to the tension between these groups. However, there clearly was some differences and tensions between these groups, and the rural areas were changing in different ways from the urban areas, perhaps being more concerned with the moral and spiritual advancements of the age than those in urban settings, but applying new concepts just as readily to their areas of interest. Urban dwellers had similar interests but were more enraptured than their rural counterparts with the more physical realities of the new era, being constantly confronted with them, and with changing culture and economic advancement. This tension is a significant factor in the Nazarite controversy, discussed below in chapter four.

saloons, dance halls and theaters, all of which had existed before the Civil War, but now were more numerous and specialized.[47]

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[47]McKelvey, 184, 194.

CHAPTER THREE: THE RELIGIOUS LANDSCAPE OF EARLY FREE METHODISM

I. Revivalism

A. A General Description.

It is clear that this was a time of great change in American society, with increasingly complex and urban economics and lifestyles; increasing populations of increasingly diverse origins; reform movements in the areas of slavery, labor, temperance, women, and for a few, Masonry. Despite the rather secular nature of the reforms listed above, they were brought about in large measure due to religious movements, namely revivalism. The other, more fundamental changes listed above provide the context and to some extent the cause of revivalism. Revivalism embraced the new reality, articulating it, but modifying its symbols to fit the new identity of individualistic nationalism. Thus it could be stated that "revivalism manifested secularization."[1]

Revivalism can also be viewed as a reaction against eighteenth-century Deism. While on the academic scene many books, lectures, sermons and so on were leveled against deism, what actually dismantled deism is the revival movement which began in the first decade of the nineteenth century. It permeated the entire coast, including the finest schools and the farthest frontiers. The creation of tract societies, religious periodicals, the American Bible Society and missionary societies allowed orthodoxy to clearly win out[2] Most of the population were not inclined and perhaps not capable of following the anti-deistic arguments. Rather than arguments, they desired a warm faith; and warm it was. At the peak of the Second Great Awakening in Kentucky in 1801, sinners were known to faint (and then suddenly awake and shriek), pray with groans, or fall down and roll around like a ball. Crowds were as large as twenty thousand and the meetings lasted many days. Of course, such activities were most prevalent

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[1]Thomas, 63.

[2]Adolf Koch, Republican Religion: The American Revolution and the Cult of Reason (Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1964), 281-282.

on the frontier.[3]

Sweet refers to three kinds of revivalism. Congregational and Presbyterian revivalism tended to be limited by rigidity in polity and creed, as well as not appealing to the masses. It did produce the most outstanding early revivalists, such as Lyman Beecher, Nathaniel Taylor and Asahel Nettleton. The revivalism that swept the frontier was that of the Baptists but particularly the Methodists, and its doctrine was Arminian. A third type is that of Charles Finney and the new measures. He became more Arminian as time went on, and heavily stressed perfectionism and reform. This type of revivalism produced the most outstanding reformers. Later these different forms began to meld.[4]

Finney's revivalism is of particular interest as it occurred in the Genesee area in the Antebellum period. McElroy mentions Frederick Jackson Turner's contention that Western New York at this time as wilderness, without traditional restraints on the "individualistic New England spirit," and thus was quite ready for revivalist preaching. Next he examines H. Richard Niebuhr's contention that revivalism appealed to those who were economically independent because of inexpensive land, and were largely freed from customary morality. However, United States revivalism was not a strictly rural phenomenon, and much of Western New York at this time was far beyond the frontier stage. This agrees with Timothy Smith's perspective. He mentions Bernard Weisberger's argument that revivalism was so successful in Western New York because it was "halfway between wilderness and industrial commonwealth." This is in agreement with Cross' previous assessment, that

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[3]Herbert M. Morais, Deism in Eighteenth Century America (New York: Russell and Russell, 1960), 173-174.

[4]William Warren Sweet, Revivalism in America: Its Origin, Growth and Decline (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), 121-139.

industrialization had begun but the area was still largely agrarian.[5]

This revivalism of the North and West (as it spread) brought moral crusades to morally define the nation and citizenship. Moral actions of citizens would bring about the kingdom of God. Linking revivalism and moralism led to support of various political movements, particularly abolition and reform. The Republican, Prohibition and Greenback parties tried to clarify the new order, and their concepts of society and authority were "framed in revivalism."[6] Johnson regards revivalism as the middle-class' solution to legitimacy, class and order and other problems arising in the early rise of manufacturing. Revivals gave new standards of personal "comportment" and discipline at work for entrepreneurs needing an efficient body of employees, and thus revivals function as significant social controls.[7] Revivalism may have to some extent met such a need, but clearly it affected a wider swath of people than the middle class, and likely had more to do with the problem of meaning in the new age than any problem of "comportment" or discipline.

B. Revival Theology.

Thomas believes that there were four aspects of revivalism that changed not only theology but ontology, the basic way reality was viewed, or world-view. He lists them as "(1) free will and individual conversion experience, (2) rational methods of evangelism and sanctification, (3) perfectionism, and (4) collective optimism or postmillennialism." Each of these will be

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[5]McElroy, 1-4.

[6]Thomas, 63.

[7]Paul E. Johnson, A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), 139.

examined briefly.[8]

1. Free Will. Lyman Beecher and his Yale class-mate Nathaniel Taylor held to the primacy of reason over the letter of revelation, and thus punishment for sin must be because these sins were chosen freely and willfully. Anyone can choose Christ. Sin is selfishness and regeneration is an act of the will in response to the Spirit. This was democratic evangelical puritanism, resulting from the democratization of American culture.[9] Finney supported and promoted these ideas extensively, going beyond the Methodist contention for "gracious" ability to the contending for the idea that everyone was able to choose naturally.

To give a local example, by the 1820's religious and political controversy's in one upstate New York county (Cortland) seem to revolve around free will. The question was whether things are determined within a hierarchy by those higher up, or are individuals free to determine important matters for her or himself. Politically it was choosing between limited or expanded suffrage. Religiously it was choosing between the Calvinistic or Methodist perspective on salvation. The latter was clearly chosen in both cases.[10]

2. Rational Methods of Evangelism. Paul Johnson notes that to strive for conversions, normally by proper parenting or missionary activity, was moving toward evangelical Arminianism. Each person chose God or rejected Him, choosing salvation or damnation. It seemed reasonable to persuade others to yield to Christ only because the human will was determinative in the outcome.[11] Preaching became more direct, stressing present

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[8]Thomas, 63.

[9]Ibid., 32.

[10]Curtis D. Johnson, Islands of Holiness: Rural Religion in Upstate New York, 1790-1860 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell university Press), 45-46.

[11]Johnson, 43.

obligation and extemporaneity. Preachers began to move around more at the pulpit and shift their voices, occasionally to extremes. Prayer especially was seen as the vital key. In these revivals there often was daily sunrise prayer, formal evening prayer meetings and groaning in prayer. Prayer had to be quite particular. This was the age of the "prayer of faith," the tool against the unrepentant, blocks to revivals and problem ministers. Pastoral visitation was also prominent. Those who could not be reached at home were reached in the street or at work. Inquiry meetings and anxious seats were instituted for mass conversions. Rumors, dreams, visions, fast days, funeral sermons and protracted meetings were all methods of conversion.[12]

3. Perfectionism. Perfection may be seen as the central theological idea of the new kind of revivalism. John Humphrey Noyes advises William Lloyd Garrison, as did Finney to Weld, that abolition needs to be subordinate to revivalism, that all the anger against the specific sins of slavery, intemperance, lewdness, etc., will one day be against all sin, against sin itself. Finney and Noyes, in Cross' estimation, were the two "highest caliber mentalities" involved in Western New York revivalism and reform, and by no coincidence, the two leading perfectionists. Two issues were prominent in this context. The first was theological, whether one could have a religious experience intense enough to secure against any further commission of sin. The second was moral, whether it was better to have a sense of the inability to sin (which Finney regarded as a guarantee of rampant immorality) than to never achieve such a sense (which Noyes viewed as neurotic).[13]

In the Antebellum reform, there was blurring on theological issues that long had separated various groups. At the Syracuse ecclesiastical session, including Baptists, and Presbyterians, all shared similar ideas regarding Christian perfection. This view

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[12]Cross, 173-184.

[13]Ibid., 238-242.

might be vague on doctrinal details, but it was crystal clear regarding its moral intent. All held that entire sanctification had direct implications for political and social reform. Cooperation existed among the come-outers in the Burned-over district between the Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians and Lutherans. Non-Methodists were accused of being Methodists because of their stand on holiness. Luther Lee put the Wesleyan Methodist connection at risk by constantly working for a union with Wesleyans and "spiritually democratic" Christians, an idea first to come from other (non-Wesleyan) abolitionists. A new consensus was emerging based on agreement on sanctified living and changing alignments of revival tradition.[14]

In 1858 many believed that Christian perfection was the key factor in a century of spiritual progress. Even fifty years later some still had the dream of a national Pentecost under the concept of Christian perfection, but to most it was, and still is regarded as unrealistic.[15]

4. Postmillennialism and Moral Citizenship. Medieval Christianity was fascinated with the next life, but believed that none could actually see heaven in this life. In the reformation there was an increasing fascination with the millennium. Among others, Jonathan Edwards hoped that America might be the site of the millennial rule of Christ. Premillennialists were generally from the less educated and more evangelical of the sects after the early Gilded Age, but this is a more recent development in America. In 1842 Presbyterian George Duffield observed that postmillennial missionaries hoped to see their own denomination dominate in the millennium. Both premillennialists and postmillennialists increasingly confused the millennium period with the afterlife,

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[14]Douglass Mark Strong, "The Application of Perfectionism to Politics: Political and Ecclesiastical Abolitionism in the Burned-Over District" WTJ 25, no. 1 (Spring 1990): 29-30.

[15]Timothy L. Smith, Called Unto Holiness: The Story of the Nazarenes, The Formative Years (Kansas City Missouri: Nazarene Publishing House, 1962), 12-13.

losing the Augustinian and Puritan stress on the last judgement. Increasingly it was felt that the millennium would occur on the earth, while this life and the next were increasingly identified with each other.[16]

The concept of the millennium is extremely powerful. Its special attraction is its ability, especially in the form of premillennialism, to give meaningful interpretation to troubling events, such as natural disaster, political disruption, war, etc. This may help to explain the rise of the Adventists under William Miller, who set a date for Jesus' premillennial return, and who were quite popular in the Burned-Over district. Premillennialism declined in the 1840's because such calamities were of declining significance. Americans were increasingly becoming concerned with the switch from village to city orientation, tradition to modern perspective, and deferential to competitive behavior. There were new kinds of problems to be faced that older millennial literature had little to say, such as the rise of industry in the Northeast, and New England farmland becoming exhausted. This anomaly overlapped the utopianism of the day. Both millennial tendencies showed that despite all the evil events and innocent sufferings the righteous will be vindicated.[17]

Optimism reached a high point in the early 1840's. The editor of the Oberlin Evangelist declared in 1841 that the millennium was at hand, that this was an "era of expectation," with religious and political reformation leading toward a perfect state of society. The nation was on the verge of being "entirely sanctified." This was demonstrated in the spread of abolition and ecclesiastical reform.[18]

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[16]Douglas, 220-223.

[17]Michael Barkun, Crucible of the Millennium: The Burned-Over District of New York in the 1840's (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 9-10.

[18]Strong, diss., 263.

reforms. He quotes Finney to demonstrate how these two were united. The business of the church is to reform the world, to remove all kinds of sin. This was how the church was originally organized. To profess Christianity implies commitment to do all possible toward total reformation. The church is designed to be aggressive in this reformation in every area, and to all people; individuals, communities and governments; and to not stop until the Kingdom is given to the saints and all sin driven from the earth.[19]

Millennialism reached a fever pitch with the Millerites in 1843, but many believed that despite the obvious error of the Adventists, the time actually was significant. The Oberlin Evangelist considered it an age of expectation, that moral and social reforms had sparked interest in prophecy. John Humphrey Noyes agreed with Miller's time schedule, but not on the event. Angelina Grimke Weld (Theodore Weld's wife) held that there was a time of Judgement to come in 1844 to gradually pave the way for the millennium.[20]

The Millerites were not the only fringe millennial group in the Burned-over district at the time. Cross gives a detailed account of various religious communes in Western New York, culminating in the Oneida community of John Humphrey Noyes, notorious for the concept of the "complex marriage."[21]

II. American Methodism

A. American Methodist History

1. The first generation

Methodist Thought

In his history of the Holiness Movement, Dieter saw American Methodism as a combination of German pietism, American revivalism

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[19]Donald W. Dayton, "Millennial Views and Social Reform in Nineteenth Century America," The Coming Kingdom (New York: Rose of Sharon Press, 1983), 132-133.

[20]Cross, 321.

[21]Ibid., 322-340.

and Wesleyan perfectionism. American Revivalism was rapidly expanding, making a universal call to the gospel, and American Methodism particularly grew as Wesleyan Arminianism became increasingly popular in this context. America had a particularly transcendental thrust, and thus desired to rest above this world with religion, and American Methodism tended to rise above normal religion with the possibility of loving God fully and being all that God intends us to be.

There was also a strong current of idealism at this time with the concept that America has a divine destiny to create a new society free of the ills of earlier societies. This conviction from the pioneers was a basic part of the American religious thinking. This optimism was easily connected to the optimism of Wesleyan perfectionism[22]

In this background American Methodists were less concerned with viewing human freedom as gracious and more concerned that it be viewed as moral. They were strongly influenced on this point by the arguments of New England Calvinists, which drew in Methodist theologians such as Wilbur Fisk and Nathan Bangs. The pragmatism of camp-meetings also contributed to this kind of thinking[23]

Some changes occurred more directly from Methodist personalities. Fletcher had a strong impact on American Methodism through his writings, such as the Checks (three editions were published by 1820) and his full Works were published in America in 1830. American Methodism was also sustained by second-generation British theologians Richard Watson, Adam Clarke and Joseph Benson. These writers tended to give more room for natural theology than Wesley did, and strongly emphasized reason. Fletcher's works were

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[22]Melvin E. Dieter, The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century (Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.), 5-6.

[23]Daniel Berg, "The Theological Context of American Wesleyanism," WTJ 20, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 45-60.

included in the Conference Course of Study for ministers until 1880. Fletcher had helped move Wesley slightly from free grace in the direction of free will, and he emphasized works a great deal.[24] This was carried on to the American church, which did not experience the spirit of English Methodism directly but had to experience it largely through the writings of these authors.

Baker believes that large distances, fluid population, antagonism toward anything un-American and the forming of their own denomination led to the "Americanization" of British Methodism. The content was little changed, but there was more variety in the manners and intensity of expression. Eventually a more controlled humanism replaced the religious enthusiasm. Revelation, sinful humanity and free grace became reason, moral humanity and free will.[25]

It is not within the scope of this study to discuss what the original Methodism in England was, but it is clear that Methodism in America was shaped by three factors, individuals such as Webb, Coke and Asbury, the writings of various British and American authors (such as Wesley, Fletcher, Clarke, Benson and Watson) and American culture. Methodism on this continent was likely to be more individualistic, simple and optimistic. People were free to choose, especially to choose the right. In this new religious empire, crisis was likely to be stressed more than process. At first, subtle theological distinctions seem not to have commonly been made. The Baptism of the Spirit was yet to be defined, at least with any concensus.

Francis Asbury

The overwhelming figure of the first generation of American Methodism was Francis Asbury. Lange provides a detailed look at

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[24]John A. Knight, "John Fletcher's Influence on the Development of Wesleyan Theology in America," WTJ 13, no. 1 (Spring, 1978): 16-24.

[25]Frank Baker, "The Americanization of Methodism," MH 13, no. 3 (Apr. 1975): 15, 17.

Asbury's theology. Asbury held to the accuracy and sufficiency of scripture. People choose their evil and bring the curse on themselves, yet God cares for and calls them to salvation. At justification one's nature is changed, enabling one to stand against evil and do good. Conversion does not change one's very constitution, but the activities and desires, as God enables. Sanctification is having all ones intentions and desires in line with God's will. The means to this is mortification - physical suffering. There will always be temptation, to which there is the recourse of prayer.[26]

Asbury's more practical contributions include the establishing of the itinerant ministry, encouraging class meetings, introducing and promoting prayer meetings (felt by Douglass to be a better tool for confession, harmony and freedom), an elected rather than appointed episcopacy (by example), ministry standards and the recognition of the need for married ministers.[27]

In establishing a precedent for the episcopacy, Asbury firmly entrenched the tradition of powerful bishops that strictly enforced discipline in the ranks. Rowe states that Asbury was an "arbitrary dictator," and not willing to take other people's suggestions. This would have hampered his influence if he had not been so devout. Even with the defection of O'Kelly and his followers due to disagreements about power distribution, Asbury still appeared to be a dictator. He shaped the church on his own principles. He was respected because he disciplined himself as severely as the clergy, "over whom he ruled with an iron hand."[28]

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[26]Edward Montague Lange, Jr., "The Theology of Francis Asbury," (Ph.D diss., June, 1972, Northwestern University), 29, 36, 50, 63, 70, 76, 78, 79.

[27]Donald Delbert Douglass, "Psychological Aspects of the Pastoral Ministry of Francis Asbury" (Ph.D. diss., 1957, Boston University), 198-199.

[28]Henry Kallock Rowe, Modern Pathfinders of Christianity: The Lives and Deeds of Seven Centuries of Christian Leaders (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1928), 133-134.

It would seem that Asbury did not quite picture himself in this way, although he clearly exerted a great deal of control. Douglass refers to Asbury's journal where he indicates in response to O'Kelly's contentions, Asbury indicating that presiding elders have more power than Asbury himself did, as they can influence the preachers under them (who vote in the conferences) for the entire year. Clearly, however, Asbury was not a good follower. His submission to Thomas Rankin in 1773 was tenuous. It was his personality that was all that was needed to elevate the role of the superintendent to that of a bishop.[29]

Asbury helped to established what roles a Methodist minister played. These included being a preacher, pastor, persuader, spiritual and physical healer, administrator, promoter, and itinerant (which Asbury thought was needed to keep them in order due to their lack of education and paucity of prepared sermons). Men tended to itinerate only until they married, when they would settle at a church as a local preacher or class leader.[30] Indeed, the superintendency (Asbury's position until it was renamed "bishop") itself was not seen as local and fixed, but rather as general and itinerant.[31]

2. The Second and Third Generations.

Changes in the Methodist Approach

Colonial days have been referred to as the "Puritan Age" of America, with the following period, loosely defined, called the "Methodist Age." The religious differences from the previous "age" include more dependency on human agency in promoting revivals, the specific use of "means" to do this, less restraint and inhibition of emotion, less stress on intellectualism and popular romanticism, which can be seen in the individualism, millennialism and

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[29]Donald Douglass, 50-52.

[30]Ibid., 159-171.

[31]Norman Woods Spellmann, "The General Superintendency in American Methodism, 1784-1870" (Ph.D. diss., Apr. 1961, Yale University), 175.

perfectionism of the period.[32] Hudson observes six changes in American Protestantism that is evident in the revival of 1857-1858, 1) the supremacy of Arminianism, 2) the stress of the "saving simplicities" rather than the subtleties of the faith, 3) warm-hearted ecumenism, 4) more lay leadership, 5) less formality in worship, and 6) the centrality of emotion.[33]

Arias examines some other changes in the approach of American Methodism. It tended toward one of two kinds of reduction, either a Puritan reduction, making their religion a mere list of prohibitions, or a pietistic reduction, which he defines as "the tendency to emphasize holiness as a personal religious experience comparable to conversion: unique and distinct, instantaneous and definite, called the second blessing."[34] This would seem to be a fine point, as these emphases are all present and prominent in Methodism since Wesley, but it would seem that Arias would mean leaving out other aspects of the doctrine that are in tension with these emphases. He also notes that Methodism became distinctly anti-Catholic. Connected to this is the move of Methodism from the concept of the "world parish" to that of the "manifest destiny." He quotes an 1848 report of the Missionary Society, "Nothing that is not Protestant can be truly and legitimately American." He also notes a move from the stress on the common man to a stress on the middle class.[35]

Larger Numbers and Upward Mobility

Approaching the Gilded Age brought significant changes to the Methodist movement. These are described by Benjamin.

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[32]Winthrop, S. Hudson, "The Methodist Age in America," MH 12, no. 3 (Apr. 1974): 7-8.

[33]Ibid., 13-14.

[34]Mortimer Arias, "Distortions in the Transmission of the Original Legacy of Wesley," Faith Born in the Struggle for Life: A Rereading of Protestant Faith in Latin America Today (Grand Rapids: Eerdman's, 1988), 230-232.

[35]Ibid., 232-238.

> Under the impact of urbanization, industrialization, and an increasingly sophisticated American culture, the constituency of the church was rapidly changing. That which its founder had long feared, Methodist affluence, had become a reality in the Gilded Age. In less than one hundred years a "peculiar people" had bootstrapped their way up the socio-economic ladder by practicing the puritan ethic of thrift, sobriety, and hard work until they were close to the seats of the mighty. An ever decreasing number of Methodists wore overalls, carried a lunch pail, smelled of sweat, and came home with dirty and calloused hands. Instead, they had migrated into the occupations and professions of the middle class and were practicing law and medicine, operating small business establishments, teaching, clerking, and accounting. It had been an arduous, if short, journey to "respectability."[36]

As membership grew, the distinction between the world and the church blurred. Trials and expulsions became uncommon, as did probationary membership, class meetings, and revivalism, which was left to the "professionals." Methodism picked up the traits of other religious groups in Sabbath observance and popular amusements. Now it was as easy to get into the church as it formerly had been to be removed from it. In 1864 the General Conference tried to correct some of the problems by revising the statement on "Neglect of the Means of Grace." Discipline among the ministers was very low, as they became increasingly concerned with position and rank. Church buildings, despite clear statements in the discipline concerning simplicity, became increasingly elaborate and forced new methods for raising money to pay for the "carpeted isles and cushioned pews, pipe organs and paid choirs, stained glass windows and ushers with 'tails.'" An obvious appeal was being made to those of wealth and power.[37]

The character of the ministry began to change. The ministry began to have more education, but the laity noticed that seminary-

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[36]Walter W. Benjamin, "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the Postwar Era [sections 1-3]," in Vol. 2 of The History of American Methodism (New York: Abingdon Press, 1964), 319-320.

[37]Ibid., 321-322.

educated preachers had little power. The church was struggling between the poor, leaving because of all of the finery, and the new rich who were leaving the Methodists for the Presbyterians and Episcopalian due to the superficiality of Methodist culture. More and more clergy and laypeople did want Sunday services to be more than glorified camp-meetings. "Old-time religion" began to be replace with "liturgical formality and reasoned sermonic discourse.[38]

Itinerancy continued in full strength, at least at first. One itinerant of the time refers to the great difficulties of itinerating in Ohio in the 1840's. There were also ideological battles to be waged on four different fronts; frontier paganism, secular Enlightenment rationalist philosophies (eg., the unitarians and universalists), the theology of the Presbyterians and "papal Rome." However, he records many spontaneous revivals.[39] Itinerancy, perceived as inherent to Methodism, was in part powered by the two-year limit to appointments agreed to by Asbury in 1804. In 1864 the rule was changed to allow one to spend three out of six years at the same location. The limit was extended to five years in 1888 and dropped in 1900.[40]

Wilbur Fisk and Stephen Olin

A couple of significant figures in Methodism of this time that later had some impact on founders of Free Methodism were Wilbur Fisk and Stephen Olin, the first two presidents of Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut. Fisk's schooling was at first meager, but his self-education was extremely extensive. He

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[38]Ibid., 322-324.

[39]Frederick A. Norwood, "A Little Known Source on Pioneer Itinerancy," MH 8, no. 3 (Apr. 1970): 207-209.

[40]E. Dale Dunlap. "The United Methodist System of Itinerant Ministry," Rethinking Methodist History: A Bicentenial Historical Consultation (Nashville: Kingswood Books, 1985), 23-24.

founded Wesleyan University in 1830.[41] Fisk was held in high regard by his church, and received many significant honors. He was a highly capable writer and speaker and the first Methodist to be able to truly compete in American academic theological circles.[42]

Stephen Olin was very well educated. He read nearly five hundred books before he entered college. His reading caused him to doubt Christianity, but his studies in moral philosophy as a senior restored his faith. Olin believed that Methodism, now that other movements were appropriating a kind of pragmatic Arminianism, needed to make some appeal to those of wealth and influence if they were to continue to succeed. Education was the primary means to this end.[43]

B. Early American Methodist Ethos

1. Entire Sanctification.

The Prominence of Entire Sanctification in Early American Methodism

There is some disagreement as to how prominent the theme of entire sanctification was in Antebellum American Methodism. Knight refers to John L. Peters, who states that with their publications, Methodism in general made entire sanctification a characteristic, albeit not a dominant, theme of preaching. They understood it as attainable "now by simple faith" and yet with more growth in grace possible afterward.[44]

Peters indicates that promoting perfection involved a call to "sensitivity, devotion and spiritual insight." The frontier was

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[41]Raymond P. Cowan, "The Arminian Alternative: The Rise of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1765-1850," (Ph.D. diss., 1991, Georgia State University), 351-352.

[42]Douglas James Williamson, "The Ecclesiastical Career of Willbur Fisk: Methodist Educator, Theologian, Reformer, Controversialist," (Ph.D. diss., 1988, Boston University Graduate School), 273.

[43]Cowan, 353-355.

[44]Ibid., 16-24.

not fertile ground for such a task. Life was rough and primitive, too much so for the "cultivation of quiet saintliness." Thus, it came to be neglected.[45]

Timothy Smith contends that it did not occupy a primary place in early American Methodist preaching, despite Francis Asbury's efforts. Rural and Western Americans' moral needs meant that saving sinners must be primary. Literature on entire sanctification continued to circulate in urban areas, increasing after 1825. In the 1820's Adam Clarke's Commentary and Richard Watson's Theological Institutes came out, both stressing this doctrine. These two became standard Methodist authors.[46]

Coppedge uses Frank Baker's work to question the idea of a neglect of the doctrine in Methodism of this period. He sees the contention that this doctrine suffered a benign neglect during this period arose from being too informed by how much the doctrine was stressed in the holiness revival, John L. Peter's uncritical acceptance of two sources, too much credence to generalizations that frontier preachers had to emphasize evangelism more, and the incredible abundance of literature on the topic by midcentury.[47]

Coppedge's evidence is significant, but he does not sufficiently establish his point. True, the doctrine was not ignored as much as once believed, but clearly it was not stressed as much as it was later (which he admits), and as current evidence indicates, in most areas the doctrine was not stressed as much as it was personally by Wesley (at least in his writings) and his preachers, such as Francis Asbury. Possibly the doctrine was never stressed as much as it was during the holiness revival in the

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[45]John Leland Peters, Christian Perfection and American Methodism (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1956), 189-190.

[46]Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1980), 114-120.

[47]Allan Coppedge, "Entire Sanctification in Early American Methodism: 1812-1835," WTJ 30, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 34-50.

United States, but before the revival it was stressed less in practice of American Methodism than in the writings popular to American Methodism, and perhaps less than the original British revival.

Entire Sanctification and Spirit Baptism

Coppedge maintains that it was not uncommon to equate entire sanctification with the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. Regarding the use of pneumatological language to describe entire sanctification, Coppedge quotes Thomas Webb, mentions that the Cumberland Presbyterians (who referred to the experience in this way as early as 1814), and quotes a Methodist in 1826, Fletcher and Hester Ann Rogers.[48]

Coppedge does not fully establish his point regarding pneumatological language, although he again corrects a past extreme. Fletcher was not the only Methodist to make connections between entire sanctification and the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, but he did not equate them exactly. Apparently the use of pneumatological language to describe the holiness experience was not entirely unknown in this period, but clearly, from the small amounts of evidence raised in the article, it was not extremely common.

McGonigle also discusses these points in an article in the same issue of the WTJ. He indicates that to Fletcher, the Spirit was equally for the sinner and the Christian. Sinners need to go on and get baptized in the Holy Spirit, and believers need fresh baptisms until the Spirit fills them. Thus, Fletcher sees the Baptism of the Spirit as applying equally to the experiences of the new birth and entire sanctification. Clarke does not discuss the Baptism of the Spirit very often and although he does believe that it is the Spirit that cleanses the heart, he rarely refers to it as

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[48]Ibid., 34-50.

the Baptism of the Spirit.[49]

This increasing tenancy of the American Methodists toward spirit Baptism and toward Fletcher and Benson's constructions rather than Wesley's is made clearer by Knight's reminder that Wesley reproved both Fletcher and Benson for separating Spirit Baptism from conversion, and for insinuating that any who have sin within cannot be a believer.[50]

Testifying to Entire Sanctification

Another issue relating to entire sanctification in early Methodism is the role of testimony to the experience. Wesley stated that the inner witness to the experience is often weak, and not always clear at first. He clearly states that none ought to believe that the work is done until the witness of the Spirit is received. Wesley never personally testified to the experience. Asbury did not discuss evidences of the experience. In his first twenty years of ministry, he often seems uncertain of his experience. He also leaves no definite testimony of having experienced entire sanctification. Adam Clarke makes almost no mention of the evidence of entire sanctification, although stressing that it is available immediately. A minimum of space in Watson's Institutes is devoted to the doctrine, although he does state that it is an "instantaneous work immediately following our entire and unwavering faith[51]

2. Methodist Meetings. Methodists met in various kinds of groups, including the class meeting, love feast, camp meeting, quarter annual and general conferences.

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[49]Herbert McGonigle, "Pneumatological Nomenclature in Early Methodism," WTJ 8, no. 2 (Spring 1973): 61-72.

[50]John Allen Knight, "John William Fletcher and the Early Methodist Tradition" (Ph.D. diss., January, 1966, Vanderbilt University), 308.

[51]Ivan Howard, "Wesley Vs. Phoebe Palmer: An Extended Controversey," WTJ 11, no. 1 (Spring 1976): 31-32.

Small groups

The most significant small group meetings were the class meetings. Classes had three purposes, to raise funds, the discipline of members and the promotion of their spiritual welfare. Members met once a week in groups of about twelve, with one member as the leader, who facilitated the purposes. The rule of attendance of classes was at first strictly enforced. Class meetings remained popular in North America for the first seventy years, especially on the frontier. Revivals and circuit riders often produced classes. As late as 1874 there were an estimated 50,000 class leaders in America. In the nineteenth century, as early as 1824, it began to be said that class meetings were on the wane, and that when they fell, so would the vitality of Methodism. More and more people began to neglect attendance. The second quarter of the century there seemed to be a great deal of urgency regarding it. By 1856 the hierarchy was seriously discussing doing away with the requirements of class meeting attendance for membership. There was a tremendous spurt of growth in Methodist membership from 1826 to 1836, but many other refused to attend class. These put gradual pressure to loosen the requirements. Never again would Methodism experience that level of growth, which Sproull attributes to the de-emphasis of the class meeting. Often a preacher would be pressured by his congregation to relax his enforcement of class standards. Class sizes went from twelve to twenty or even fifty, due in part to a lack of leaders and a desire for increased anonymity. Leaders became much less direct in the questioning of the members of the class.[52] Class meetings in the MEC South were made non-compulsory in 1866.[53]

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[52]Jerry Sproull, "The Methodist Class Meeting: A Study of Its Development, Dynamics, Distinctions, Demise, and Denouement," (M.A. theology Thesis, July, 1967, Asbury Theological Seminary), 63-66, 95, 98, 306, 307, 311, 313, 327, 333.

[53]Frederick A. Norwood, The Story of American Methodism: A History of the United Methodists and Their Relations (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1974), 251.

Douglass believes that class meetings experienced social opposition because of the intimate confessions demanded. Prayer meetings were less personal and rigid. Gradually prayer meetings received the priority. However, both, especially the class, gave a group feeling of belonging, allowing one to express uncertainty about one's spiritual life. Classes made it easier for a person to meet Methodism's strict standards and resist worldly opposition.[54]

Typically a Methodist service in the frontier would open with a hymn, a prayer was given, and then the sinners were warned in no uncertain (or complicated) terms to "flee the wrath to come." Those admitting sins but not ready for immediate and full commitment were encouraged to come to the "Mourners' Bench." Pressure was applied in this emotionally-charged atmosphere until the penitent could "convert in a rush of faith." A consistent problem at these services, however, were "rowdies," who would try to disrupt or break up the service.[55] Changes in the services of the increasingly urban and sophisticate Methodists are indicated above.

Love feasts were another technique of Wesley carried over to America. The preacher in charge of a circuit was responsible for the feasts. These feasts were to last only an hour and a half by order of the discipline. Strangers were only to be admitted "with the utmost Caution; and the same Person on no account above twice, unless he becomes a member." Until 1855 the discipline makes explicit that the term "strangers" applies to all people who were not members, probationaries or baptized children of members, even if they are members of some other Christian group. These rules were enforced by the use of a ticket, originally used for classes but later termed the "love feast ticket," as that was the highest

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[54]Donald Douglass, 192-194.

[55]Fahrney, Dorothy L., "Peter Cartwright and the Frontier: Formulas for Happiness," (M.A. thesis, 1985, California State University), 24-25.

honor it afforded. Participation with other denominations was made possible with the Lord's supper, but Methodists maintained the closeness of their fellowship with exclusive love feasts.[56]

Very soon Wesley's tradition of collections for the poor were dropped from the love feasts in America. Indeed, Johnson believes that there was a fundamental shift away from Wesley's original intentions in the American feasts. Their purpose was to encourage the Methodist preachers, to train the young (in absence of Sabbath Schools in the early frontier) in Christian experience, and to be a converting ordinance. The love feasts were a special time for people experiencing entire sanctification to testify, and with great effect in causing the listeners to desire holiness or forgiveness. Sometimes those held outside would see the people after the feast and the emotions of the feasters would bring conviction upon them. Some were even converted from attending a love feast which they either forged or stole a ticket to gain entrance. The love feast slowly died out. In 1884 the discipline dropped the "regulation of love-feast tickets from the duties of the pastors. At this time such meetings were called "holding an old-fashioned love feast."[57]

Camp Meetings and Conferences

In 1794 Bishop McKendree helped a preacher whose church had not been built and who was having extended and highly extended meetings in the woods. McKendree decided to make continued use of this phenomenon. Presbyterian McGready is generally credited with holding the first camp meeting in 1800, and the Cain Ridge, Kentucky, meeting with Presbyterian Barton Stone, who called it "an effective way of reaching the rough pioneer," was the most famous. By 1805 the Baptists had dropped it, and the extremely emotional displays at Cain Ridge had already caused most Presbyterians to drop it, so the idea became more and more Methodist. It was seen

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[56]Richard O. Johnson, "The Development of the Love Feast in Early American Methodism," MH 19, no. 2 (Jan. 1981) 73, 74, 78.

[57]Ibid., 79, 81, 82.

as the parallel of Wesley's open-air preaching. Methodists felt that this was an effective way to spread their Arminian approach to salvation. They tried to erase the stigma of Cain Ridge's displays by planning thoroughly and supervising closely. The camp meetings were all locally controlled.[58]

The camp meeting was a growing emphasis under Asbury as it met the social need of the isolated frontier residents, releasing the emotions of lonely people. Camp meetings fit Methodist "machinery" and doctrine. As the Frontier declined, so did the camp meeting. Culture demanded a move from vivid emotions to lectures.[59]

Before the Civil War camp meetings had been a yearly seven-day retreat from the rough physical drudgery and pioneer agriculture and isolation. After the war it began to be opposed as a place "rampant with drunkenness, immorality, and fanaticism." The educated ministry preferred education to revivalism. Supporters warned that the fading of camp meeting would be the fading of the power of Methodism. Extremes needed to be overlooked as they were part of all powerful movements. All classes of people were equal at camp meeting, and it provided the needed "baptism of fire," not the "relaxation, social enjoyment, [and] educational development" that more modern Methodists seemed to want.[60]

Another prominent meeting of Methodist that eventually melded with the camp meeting was the quarterly conference. These were held over a two day period, Saturday and Sunday. Saturday was for business meetings and preaching. On Sunday the love feast began at mid-morning, followed by communion and then a sermon at noon.

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[58]Charles A. Parker, "The Camp Meeting on the Frontier and the Methodist Religious Resort in the East - Before 1900," MH 18, no. 3 (Apr. 1980): 179-183.

[59]Donald Douglass, 191-192.

[60]Benjamin, 324, 325.

Afterwards were often memorial services, weddings and baptisms.[61] The order is somewhat different in Richard Johnson's article. He maintains that on Sunday the doors were closed for the love feast, and then opened for a preaching service that climaxed in the Lord's supper, in which any serious person could participate.[62]

These conferences provided a counter culture to the original tradition of gentry engaged in races, cockfights, dances and Anglican services. [One is not certain which of these was viewed most negatively.] The gentry culture worked hand in hand with the church of England and patriarchy. The populace responded to a succession of evangelical movements (Presbyterians, Baptists and then Methodists) and were heavily involved in quarterly conferences. Rather than patriarchal, these conferences were inclusive and egalitarian; all were invited to join in the movement. Besides the populace, the Methodist circuits were present, bringing together usually distant leaders and colleagues and holding them all at equal level. Business was conducted in this atmosphere. At quarterly conferences Methodism was "most fully church." It often brought more of the ministers together than the annual conference did. These conferences were also times of revival, while Annual and even General Conferences sometimes had this revival atmosphere as well.[63]

Methodist prosperity caused the spirituality of the conferences to suffer. To countermand this the quarterly conferences were turned into camp meetings early in the nineteenth century so that they could be both business meeting and revival. They were made to last longer, a week or more. Methodism united revival and machinery, and thus safeguarded their ethos, allowing

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[61]Russell E. Richey, "From Quarterly Conference to Camp-Meeting: A Reconsideration of Early American Methodism," MH 23, no. 4 (July 1981): 204.

[62]Richard Johnson, 78.

[63]Richey, 205-209.

Methodism to change while it remained true to its principles.[64]

3. Reform.

Slavery

Methodism, as did the reformers in general, began with the idea of colonization to address the idea of slavery. This was strongly supported by Wilbur Fisk, who truly hated slavery but saw no other means to eliminate it and preserve the unity of the nation and the MEC. His position did not slow the rapid rise of abolition among the Methodists, and caused him to lose a great deal of esteem in his own conference and among Methodist historians.[65] The move for abolition, as noted in chapter two, caused the formation of the Liberty Party, but ecclesiastically it caused the formation of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection at the same time. However, not much later, the southern portion of the MEC split away because the MEC refuse to allow bishops to hold or sell slaves, even if it were illegal to free them. However, there were several border conferences that increasingly were uncertain as to whether to remain with the northern party or join the southern body.[66]

Social Gospel

According to Hynson, Bishop Peck had a developed social gospel, having all four elements that Ahlstrom claimed to be present in the social gospel of Rauschenbusch forty years later; a millennial context, the possible perfection of human nature, the responsibility of the church to control social evils and the necessity of using moral force to achieve this end. Wesley saw Methodism's task as reforming the nation and spreading scriptural holiness, but Peck saw between these two a causal relationship. Peck's strongly supportive view of American progress enabled him to combine the idea of God's sovereignty with America's "manifest

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[64]Ibid., 209-213.

[65]Williamson, 277.

[66]Benjamin, 353.

destiny."[67]

John Abernathy Smith also indicates that the Methodists had a social gospel, in contrast with Timothy Smith's contention that the only social gospel the Methodists had was temperance. The established churches were "pricking the nation's conscience, establishing settlement houses, affirming the rights of labor and the like." Once the movement was recognized, the Methodists joined in. Smith wonders whether the tendency to come in after the battle has been fought or as a national church to resemble the nation was too much, indicating that they must fight among themselves before addressing the nation.[68]

Benjamin notices this lag as well, which he attributes to the "developing bourgeois orientation of the church." The drive to expand at the West (not to mention absorb membership from the southern church) occurred while the northern urban problems of the east were ignored. No longer was the church concerned for the poor, but it showed a great deal of concern for the wealthy. There was a mass ecclesiastical exodus from the poorer sections of the cities. Although it was admitted that the economic process of the day increased the wealth of the wealthy and the poverty of the poor, an editor in the New York Christian Advocate wished to remind young men to not spend more than they earn, to "abstain from their senseless whinings about the antagonism of capital against labor. . . Correct the manners and the finances will soon come round all right."[69]

Temperance

Wilbur Fisk was well also known for his temperance efforts. He was responsible for the New England Conference adopting an abstinence position in 1832 long before other conferences did.

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[67]Leon O. Hynson, "Reformation and Perfection: The Social Gospel of Bishop Peck," MH 16, no. 1 (Oct. 1977): 83, 85.

[68]John Abernathy Smith, "How Methodism Became a National Church in the United States," MH 20, no. 1 (Oct. 1981): 28.

[69]Benjamin, 336

Fisk's lectures inspired the formation of the first Temperance Committee of General Conference which in 1848 finally restored Wesley's rule on the consumption of intoxicating beverages.[70] Methodism became very active in the temperance movement. One Methodist bishop observed in 1869 that women should have the ballot to stem the tide of corruption, because a woman has a higher nature than a man and is more in tune with morality. He asserts that wives of "drunkards" would not vote the same as their husbands.[71]

Lay Rights for Women

Women's issues were a concern of MEC General Conferences during the Gilded Age on a number of different levels. In 1880 it was ruled that the discipline allows for women to be class leaders, stewards or Sunday-school superintendents, but no to be ordained or licensed as local preachers. Voting rights for women in the General Conference then became a hotly debated issues. There were four women elected as delegates to the 1888 conference (one from Rock River [Illinois], a conference discussed in the next chapter). This was hotly debated in the 1892 conference, but the three-fourths majority needed was not quite reached. In 1906 women were given full lay rights in the MEC church.[72]

Controlling European Immigrants

In line with their Puritan tradition, Methodism opposed the continuing loosening of Sunday restrictions. They were especially disturbed by the Sunday habits of immigrants from continental Europe. The continental understanding of Sunday as a day of recreation as well as worship was lost on the Methodists. The immigrants desired a time of amusement and excitement after six days of drudgery. Early Methodist Sunday prohibitions were basically limited to working and cooking, but it was soon expanded

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[70]Williamson, 276.

[71]Benjamin, 327.

[72]Rosemary Skinner Keller, "Creating a Sphere for Women," in Vol. 1 of Women in New Worlds (Nashville: Abingdon, 1981) 246, 249, 250.

to "steamboat excusions [sic], picnics, baseball, printing and reading secular papers, parades, open livery stables, beer gardens, and ice cream 'saloons.'" The railroads were particularly denounced for running on Sunday. They were largely unsuccessful in these attempts.[73]

Most troubling to the Methodists concerning the unrestricted immigration was the huge influx of Roman Catholics. Although the Civil War seemed to have acted as a catharsis to lessen anti-Catholic sentiment, the residual among the Methodists caused them to view Catholics as "outsiders and aliens by nationality, religion, custom, and class to the American dream." Protestantism tied directly into American nationalism and democracy. The Puritan ethic clashed sharply with the Sunday habits, use of liquor and tastes in amusement of the immigrant. One Catholic paper affirmed that "You can never make them accept the Puritanic gloom, put on the Puritanic face, and whip the beer-barrel if it works on Sunday."[74]

III. The Holiness Movement

A. Phoebe Palemer

The Holiness revival of the middle of the century is generally traced to Mrs. Palmer and her Tuesday night holiness meetings in New York City. These meetings were opened to men in 1839. News of Oberlin's promotion of holiness increased interest in her meetings, as did the publication of the Guide to Holiness and the succession of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1841 in objection to the MEC's stand on slavery and perfection. Palmer published several popular books on holiness. In the Methodist system of the time, District Elders and Bishops wielded much power, and a revival of holiness would be difficult to promote without their help. Bishops Thomas Morris, Elijah Hedding, Edmund Janes, Leonidas Hamline, Osmon Baker, and Matthew Simpson were all participating in the movement

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[73]Benjamin, 328.

[74]Ibid., 332-334.

by 1852. Nathan Bangs was particularly prominent. By 1886 there were 238 weekly holiness meetings like Palmer's original one. They met in every major American city and several foreign countries.

Palmer regarded the giving of one's testimony to the experience as extremely important. Bishops Hamline, Janes and Hedding had not testified to their experiences in the 1840's and were rebuked by Mrs. Palmer. They were following Wesley's example, but not his advice, for Wesley urged, under certain conditions, that one testify to the experience, although Wesley himself never did. Palmer felt that such testimony was essential for the spread of the movement. Underlying these testimonies was the belief in the immediate availability of this experience through faith. If one were conscious of having committed all to Christ, one could believe that one was fully sanctified.[75]

White observes several changes Palmer introduced in her popularization and simplification of John Wesley's concept of entire sanctification. First, like John Fletcher, she tended to identify the experience with the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. Second, like Clarke, she linked the experience to the idea of power. Third, again like Clarke, she stressed the instantaneous almost to the exclusion of the gradual. Fourth, once again like Clarke, she saw entire sanctification as the beginning of the Christian life, not the goal. Fifth, using her "altar theology," she reduced the experience to three simple steps, complete consecration, faith and testimony. Sixth, she held that no evidence was needed for the experience other than the Biblical text.[76]

Dieter maintains that while Wesley saw the experience as a specific point in a long process, and therefore for a mature Christian of a great deal of experience, Palmer saw it as part of the beginning of the Christian life. American revivalism stressed

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[75]Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform, 124-126.

[76]Charles Edward White, "Phoebe Palmer and the Development of Pentecostal Pneumatology," WTJ 33 (Spring-Fall 1988): 198-199.

crises to a loss of the concept of growth. Palmer's stress on public testimony as necessary to retain the experience, once faith and consecration were fully exercised, looked like "easy believism" to some, even to friendly Nathan Bangs who felt that one should wait for the Spirit's witness before claiming the experience. This would seem to be more Wesleyan. Palmer's approach led some to define the witness of the Spirit to this work in terms of sensate experiences, such as emotions and physical demonstrations.[77]

B. Finney Asa Mahan and the Developing Concept of Holiness

Methodism was not the only group showing interest in this doctrine. Dayton gives a detailed history of some of the non-Methodist segments of the Holiness movement in his Discovering an Evangelical Heritage. He discusses Jonathan Blanchard, the Presbyterian president of the Congregational (formerly Wesleyan Methodist) school Wheaton. Blanchard had a well-known reputation as a reformer regarding slavery.[78] Charles Finney is also discussed, and Dayton notes that although Finney is primarily known for his evangelism, the doctrine of holiness was his primary concern, and he linked Christianity by necessity to all forms of social reform (abolition, temperance and women's issues in particular).[79] He discusses Weld as well, who was even more radical regarding slavery and women, especially with respect to his wife, Angelina Grimke Weld.[80]

Elsewhere Dayton discusses the increasingly common connection between Pentecost imagery and entire sanctification. Fletcher is credited with first making this connection and Hester Ann Rogers

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[77]Melvin E. Dieter, "Wesleyan-Holiness Aspects of Pentecostal Origins: As Mediated Through the Nineteenth Century Holiness Revival," Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins (Plainfield, New Jersey: Logos, International, 1975), 62-64.

[78]Donald W. Dayton, Discovering an Evangelical Heritage, (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1976), 7-14.

[79]Ibid., 25-34.

[80]Ibid., 15-24, 35-62.

biography was very influential in this respect. Finney used Pentecost language in 1839 and 1840, but only in the Oberlin Evangelist, not in his much more well-known Views of Sanctification. He did not make a strict equation of Pentecost with entire sanctification until 1871, but others at Oberlin did, such as Henry Cowles and John Morgan in the 1840's, though this did not have a very broad impact. Dayton sees the 1857-1858 revival as the catalyst for this connection. The church in this revival viewed itself as baptized by the Spirit. After the Civil War there were new denominations. This shift occurred for other reasons as well, such as tensions with new scientific knowledge and immigration, and that the evangelical concensus and the dream of a Christian America was fading. While secularization progressed, the church fragmented along class lines. Broader cultural optimism and the push for perfectionism began to diminish even before the Civil War. Evil was more entrenched than expected. Dayton refers to David Scott's thesis that the church moved from "reform to refuge," and from public responsibility to private devotion. As class divisions in the church solidified, the wealth and formality of some segments of Methodism and the Holiness Movement increased. The doctrines of free will and human agency received less stress. Unorthodox religious movements, particularly spiritualism, began to increase at an alarming rate. Also, the term "perfection" needed constant explanation and defense.[81]

The holiness movement, unlike Wesley, was very strict about the method of receiving holiness, and heavily stressed the need of testimony and the crisis experience, so much so that the process before and after seemed incidental or even irrelevant. Although before the Civil War one might be able to explain the movement as "an expression of an economically and culturally submerged group finding in the high promises of religion compensation for their poverty in other areas," but this is not the case after the war.

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[81]Donald W. Dayton, Theological Roots of Pentecostalism, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Francis Asbury Press, 1987), 71-89.

A conflict arose between the holiness people's impatient pursuit of the "glorious vision" as a duty, and the traditionalism emphasis on order, discipline and institution.[82]

Dayton examines theological shifts in the Holiness Movement after the Civil War. He compares two books by Asa Mahan, The Scriptural Doctrine of Christian Perfection (1839), and The Baptism of the Holy Ghost (1870). He notes shifts in seven areas.

1. A shift from Christocentrism to a radical emphasis on the Holy Spirit.

2. A shift in terminology. Previously salvation history was seen in terms of two covenants with Christ, especially his atoning death, as the pivot. Later salvation history was viewed in terms of three dispensations, with an emphasis on the third dispensation of the Holy Spirit, with Pentecost as the pivotal moment.

3. A radical change in the exegetical foundations employed. Previously the biblical texts used were quite similar to those used by Wesley, hardly ever referring to Acts. Later Acts is used more than any other part of scripture, and other New Testament passages about the Spirit, as well as Old Testament prophecies regarding the Spirit.

4. A new set of ideas arose, emphasizing power, and the gifts of the Spirit (weakening references to the fruit of the Spirit), especially the gift of prophecy.

5. A changed perspective on Old Testament prophecy. The Old Testament was now seen primarily in terms of predicting Pentecost, rather than using Old Testament models directly. This increased intensification of expectation of the Millennium, and a new emphasis on interpreting prophecy.

6. A change from the emphasis of the nature and goal of holiness to the event which occurs.

7. More emphasis on the assurance brought in this experience[83]

In the 1880's there was some recognition that some forms of needed spiritual power did not come with the "second blessing." People experiencing purity began to long for fullness. The

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[82]Peters, 189-191.

[83]Donald W. Dayton, "Asa Mahan and the Development of American Holiness Theology," WTJ 9, no. 1 (Spring 1974): 61-66.

negative (sin) had been dealt with, but the positive (the Spirit) was still in some sense lacking. People began to look for a third work, using the baptism and Pentecost language for this experience as well. Various groups were formed that believed in this third work.[84]

This emphasis in power also lead to an emphasis on healings. Prominent holiness leaders testified to healings, such as John Inskip and W. E. Boardman. Eventually the National Holiness Association (the organization behind the camp meetings for the promotion of holiness after the Civil War) prohibited preaching on healing at its camp meetings on the basis that it was a side issue. The concept that physical healing was in the atonement became popular, due perhaps to the influence of A. B. Simpson, and healing evangelists arose to practice and proclaim the message of healing.[85]

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[84]Dieter, MH, 70-72.

[85]Ibid., 68.

PART II: THE NAZARITES AND FREE METHODISM UP TO 1885

CHAPTER FOUR: THE EVENTS AND AN EVALUATION OF THE NAZARITE SCHISM

With the context of the general societal landscape of America in general and Western New York in particular given above, the study will now turn to the particular shift that occurred in the Genesee Conference of the MEC.

I. The Historical Events

A. John Wesley Redfield

John Wesley Redfield was and remains a controversial figure. To him can be attributed the catalyst for both the Eastern and Western works that became the first two conferences of the FMC. Also, of all leaders in the schism he certainly was the most eccentric, yet no one in the FMC at the time ever criticized him for anything he did that the researcher has been able to discover, except a reproof from Mrs. Kendall on his use of tobacco, which he stopped.[1] Not only is a biography of Redfield extant, but so is a handwritten autobiography and a collection of letters to, from and about Redfield. Another interesting source, but particularly negative, is Fields. His description of the Western Free Methodists is likely the most negative available.

> . . . We have hesitated to say anything upon this subject [Free Methodism] from the fact that no pen can lay before the reader the true animus of that secession. That curious people should have been seen to have been fully appreciated. . . the wildest people history has known, unless we except the Adamites, who in (we believe) the fourteenth century worshiped in promiscuous crowds in a state of nudity.[2]

Field disapprobation falls specifically upon Redfield.

> In the early days of his labors he was acceptable as a revivalist, but always had many unpleasant ways and notions, which had to be borne with. His whole experience in his early Christian life was a morbid one. He was exactly in religion what Edgar A. Poe, author of the "Raven," was in life and literature. He had a head and a mind almost the exact counterpart to Poe's. Morbid, erratic, brilliant but grim, he came near

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[1]Conversation with Glen Williamson of Stanwood, WA.

[2]A. D. Field, Memorials of Methodism in the Bounds of the Rock River Conference (1886), (N.p.: n.p., n.d) 491.

> committing suicide to avoid preaching, and turned infidel because once a presiding elder got up a laugh by relating a pleasant incident. He became censorious, and even abusive, while yet employed by our Church. Various circumstances of his life caused him to become more and more warped, so that in 1856 he had hardly a membership in the church.[3]

Unfortunately, the supposed incident that caused Redfield's infidelity, known to Field probably because of the great amount of repeated autobiographical material in Redfield's sermons, has not been tracked down. The sections below provide the other side of Redfield's story needed for a fair analysis.

1. Movement toward ministry. The significance of John Wesley Redfield in the formation of the FMC receives little attention in the existing histories. The way in which Redfield received his name indicates both how significant holiness was to Redfield as well as how dynamic and flamboyant a character he was. John Wesley Redfield was the preacher who encouraged B. T. Roberts and many other founding members of the FMC in experiencing and proclaiming holiness. Hogue urges anyone who has any doubts that Redfield was "among the greatest evangelists of the nineteenth century," let him read Terrill's biography of him," and be convinced."[4] Redfield claimed that his name was given in his first week of life, when a neighbor came to his parents saying that she had had a dream in which an angel told her that the baby was to be named "John Wesley," and that he would be a great holiness preacher. He was converted at a young age by Wilbur Fisk, who was a common guest at his parents home. Fisk encouraged, clandestinely, that Redfield be educated to preach.[5] Intensity regarding holiness is seen

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[3]Ibid., 498.

[4]Wilson T. Hogue, History of the Free Methodist Church of North America, Vol. 2 (Chicago: The Free Methodist Publishing House, 1915), p. 267.

[5]Joseph Goodwin Terrill, The Life of Rev. John Wesley Redfield, M.D. (Chicago: Free Methodist Publishing House, 1912), 17-23.

throughout his life, such as his account of fasting and staying up all night in prayer for two days and nights in a row. His attempts were unsuccessful until years later (1850), when in a Palmer meeting at a camp meeting he experienced entire sanctification by making a "leap of faith."[6] In his future years of ministry, he visited more than once with the Palmers at their home.

Redfield's long road toward preaching cannot be covered here in great detail. From a child he was pressed with the call to preach, but struggled with it until he was thirty-one. He experienced as part of this struggle many rather bizarre miraculous signs and deliverances. When lost, in danger of freezing to death, or on his deathbed with illness Redfield would tell God that he would preach, but when promptly and miraculously delivered he would just as quickly renege. Once while praying as a boy outside in midwinter, he declared that he would only trust that this call was from God if He heard an angel or an audible voice tell him, or a bird landed on his shoulder. He had tried this before and to his relief had experienced nothing, but upon opening his Bible at random five times in a row his finger pointed to five passages that urged him to obey God and preach. Much to his consternation, as he knelt now in the snow a bird promptly did light on him, and he returned after he shook it off.

Another time he determined to not stay at the house with a Methodist preacher's wife (he was running away to avoid the call to preach), but go on to town (just after taking back a promise to preach to God after being miraculously shown out of the way of a forest), but the women stood in the road in his way and wouldn't move. After trying three times to get past her, he gave up and went into her house, and to his shock found her sitting by the fireplace. She told him that she had prayed to God that He would send her image like the angel to Balaam's donkey to prevent him from leaving. He married to make his opportunity to preach more difficult, but she was quite emotionally disturbed, and after a few

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[6]Ibid., 74-75, 90-101.

years her parents agreed to institutionalize her.[7]

2. His Work in the East.

The Nazarites and Regency

The Genesee Conference of the MEC in the 1850's became divided between two groups. The first, termed the "Nazarites," combined a campaign to return to what they considered to be original Methodism, stressing entire sanctification as a distinct and definite work; enforcing of the older Disciplines rules regarding class meeting attendance, plainness of dress, church building and worship, and free seats; a return to a Wesleyan spirit of abolition of slavery, exclusion of the lodge and exuberance in worship. Not all of these concepts came to be stressed at once, as some were developments later in the controversey. The other group was the "Buffalo Regency," which referred to the power and urban mindset of the group. The perspectives were quite different. To the Nazarites the church appeared to be dying and they were doing all they can to stop it. The Regency viewed the holiness people as "intransigent, divisive, and reactionary."[8] With the fading of the revival, camp meeting and love feast, the Nazarites felt that the church so identified with the culture that it was going bad.[9]

Part of the tensions between the Nazarites and Regency was the tension between rural and urban, "with the 'Nazarites' flourishing in small towns and languishing in Buffalo." Dussen maintains, however, that there was not a class distinction previous to the controversey, with prominent, well-educated but traditional men like Roberts, As Abell, Loren Stiles, I. C. Kingsley, and C. D. Burlinham serving in very prominent positions of honor in the conference.[10]

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[7]Terrill, 25-32, 40-54.

[8]D. Gregory Van Dussen, "The Bergen Camp Meeting in the American Holiness Movement," MH January, 1984, 75.

[9]Benjamin, 340.

[10]Dussen., 76.

conference.[10]

Tensions mounted in 1855 when the Regency discovered, "Documents of the Nazarite Union," later found to be written by Joseph McCreary. This document suggested the group be called "Preachers'-Come-back-to-the-Discipline Society," and that class attendance, quarterly fasts, family prayer and congregational singing be required and enforced. It was particularly pointed regarding the Masons. Although no such organization as the "Nazarite Union" actually existed (as the Nazarites made clear), the 1855 Genesee Conference clearly expressed disapproval of such organizations. It was the next year, 1856, that two of the presiding elders, Loren Stiles and I. C. Kingsley, brought on to "stamp out fanaticism," became seekers of holiness themselves. They were transferred to the Cincinnati Conference in 1856, but a petition signed by 1,500 brought them back to the Genesee next year.[11]

Nazarite Issues

The Masonic Lodge seemed the issue that functioned most as a catalyst. Even Fields observes that the politics in New York state revolved around Masonry, and that Anti-masons elected a governor and several state officers. Fields not being sympathetic to this cause comments, "It was the most bitter and criminating quarrel that every cursed a people."[12] The Genesee Conference actually tried three times to take action against lodge membership, but the 1852 General Conference ruled that action could not be taken against a pastor for lodge membership unless such membership conflicted with the rules of the general church.[13]

A major means of expressing discontent in the conference and getting a hearing was the use of the Northern Independent. This

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[10]Dussen., 76.

[11]Benjamin, 344-345.

[12]Field, 491-492.

[13]Benjamin, 343.

greatly irritated those opposed to the Nazarites. The minutes for for the 1859 Genesee Conference of the MEC give strong support to the conference's own paper, especially affirming their new editor. This seems to have been done to discountanance Hosmer's paper.[14] Field observes,

> . . . it [the Northern Independent] became the organ of all the disappointed, disaffected persons in the whole Church. It became the sewer into which was poured the poisonous venom of every factionist from Maine to Kansas; from Edgar Conkling to B. T. Roberts. . . and everywhere people were led to believe our Church a Sodom, our bishops tyrants, and our ministers men of Satan. The Nazarites . . . by its means spread . . . therein every lie and tortured truth that could be hunted up that would tell against the Methodist Episcopal Church.[15]

Slavery, in Genesee and the MEC in general, was never a settled issue until the Civil War. The Nazarites felt that the 1856 General Conference demonstrated a connection between the lodge and compromise on slavery. Instead of voting their conscience, which previously had been outspoken abolitionism, some bishops voted against the enactment of a rule to exclude slave-holders from the church.[16] Roberts would complain, "Up to the day that slavery was abolished by the sword, there were thousands of slaveholders in good standing in the M. E. Church. The M. E. Discipline tolerated slavery to the last."[17] The leaders of the conference took a moderate compromise. Pulpits were not to address the slavery question on Sundays, nor was the press to be used to

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[14]Page 11.

[15]Field, 497.

[16]John R. Wetherwax, "The Secularization of the Methodist Church: An Examination of the 1860 Free Methodist-Methodist Episcopal Schism," MH April, 1982, 160-161.

[17]Benjamin Titus Roberts, Why Another Sect? (Rochester, NY: "The Earnest Christian" Publishing House, 1879), 46, as quoted by Dussen, 75.

"attack" other ministers of different views.[18] The 1859 Genesee Conference Minutes have two strongly supportive resolutions on the colonization idea (by then a proposal hopelessly out of date), with no mention of abolition.[19] The Northern Independent played a particularly significant role on this issue. William Hosmer had been the editor of the Christian Advocate, but he "grew rabid" on the question of slavery and proceeded to make the new paper the "organ of sedition."[20]

Kostlevy notes that the Nazarites were particularly troubled by changes in the MEC Discipline in the 1850's. The old rule requiring that churches be "plain and with free seats" was amended by adding "wherever practicable" in 1852. In 1856 the requirement for new members to lay aside "superfluous ornaments" was changed. Thus the central concern of Wesley, the mission to the poor by the church, was being compromised.[21]

Changes in worship practices were viewed as symptoms of declining spirituality. The Nazarites spoke against sitting down during prayer, and against choirs, organs and instrumental music. The MEC Discipline never forbid instrumental music, but a moderate position was struck by the 1846 Genesee Conference when vocal singing was recommended and any "company of singers" [note the avoidance of the term "choir"] was to be trained to guide the congregation. Instrumental music was to be used only for keeping the pitch, or assisting certain parts. One Nazarite dismissed the paid choir in his circuit. Another issue of worship that became a

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[18]Byron S. Lamson, "The Free Methodist Church," in Vol. 1 of The Encyclopedia of World Methodism (Nashville: United Methodist Publishing House, 1974), 876.

[19]Page 11.

[20]Fields, 496.

[21]William C. Kostlevy, "Benjamin Titus Roberts and the 'Preferential Option for the Poor' in the Early Free Methodist Church," Poverty and Ecclesiology: Nineteenth-Century Evangelicals in the Light of Liberation Theology (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1992), 53-54.

significant social issue to the Nazarites was the practice of pew renting. Benjamin notes that their opposition was in spite of the fact that a few of Wesley's churches were so supported. (It should be noted, however, that Wesley made clear that no one paying pew rent could claim a particular pew, as it would, Wesley claimed, overthrow "at one blow, the discipline which I have been establishing for fifty years."[22]) The refusal of the 1852 General Conference to sustain the censure of a minister who built a church with rented pews in Ohio was seen as the establishing of a caste system.[23]

Attitudes regarding holiness would reach a near state of paranoia. One person wrote to a Methodist woman, Frances Willard coming to the area, "just now our Church has suffered much from the 'Nazarites,' as they are called, that I fear that if you speak and act as zealously at Lima in this cause as you do here it may make trouble." The woman was told to maintain her experience but be "very careful" what she said regarding holiness. When she accepted a position at Genesee's Wesleyan Seminary, she heard one professor tell a student that holiness was not mentioned there. Thus for a time she kept quiet about holiness.[24]

B. T. Roberts

B. T. Roberts had ties with both Palmer and Redfield. His wife had been involved with the meetings in the Palmer home, receiving much benefit from them. Roberts himself was sanctified in a Palmer meeting. Jones describes Roberts a having "converted

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[22]quoted from Wesley's Journals by Leslie Ray Marston, From Age to Age A Living Witness: A Historical Interpretation of Free Methodism's First Century (Winona Lake: Light and Life Press, 1960) 163, 164.

[23]Benjamin, 342.

[24]Charles Edwin Jones, Perfectionist Persuasion: The Holiness Movement and American Methodism, 1867-1936 (Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1974), 12.

to Palmer-type perfectionism."[25] Redfield's impact on Roberts was considerable. While Roberts attended Wesleyan University, Redfield held revival meetings. Opposition began to arise to the meetings among the Methodists due to the exuberance of the meetings and Redfield's way of stressing holiness. Dr. Stephen Olin, then president of the University, supported the meetings, thus allowing them to continue. Under Redfield's preaching, Roberts made a decision to follow the narrow way, with its guarantee of opposition, obscurity and favor with God. When Roberts was at his third pastoral charge, he was having far more difficulty in procuring a revival than at his former charges, so he enlisted Redfield's aid. When reappointed there later he again called for Redfield.[26] Roberts also wrote the introduction to his biography.[27] He groups Redfield with St. Paul, Wesley, and William Taylor as a New Testament evangelist and refers to him, within the context of the MEC, "the most wonderful evangelist of his day." Indeed, apparently for a while Redfield and Finney were both holding highly successful revivals in Rochester, New York, and Finney came occasionally to Redfield's meetings, heartily approving. Terrill noticed that they seemed to enjoy each other's company.[28]

3. His Work in the West.

Interactions with Cobb, Coon, Hart and Terrill

When Redfield came to Marengo, Illinois, the only person found to be professing holiness was Mother Cobb, and she had been doing so for thirty years. When asked about her, Redfield commented, "She is so far advanced in the race of faith, so subdued to the will of God, so far ahead, it seems like a wilderness between us,

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[25]Jones, 9.

[26]Benson Howard Roberts, Pungent Truths (North Chili, New York: n.p., 1900), 41-42.

[27]Terrill, Life of Redfield, 1-6.

[28]Page 297.

the distance is so great." Cobb's biographer Chapman suggests that while Redfield was the "direct instrument" for revival, the "fallow ground" was broken up and the way prepared by Cobb's thirty years of "faithful labors, fervent pleadings, and deep heart-struggles, wrestling with God for the salvation of souls."[29]

Auntie Coon, a young woman at the time of Redfield's arrival to the West, provides an interesting look at the revival. She comments that all dancing in the town stopped for years. Redfield preached most often to the church. Coon states that more power accompanied his words than those of anyone else she ever knew (this no doubt would include Roberts as well as Dake and Shelhammer [discussed below in chapter eight], with whom she had repeated contact). "Everyone was possessed with the feeling." He particularly focused on church members wearing fashionable attire. She observes the extent of the influence of the St. Charles camp meeting, attended by people from New York, Canada, Wisconsin, Minnesota and elsewhere. She also has high praise for E. P. Hart, a "home-grown" FMC leader in the west who came to be called, "Young Redfield." Coon holds that only Redfield exceeded his ability to preach. She tells of a time when she literally saw cloven tongues of fire on all seeking holiness.

> . . . still brother Hart kept on, and while he talked, there were halos of light, fire and glory encircling us, taking the form of the rainbow, closing a few of us in who had prevailed with God.
>
> Brother Hart was on top of seats and on his knees, still preaching, and more than that, commanding legions of devils. I am only trying to tell it, for it is impossible. Souls came to the altar and cried for mercy while he was still talking, and that meeting ran till four o'clock in the afternoon [it had been a morning meeting].[30]

The second General Superintendent of the FMC was Edward Payson

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[29]Mary Weems Chapman, Mother Cobb, or Sixty Years' Walk with God (Salem, Ohio, H. E. Schmul, 1965), 75.

[30]E. E. Shelhamer, ed., Life and Labors of Auntie Coon (Brockville, Ontario: Standard Book Room, 1922), 39, 40, 58, 67, 68.

Hart. Hart was impacted by Redfield even more than Roberts. Redfield left New York for Illinois before Robert's ecclesiastical troubles in Genesee, and lived there until his death in 1863. Soon after moving to Illinois, Redfield conducted revival meetings in the church Hart's father pastored. This was the extremely significant Marengo revival that became a hub of Redfield's work, and later of the nascent western work of the FMC. Hart experienced his conversion and entire sanctification in this work. Referring to Redfield's work in western New York, Hart states that Redfield was responsible for "the awakening on the subject of scriptural holiness, which invariably resulted in the formation of the Free Methodist Church."[31]

Field regards Redfield's and Hart's efforts as a scheme for power. His understanding gives insight as to how MEC pastors who were not Redfieldites (as the Nazarites were sometimes called in the West) felt and why. Field notes that in 1859 they used camp meetings to make friends with sympathizers throughout the country and came up with a plan to hold protracted meetings that would begin when the MEC Rock River Conference sessions began, so as not to be interfered with by the pastors. Redfield and Hart, he claims, did this in 1859 at Queen Ann right at the time Hart was admitted into the conference. Field himself was appointed that conference to Ogle, and upon reaching his charge discovered that J. G. Terrill (Redfield's future biographer) was conducting such a meeting. He was using the school rather than the church. Redfield entered the scene and "the wildest storm ever witnessed in the West began." The converts joined his church, waiting for a year until a Free Methodist church could be formed.[32]

Some of these incidents are recorded by Terrill in his biography of Redfield. Regarding the camp meetings where the supposed scheming took place, Terrill remarks, "These three camp

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[31]Edward Payson Hart, Reminiscences of Early Free Methodism (Chicago: Free Methodist Publishing House, 1903), 1-4.

[32]Field, 500.

meetings greatly strengthened the holiness people, and as greatly exasperated their enemies.[33]" So it would seem! Regarding Ogle, Terrill mentions going in August to hold meetings in the Mt. Pleasant circuit. This would seem to be Ogle. Terrill states that the meetings occurred in the church, and that "the preacher," who came at the end of the second week, did not wish to take part in the meetings until he was moved in and settled. Redfield was requested for, and he stated that he only would come if the preacher requested it and will "take hold of [the] . . . work" with Redfield. Terrill states that the preacher stated, "I want him to come; I want him to be Dr. Redfield; [that is, consistent with his previous convictions and behavior]; I will take hold with him and do the best I can." Redfield came and preached with much greater intensity than Terrill, and that intensity increased every night.

> So great was the feeling among the seekers that it was about impossible to instruct them, or even to gain their attention. Now and then, with shining face, one would spring to his feet to tell what Christ had done for him; but the screaming for mercy by those still seeking, drowned their voices. Thus the meeting went on until a late hour. Finally the seekers, from sheer exhaustion, quieted down, and the service was closed.[34]

Apparently Field (Terrill does not name him) took the pulpit the next night, with similar results. The next day was Sunday, and after Redfield preached that night Field took charge of the prayer service. When he suggested prayer, everyone wished to speak, and he suggested testimony, someone wished to pray. Terrill states, "He became greatly excited, hurried from one end of the altar to the other, and at last turned to me and inquired, 'How do you do it? How shall I manage it?'" Terrill replied that he should let it manage itself. Fields asks if that is the way, and then ceased participating in the meetings. Redfield stayed for two weeks and then left, but the meeting went on for three more weeks. Terrill

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[33]Terrill, Life of Redfield, p. 402.

[34]Ibid., p. 404-407.

notes that the meeting ended with a quarterly meeting where the presiding elder instructed them when to shout and when to say,"amen," but his instructions were ignored[35]. It is possible that Terrill had read Field's history of the Rock River Conference before writing Redfield's biography, as Terrill's book came out three years later.

Organizing the Work

Redfield worked along the Chicago-St. Louis axis. His most intense struggle was in St. Louis. Eventually Methodist members were read out of their churches, and formed a FMC, before the denomination had organized, which is also what happened in St. Charles shortly before. Redfield advised the continued forming of societies elsewhere in the west. The first Laymen's Convention in the West was held eight weeks before the denomination organized in Pekin, and it appointed Joseph Travis, later editor or the FM, as pastor of the St. Louis FMC. At the convention, there were twenty-one members from eight places. Licenses to preach were given. B. T. Roberts attended upon invitation and was invited to preside. Redfield was elected superintendent of the West, and Roberts as general superintendent. The stationing committee made appointments to eleven circuits, including two mission circuits, Iowa and Michigan. When the Pekin convention met and organized the denomination two months later in August, 1860, Redfield, a delegate from the West, stated, "Brethren, when fruit is ripe, it had better be picked, lest on falling it bruise. In the West we are ready for an organization. If in the East you are not ready, wait until you are."[36] Marston notes that the ties connecting the East to the MEC were much stronger than in the West. When Loren Styles wished the new Article of Religion on sanctification be expanded to allow for more gradualistic interpretations, Redfield replied, "Brethren, I would not make a threat, but unless we go straight on the

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[35]Ibid., 408, 410.

[36]Marston, 215, 228-231, 250, 251, 254.

question of holiness in the Discipline, we had better halt where we are. The gradualistic theory is what has made so much mischief. We are John Wesleyan Methodists. We must not doge that point."[37]

In his work Marston examines the issue of fanaticism in the West.[38] He quotes Hart's Reminiscences, "That there was much of divine power manifested no one could question, and that there was a good deal of the rankest fanaticism no one in his right senses could deny."[39] Redfield's response to the extravagances was, "there was full as much mercy for those who served God a little too hard as for those who did not serve him at all!"[40] Marston also quotes a letter from Redfield regarding these excesses shortly after the Pekin convention, urging preachers not to turn from soul saving to what they do not know, to preach repentance rather than gifts and holiness rather than tongues.[41] Asa Abell, who would soon join the FMC from the MEC Genesee notes some cases of fanaticism he has run across, including bitterness, rebellion, the idea of being beyond reach of the devil, and "being led by an inner voice or impression from the Holy Ghost." He urges the discouraging of the praying for miraculous gifts, or "for any gifts not belonging to the common Christian character." God was pleased to bestow them how he pleased, but they were not to be searched for.[42]

Tension present or ready to develop between the East and West is clear. The East, with its closer connection to the parent body, longer period of established culture, and more reserved attitude

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[37]Ibid., p. 259, quoting from Benson Roberts' biography of B. T. Roberts, p. 232.

[38]Marston, 333-335.

[39]Page 45.

[40]quoted by Marston from John G. Terrill, The St. Charles Camp Meeting, 13.

[41]quoted from Benson Roberts' biography, 332.

[42]quoted by Marston from a letter to the EC, July 1862, 28.

regarding exuberance had a distinctly, albeit not sharply, different ethos. The position of Abell and Redfield may seem very similar, and they are, but there is one significant difference. Redfield was quite comfortable with following inner impressions and having God work supernaturally. Both were willing for the miraculous to occur and disagreed with making it an emphasis, but Abell did not even want it to be prayed for. Also, the difference in attitude regarding discipline is clear, with the West ready to follow conscience over authority a bit more quickly than the East. Norwood notes that the alliance between Redfield's group in the West and Roberts' in the East was an uneasy one. Norwood believes that the Western group brought a more extreme element that did not characterize the East.[43]

B. Benjamin Titus Roberts

B. T. Roberts finished his seminary education and married Ellen Stowe in 1848. Roberts was interested in abolition and temperance even while in seminary, teaching a class of young women in a black church. In 1853 he held the revival in his church (Niagara Street, Buffalo) with Redfield. This same year he began writing for the Northern Independent. His first article reflected on social changes in Genesee and the sweeping worldliness in the church due to neglect of the discipline and scripture, especially regarding popular sins. He specifically advocated free seats in the church. Hunt wrote a detailed history of Methodism in Buffalo just thirty years after the forming of the FMC. While Roberts believed that the church's financial problems were from "the influence of secret societies and the want of 'holiness'", Hunt held that the ignoring of advice and selling land before Buffalo had grown tight around the church is what caused the church to eventually closed seven years after Roberts left, becoming a synagogue and then being torn down to build a Masonic lodge.

Hunt's book provides a more "Regency" perspective. It covers General Conference, but none of the Nazarite controversy. Instead

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[43]Norwood, 297.

he tells of various amusing, and no doubt to the Nazarites, extremely trifling, incidents throughout his book. As such, he is a good example of a "Gilded-Age Methodist."[44] It is clear that Hunt was associated with the Regency. He gave significant testimony at Robert's second trial. Hunt testifies that he was in a meeting with twenty or thirty people who discussed their dissatisfaction over the leadership of presiding elders Loren Stiles and I. C. Kingsley. There was a chairman and a secretary at the meeting (thus notes must have been taken), and a petition was signed. For having been part of the Regency, Hunt's history shows almost no interest in the Nazarites, and is not particularly vituperative regarding Roberts.[45] Roberts complains in his Why Another Sect that while Nazarites never actually held secret meetings, the Regency did, and minutes of it were discovered and read to the conference. The participants of this meeting in 1857 (immediately previous to Roberts' first trial) agreed to keep the proceedings a secret, not to pass the character of Roberts or W. C. Kendall, and to add Carlton to the committee on Kendall's case.[46]

Particularly significant in defining the self-identity of the Free Methodists is the article that Robert's wrote for the Northern Independent that was used first to censure and then to expel him. The article was entitled "New School Methodism," and it contrasted the form of Methodism popular in the conference with what he felt Methodism had been and ought to be, which he calls Old School Methodism. This article accused the Regency of developing a new kind of Methodism, by their defection in doctrine and practice.

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[44]Sandford Hunt, Methodism in Buffalo: From Its Origin to the Close of 1892 (Buffalo, New York: H. H. Otis and Sons, 1893), 24-25, 42-44, et passim.

[45]S. K. J. Chesbrough, Defence of Rev. B. T. Roberts, A. M., Before the Genesee Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Perry, New York, October 13-21, 1858 (Buffalo: Clapp, Matthews and Co's Steam Printing House, 1858), 18-19.

[46]Page 67.

Such could be seen in their not promoting revival but having pleasure parties, oyster suppers, fairs, festivals and lotteries. In his conclusion he writes,

> Old School Methodists rely for the spread of the gospel upon the agency of the Holy Ghost, and the Church. The New School Methodists appear to depend upon the patronage of the worldly, the favor of the proud and aspiring: and the various artifices of worldly policy.[47]

For the writing of this article Roberts was reproved by the chair for "immoral and unchristian conduct," a term usually used to describe sexual sin, and bound to put Roberts in an extremely bad light with his next appointment, which was, like Kendall's, a "starvation circuit." Kendall's circuit was so poor that the presiding elder suggested he not keep a house but board with his wife at alternating members' houses. Kendall died several months later, and interestingly many of the Regency preachers were quick and free with his praise at his funeral. Kendall's wife, a close friend of Redfield's, later married the Free Methodist pioneer, T. S. LaDue.[48]

Robert's second trial concerned the republication of his article in tract form, clearly without Robert's permission. In 1858 the Genesee Conference expelled him from the church. The Nazarites claimed many instances of unfairness in the trial, such as the ignoring of the minutes of the secret meetings mentioned above. Some men were gone during the trial and only came back to vote. George Estes, who had printed Roberts article, was not called upon to testify. Roberts appealed to the 1860 General Conference.[49]

From this point the Nazarites became increasingly persecuted and increasingly organized. Hundreds of lay people were "read out"

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[47]Clarence Howard Zahniser, Earnest Christian: Life and Works of Benjamin Titus Roberts (n.p., 1957), 88-90.

[48]Benjamin, 347-348.

[49]Ibid., 349.

of their churches, that is, the pastor declared them as "withdrawn" without a trial, (this procedure was later ruled to be illegal), or read as "withdrawn with a letter," even though the member had written no letter and had no desire to leave. The 1859 minutes of the Genesee Conference of the MEC contains a lengthy statement strongly disapproving of the opening up of pulpits to expelled ministers, of holding "irregular" meetings or countenancing such meetings, and of preachers holding meetings in other preachers' charges. Disregarding these resolutions would cause the person to answer to the conference.[50]

Several lay conventions were held (December 1858, June and November 1859 and February 1860). Independent Methodist churches with free seats (called Free Methodist churches) were formed at Albion, St. Louis, Syracuse, Rochester, Clintonville and possibly elsewhere. Roberts began to publish the EC in late 1859. The General Conference of 1860 (June) upheld the Genesee Conference decision. That month another convention was held. The Western Convention organized in Illinois in July of 1860. The organizing convention of the denomination was held in Pekin, New York in August of 1860. Not all those regarding themselves as Nazarites agreed to join. There were difficulties with some of these later on, being a little more free and exuberant than even the new FMC could tolerate.

The Bergen camp ground played an interesting role in the struggle. The plot of land was Asa Abell's forest, which had been used for two years before Roberts and Stiles purchased it in 1856. The charter obtained in 1857 for the "Genesee Camp Ground Association" stated that it would be run "under the jurisdiction of the Genesee Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church." The camp meetings held there were some of the largest in the country, with a local paper estimating crowds of 15,000 in 1859. Roberts refers to it as, "the great Camp Meeting of Western New York." In 1862, both the Free Methodists and remaining MEC people ran camp

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[50]Pages 11-12.

meetings at Bergen, and only three days apart. A local paper noted that attendance for the Nazarites was quite heavy, but quite the opposite for the MEC. Even when the MEC succeeded in removing the Free Methodists, the meetings lacked the spirit of the former meetings. The MEC used the camp to show that "loyal denominational people had replaced the fanatical, irresponsible fringe." In 1870, the MEC Genesee Conference rejoiced that there had been a full recovery from the influence of the Nazarites. Dussen suggests that the reasons for such a reaction are a fear of outsiders misunderstanding traditional camp-meeting exuberance and a desire to escape the less couth elements of their own heritage.[51]

C. The Formation of the FMC

It is clear that the purpose of the FMC was to function as "Old School Methodists." Note Elias' Bowen's contention in his defense of the FMC. He writes,

> Many of the "Rules and Regulations" of the Free Methodists are none other than those of the Old Church restored to their original form. With respect to these especially, the Free Church differs from her former character; and such difference, it must be confessed, though branded as schismatic and revolutionary by the last-named Church, is essentially pacific and reformatory in its nature--a difference which conscience, and the certainty of more extensive usefulness thereby, demanded for the new organization.[52]

1. Official Documents. Shortly before the denomination was organized Roberts began to publish the EC. In 1867 the FM began to be published, and became the denominational paper. These papers often quoted Wesley and Fletcher, not mention more recent Methodist authors, such as Wood and Peck, as authorities, often having special stories about their experiences. Full sermons by Wesley appear, such as "On Sin in Believers."[53] In Holiness Teachings

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[51]Dussen, 76, 77, 83, 87.

[52]Elias Bowen, The History of the Origin of the Free Methodist Church (Rochester, New York: B. T. Roberts, 1871), 245.

[53]Jan. 21, 1869, 6-7.

(HT), containing Roberts' editorials from EC, Wesley is mentioned on about half of the pages. In all these publications Wesley is used as the prime personal modern example of holiness, but more often he is represented as the most impeccable teacher of holiness.

The new Discipline (1860) began with an address on the origin of the Free Methodist Church. Interestingly, the split is referred to as "an unsuccessful attempt to bring about reform in the government of the Church." It would seem that government is defined here rather broadly. The address next states that, "Those concerned in its formation never expected a separation from the Methodist Episcopal Church . . ." This is largely true, although Redfield and Purdy are significant exceptions. The central issue is defined as a fight between "dead formalism, and the life and power of godliness." This is the reason no other branches of Methodism were considered acceptable. Other schisms were thus seen to be the result of doctrinal issues, while the FMC claimed that theirs was not, that they had the exact same doctrine the MEC until recently had. A reason given for the spread of the Nazarites before the schism was that, "Dead and formal ministers were in no better demand than before." The Discipline also notes that the reading out of lay people, observing their desire to stay and their piety, but not the ruling of Bishop Simpson that made the acts of these ministers quite arguably legal, although certainly against the spirit of the MEC discipline.[54] This ruling of Simpson is referred to by Fields. In 1859 Genesee stated that people attending regular meetings independent of the regular church meetings, could be declared withdrawn by the preacher and official board, which occurred in large numbers in the East and West. The next General Conference found this to be unconstitutional.[55]

Livermore examined the rules in the FMC Discipline. These clarify what sort of community they expected. Members were to

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[54]Discipline of the Free Methodist Church, 1860, iii-ix.

[55]Field, 499.

engage in various acts of piety and "a strict pattern of life." Boundaries between the FMC and the world were clearly marked, yet the goal was not isolation. To be faithful to the community rules was to be able to live in society and only try to overthrow those structures which threatened the church's existence. Clearly, though, the values of the church were kept quite distinct from those of society. Livermore describes their worldview in this way,

> What people experience and do determines what they really are. Belief in the grace of God is important, but it must be put into operation. Knowledge of God's will is necessary, but not decisive until the human will accepts it and the person performs it. Everything in the church aims at nurturing the inner life by systematically ordering the outer life and constantly probing to see what is going on in the inner life. The religious movement functions as a complex of wheels within wheels, highly synchronized and constantly moving, to provide the atmosphere for common people to experience inward and outward order in their lives and, indirectly, to influence society. It is a religious system which calls for methodical living. Hence, they are Methodists.[56]

The new Discipline also provided for equal lay and clergy representation at Annual and General Conferences. Interestingly, the General Conference of the MEC that refused Roberts appeal (1860) also moved toward this direction, allowing lay representation into the General Conference if the church desires it. This was to be laid before the MEC Annual Conferences in 1862.[57] Ironically, Bishop Simpson was a particularly fervent supporter of this idea. Both clergy and lay people cast a significant majority vote against it in 1861. Simpson was severely criticized for his position. Due to his efforts more than those of any other, lay representatives had seats in the General Conference

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[56]Paul Livermore, "The Formative Document of a Denomination Aborning: The Discipline of the Free Methodist Church (1860)," in Vol. 2, Christianity, of Religious Writings and Religious Systems: Systemic Analysis of Holy Books in Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Greco-Roman Religions, Ancient Israel, and Judaism (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1989), 193-194.

[57]Hunt, 247.

of 1872.[58]

2. Church Growth. The following chart gives a clear indication of the growth trends in the new church.

[58]E. M. Wood, The Peerless Orator: The Rev. Matthew Simpson, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Printing Company, 1909), 179-180.

Growth of the FMC in the United States and Canada

Year	Membership	Annual Growth Rates	New Conferences- year (#)
1862	2,498		1860 (1), 1861 (1), 1862 (1)
		18.3%	
1866	4,898		1866 (1)
		7.6%	
1870	6,566		1871 (1), 1872 (1)
		3.3%	
1874	7,466		1874 (1), 1875 (2), 1876 (1)
		9.4%	
1878	10,682		1879 (1), 1880 (1), 1881 (1)
		6.2%	
1882	13,563		1883 (4), 1884 (2), 1885 (3)
		6.7%	
1886	17,337		1886 (1), 1887 (2)
		5.3%	
1890	21,354		1890 (1), 1891 (1)
		5.2%	
1894	26,142		1895 (1), 1896 (8), 1897 (1)
		1.9%	
1898	28,134		1899 (1)
		1.2%	
1902	29,507		
		2.9%	
1906	33,043		1906 (1)
		.7%	
1910	34,026		

	Annual Rates for:	General Population	Conferences Added:
1866-1894:	5.4%	2.4%	Up to 1874: 6 (1 every 2 years)
1894-1910:	1.7%	2%	1874-1899: 32 (1 every 9 months)
1910-1992:	1.1%	1.4%	1900-1991: (net gain of 4, one every 23 years)
1866-1992:	2.2%	2%	

Note that years refer to the year of the report. The numbers are from the previous year. The date given for the new conferences, however, is the year when that many conferences were added.

This chart indicates that growth was at first quite rapid, but that beginnings were quite small. As the church was probably still taking in members of the MEC in the quadrennium from 1862 to 1866, the growth rate seems incredibly high. There seems to be a period of level growth then for the next thirty-two years, 5.7%, which is slightly over twice the rate of growth in the general population. After 1898 growth rate drips dramatically, to a little less than the rate of population growth and one third of the growth rate of the previous three decades. Since 1910 the rate has been even lower, and is even smaller compared to the general growth rate. The creation of new conferences seems to suggest this.

Kostlevy observes that the church experienced "steady, if unspectacular, growth" during the Gilded Age.[59] The Free Methodists, and other revival and reform movements of the Burned-over district were made up of Yankees who had immigrated from New England to Western New York in the early part of the nineteenth century. Population shifts of this group put limitation upon the new church. Kostlevy attributes the limits on the growth of the early generation to the migration of the Yankees. He notes that even in 1890 two-thirds of all Free Methodists resided in the Yankee strongholds of New York, and the "Western Reserve of Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Kansas and southern Wisconsin."[60] Redfield participated in "holiness agitation" in Western New York, then joined the increasingly large numbers of immigrating Yankees to Illinois.

Jones provides statistics for the FMC as well. Out of the 1,553 churches in 1906, 255 had been organized before 1880, 289 in the 80's, 428 in the 90's, and 392 since the turn of the century. Kostlevy's numbers do indicate a definite slow-down after 1880,

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[59]Kostlevy, 55.

[60]William Kostlevy, "Class, Gender, Culture and Prudentials: Structures of Holiness Movement Social Thought as Expressed by the Free Methodist Church During the Progressive Era," (an unpublished paper, 1990), 7.

with an annual growth rate of only 1.8%, which is five times slower growth than the previous twenty years.

Lamson, who regards the growth of the new church as slow, believes this was so simply because Roberts refused to capitalize on the conference division, and that membership requirements were so high.[61] Rather than explain the rate of growth, which was actually quite high at first and then dramatically slowed, he refers to the choice not to capitalize on the conference problems to explain why the beginnings were so small. Norwood also regards the growth of the new denomination as small, but this is based upon the end result, 10,862 member in 1878. He attributes this to moving from the "high moral tone of anti-slavery" to an "increasingly rigid moralism" that even led them to oppose the labor union and thus lost them many potential members.[62] This is too simple of a construction of the dynamics involved, as will be seen in part three below.

3. The Susquehanna Controversy. The story of this controversy is included in this study because it reflects how much church order was a concern, even in the beginnings of the church and in opposition to Roberts, despite how highly he was regarded.

This story is found in its fullest form and from Roberts' perspective in his biography by his son.[63] Hogue's work refers to this controversey at length, but evidently relies entirely upon Roberts' biography, quoting it at length.[64] The new Discipline of the denomination had not provided for the establishing of new conferences, so Roberts interpreted the Discipline's description of his job ("to labor in the advancement and upbuilding of the work")

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[61]Lamson, 867.

[62]Norwood, 297.

[63]Benson Howard Roberts, Benjamin Titus Roberts: Late General Superintendent of the Free Methodist Church (North Chili, NY: "The Earnest Christian" Office, 1900).

[64]in Vol. 1 of Hogue, 356-370.

as to include this responsibility. Thus he convened the first Susquehanna conference in April, 1862. Roberts was aware that there already was a concern over what some considered the premature timing of organizing a new church, and over the role of a single general superintendent. When the first General Conference was held in October, 1862, the Genesee Conference delegates viewed the creation of Susquehannah as illegal, and wished to refuse them admittance. There was considerable disagreement over small organizational matters. The Genesee Conference refused to participate, and the General Conference went on without them. After several days the Conference, meeting in Illinois, adjourned to meet in New York a few weeks later. Stiles and Abell, extremely prominent members of Genesee, and previously of the Nazarites in the MEC Genesee Conference, withdrew because the Susquehannah delegates were admitted at the beginning, rather than waiting for approval. Roberts sent a lengthy and courteous letter to the Genesee Conference. For most the issue was dropped, but in the 1863 Genesee Conference a minority, led by John W. Reddy, objected to Roberts presiding over the conference. The issue was discussed at length with Roberts quietly sitting by, as no one new how to legally organize without Roberts. Reddy requested Roberts to let the conference meet without him in the chair, which Roberts refused. Roberts agreed, however, to use the 1860 edition of the Discipline rather than the 1862 edition, and the issue ended.[65]

II. Evaluation of the Events

A. The Reasons for the Schism

Cross believes that the Free Methodists were removed from the MEC ultimately because of their "now-outdated conception of holiness. They were, in fact, survivors of 1830, untouched by intervening events." This represented the end of significant religious upheaval in the Burned-Over District. The groups still embodying the ideas that previously had been so prevalent had moved

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[65]Roberts, 272-291, passim.

or were moving westward.[66]

Smith disagrees with the "official" Methodist account of controversy, in their contention that the Nazarites were fanatics organized into their own secret society to destroy their reputations, and whose meetings had unrestrained emotionalism. The Nazarite approach to entire sanctification was quite common for the time. However, Smith also disagrees with the traditional Free Methodist contention that Methodism had abandoned sanctification. The General Conference of 1860 could not acquit these abolitionists and keep all four of their border conference from leaving the denomination. The main concern of Bishop Simpson in the 1859 Genesee Annual Conference and the 1860 General Conference was discipline. It was an over-riding concern of Methodists hierarchy of the time, and disobedience to it was considered the "cardinal sin." Other Methodist champions of holiness of the time did not support the Nazarites because of their unwillingness to connect the holiness revival with their behavior, and with abolitionism, anti-Masonry and laymen's rights. Jesse Peck, writer of The Central Idea of Christianity, framed the first resolution against the Nazarites in Genesee in 1855. William Taylor preached with Bishop Simpson in Genesee in 1859. Both Oneida and East Genesee had holiness revivals without such splits. The real issue seems not so much have to do with holiness, as to what role platforms of moral reform of church and state play in the Holiness Movement. This controversy, however, allowed anti-holiness people to get the upper hand at Genesee, while they did not elsewhere.[67]

This clearly indicates that the FMC was impacted by what Sweet refers to as the third kind of revivalism (Finney and the new measures) more than most sections of the Methodist Holiness Movement. Robert's quotes Finney quite often, especially in his

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[66]Cross, 354.

[67]Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform, 130-132.

book on evangelism, Fishers of Men.[68] The theological base for the Nazarites was the Methodist holiness revival, with a social agenda informed and following the now-dying Yankee holiness reform tradition of the Burned-over District. Not all Yankee Methodists of this district were part of this tradition. Since the agitation of the come-outers in the 1830's, there had been Yankee Methodists content to function in the Methodist revivalists tradition, but uncomfortable with the radicalism of the new revival tradition and its linkage of radical social issues to Christianity. Such a linkage would seem starkly inconsistent with the strong tradition of discipline then existing in the MEC.

As seen in chapter two above, this reform tradition continued to develop, taking up new issues, and viewing old ones in new ways. This perhaps would explain why it took a few years for the new FMC to codify the connection between tobacco and intemperance, as well as why pew-renting earlier in the MEC was certain to became an area of contention, and more and more so. It also explains how nonradical Methodists of the Genesee, steeped in a tradition of church discipline, would become increasingly suspicious of the Nazarites, and thus, the holiness revival. The amount of vocal and physical demonstration in Nazarite meetings and churches would hardly be foreign to American Methodism, but it had so permeated social radicals for a generation that it increasingly became identified with them. As so many Methodists had participated whole-heartedly in the radicalism for a generation, and radicalism's message was such a logical outgrowth of Methodism, especially in that social context, Nazarites easily associated this radicalism with traditional, that is, original Methodism. Thus the very group that appeared to themselves to be everything Methodists were supposed to be did not look very much like Methodism to those in power at the time in the Genesee.

Field has a description how developing Methodism created the

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[68]B. T. Roberts, Fishers of Men, (Winona Lake: Light and Life Press, 1946).

scene for the Nazarite issues. Some minister goes to a village where there are a few Methodists and gathers them into a class and preaches to them. A revival breaks out and numbers increase and a church is built. Singing in large numbers in a large places poses a problem so an instrument is brought in. Choirs are formed and people with finer clothes start to come and the meetings become calm, too calm. Nostalgia causes a cry for the old-times, but Field believed that this was about as good to return to as "the old-fashioned stage-coach, the tallow-candle, or the things that were ere Van Winkle fell asleep!" Professional revivalists would be employed and hundreds would be converted, but they would get all the credit, not those who have been so faithful in the preparation. These men, say Field, would destroy a charge in six weeks if they were actually to take a charge.[69] This process, as Field describes it, led to two types of ministers in the Genesee, the "more intellectual, faithful laborers; and the stormy kind of men." Each group strove for power. Regarding exuberance in worship, he comments,

> The early Methodists had often found in their societies zealous, noisy people, who were prized for their goodness, but noise was never sought as a good, only accepted as an accompaniment; the rising Nazarites made noise a condition and instead of having, as the early Methodists did, here and there noisy people, the new school drew around its altars all the enthusiasts of the land, and one must be an enthusiast or he could not pass muster. They adopted as their motto . . . a noisy, free way of doing things that banished all propriety.[70]

Another problem, according to Field, is their approach to justification and sanctification. Field claims that Adamic perfection was taught. His evidence is a brief claim to such by a preacher at the Bonus camp meeting (the researcher has not run across any other information on this camp), and a quote of Redfield

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[69]That all but Redfield did take a charge when the FMC was formed and that these charges were quite stable indicates Field's inaccuracy on this point.

[70]Field, 492-494.

in an article that redemption must deliver us from all effects of the fall.[71] Although the article has not been tracked down (it does not occur in the EC, and the FM was not yet in publication), there is no indication that Redfield here meant that such full redemption occurred at entire sanctification. Indeed, he did clearly teach otherwise. It is moral evil that both Redfield and traditional Methodists claimed this experience dealt with. However, Redfield did for a time believe in full mental redemption as an experience beyond entire sanctification, but in this life, yet even this is not Adamic (which includes physical) perfection.

Field attributes some of the "success" of the Nazarites as deriving from a problem the Free Methodists would complain of later, namely, that people who were so cold, ignorant or backslidden, but thinking themselves converted and in a state of justification would seek holiness. They would experience a real conversion and this would be called holiness. The result of this is that the old and highly negative state was equated with justification, and thus all who did not claim holiness were thought to be just as cold and backslidden.[72]

Part of Field's reasoning may be quite accurate. It would later be a complaint, as seen in the next chapter, that backslidden or unconverted people, thinking themselves justified, would seek holiness, but in reality only experience conversion or reclamation. However, while Field maintains this lowers the perception of what regeneration is, the complaint of later Free Methodists would be that such a process lowers the perception of what holiness is, and the lifestyle of those proclaiming holiness in this process would harm the reputation of holiness and impede the progress of this doctrine.

B. Sociological Factors

Viewing the FMC as a religious movement, this study needs to

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[71]Ibid., 495.

[72]Ibid., 495.

provide a definition of what constitutes a movement. Gerlach and Hines provide the following five necessary factors for a group to be considered a movement.

1. An organization with ideological, personal and structural ties.
2. Recruitment done in person by the committed, who make use of their already-present "significant social relationships."
3. Personal commitment results from an experience or act that separates the person in some way from the establishment and identifies with a new set of values and behavior patterns.
4. An ideology with a conceptual framework as the universal interpreter.
5. Real or perceived opposition from society or establishment.[73]

There is no doubt, of course, that the FMC constitutes a movement, but this definition is helpful for identifying aspects of the movement. Various leaders of various local churches, camp-meetings, districts, and bands could be identified. Many of the structures of the denomination were already forming or present in the Nazarite party, such as the Bergen Camp-meeting, independent congregations and bands, laymen conventions, and the EC. The already present structures of the MEC itself provided the context for the "significant social relationships." Particularly significant to the FMC was number five, with its concept of opposition, which is not surprising considering how much real opposition they experienced.

Some movements take place largely within the context of another group. Within an older movement, a paradigm shift occurs that results in the new movement. Schere describes three kinds of paradigms. The first, the factist, is interaction on the largest scale, such as the movements discussed above under "The Societal Landscape." The third type he lists is the definitionist paradigm, which takes into account more than the other paradigms the

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[73]Gerlach and Hines, xvii.

uniqueness of individuals. There is less emphasis on large-scale structures, and more upon people trying to understand each other's meanings through intimate groupings. The FMC seemed to fit best somewhere between these two paradigms, what Schere refers to as a "social system."[74]

Thomas indicates that movements tend to go through cycles, from expansionist to "polarizationist" to reconstructionist.[75] Polarization clearly was happening in the Genesee in the late fifties, and the new FMC clearly regarded itself as a reconstruction. The expansionism of the second generation gave way to a new polarization and to more radical reconstruction.

Takayama reflects on leadership's role in paradigm shifts. If efforts are made to control in an uncertain environment, and the administration attempts rationalizations (such as the accusations of the Regency that the Nazarites had formed a secret society, and that Estes had reprinted and distributed Robert's article), strains are developed that are tied directly to these leaders. The more the leaders of the opposition are deprived, the more the legitimacy of the official leaders' decision-making authority is brought into question. The more the opposition's leaders feel relatively deprived (Roberts and Kendall's starvation circuits, not to mention an appearance of a lack of ecclesiastical justice in all of the proceedings, come to mind), the more probable the deprived leaders will develop rationalization in ideology and ways to defend what they regard as the "perennial values" of the denomination. The more the conflict of the "constitutionality of official Leaders' authority and discretion are objectified, the more intense will be the conflict."[76]

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[74]Ross P. Schere, American Denominational Organization: A Sociological View (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1980), 6-8.

[75]Thomas, 157.

[76]K. Peter Takayama, "Strains, Conflicts, and Schisms in Protestant Denominations," American Denominational Organization: A Sociological View (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1980), 328-

Gerlach and Hines indicate the difference between institutional change that is developmental and change that is radical. Changes that otherwise might be developmental become radical if the social structure resists it, rather than viewing it as "progress." Often radical changes are viewed as merely reactions to "fundamental social disruption and the extreme personal disorientation." Actually, movements are both the cause and effect of social change.[77] This indicates that both the Genesee Conference of the MEC (and the second generation of the FMC, as will be indicated below) forced the paradigm shift to take place in such a polarized context that a new denomination was unavoidable, justified or not.

Takayama quotes Haas and Drabek, who give nine options for a denomination in responding to strains and conflicts.

1. Toleration, if the strains are minimal. This may have been the case in Genesee up until the early 1850's.
2. Delaying, to prevent the strains from getting worse.
3. Employing smoke screens to keep differences ambiguous and of low profile. This usually causes more strains.
4. Dismissal, if the conflicts involve only a few members. This may greatly reduce the possibility to deal with future conflict. This was attempted with Roberts and McCreary in 1859.
5. Condemnation, discrediting the ideas, rather than the people. This seemed, after toleration, to be the first conscious response of the structure of the Genesee Conference.
6. Co-option, absorbing those in the conflicts into leadership, which often produces more strains.
7. Organizational birth resulting from a split. This is what finally happened with the Nazarites.
8. Organizational death, in which members less and less have "expectation sets" to guide behavior. Interaction and task performance decline.
9. Self-renewal, the strains are revealed, and dealt with separately in an atmosphere that encourages change and

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[77]Gerlach and Hines, xii-xiv.

> conflict, with procedures designed with this in mind. Old and new are integrated into major structures.[78]

Faupel indicates that new paradigms either replace the old, or they fade.[79] The group must eventually make a choice the two conflicting paradigms. It seems that most of the remaining Yankee Methodists in other areas of Western New York seem to have chosen to let social reform revivalism fade, at least for the time being. This was not the case in Genesee, due largely to Redfield's activities as a catalyst and Robert's careful thought and uncompromising action within the context of his group's ideology. Not only does the group make a decision, but when people enter the new group, they do so through decision process. Faupel observes that this decision ultimately is not step by step, or resulting from proofs, although it is often argued to be so, but, to use Kung's term, is a "conversion." Once conflict is resolved for the new group, here by forming their own denomination, order becomes the main goal for those within the new paradigm. This indicates that although social, economic and political factors are very significant, they are not determinative. Participants are faced with resolving the growing anomalies of the old paradigm by adopting the new paradigm. The Nazarites needed a way to explain the Regency's blatant rejection of reform, seen particularly in pew-renting and Masonry, and their increasing tendency to reject values of the older, rural Yankee Christian value system, and even traditional Methodist doctrines and practices (as well as new ones) associated with the holiness revival.

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[78]Takayama, 303-304.

[79]Faupel, 21-22.

CHAPTER FIVE: SANCTIFICATION AND SALVATION IN THE FMC FROM 1855-1885

I. The Nature of Conversion

A. Total Commitment and Renunciation of All Sins

It is necessary to have a clear concept of the early Free Methodist view of justification to understand their view of entire sanctification. When it is understood how radical their view of justification was, it will be more readily apparent how radical their view of entire sanctification was.

Entire consecration was consistently regarded as an absolute necessity for justification. An article in the FM states it in this way,

> Consecration, which invariably precedes saving faith, and which is a dedicating of all the powers of the being to God, and a yielding of the will to his sovereign will, in every thing, as a perpetual offering in a covenant never to be broken, . . .[1]

To those in this movement, one cannot conceive of any real sanctification without entire consecration.[2] Perfect obedience is the standard of Christianity, and salvation and heaven are dependent upon it. It is not optional for a Christian to be holy.[3] Of course, entire consecration involves entire victory over all outward sin. Roberts preached,

> Every child of God has his kingdom. In the lowest state of grace they have victory over sin; they rule over their own spirit; they rule over the material world, as the farmer over his farm, and the mechanic in his shop. They keep it under their feet.[4]

He states elsewhere, "Holiness implies, in common with a state of justification, or pardon, victory over outward sin. A person that is holy does not commit sin. This is also true of one who

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[1]George Stouter, "Terms of the Gospel," FM Dec. 29, 1870, 2.

[2]Terrill, St. Charles Campmeeting, 114.

[3]William J. Selby, n.t., FM Mar. 19, 1868, 2.

[4]Terrill, SCC, 117.

lives justified before God."[5]

Justification gives sufficient divine power to the heart to overcome the depravity within, but it is not "perfect moral perfection." He has the power to live without sin, is free from guilt and has the power to remain free.[6]

Any standard lower than this was considered, to say the least, dangerous. According to T. S. La Due, a pioneer Free Methodist, those that do not believe in deliverance from sin make the Bible a "textbook for sin." They use it to defend the sinful life, that of being a saint and sinner at the same time. The standard is to be sinless. Sin, in contrast to commonly-made assertions, is not necessary to keep you humble, especially since sin of any type or amount promotes selfishness and pride. The concept of deliverance does not encourage self-righteousness, but this term better describes living in sin and calling this a badge of humility. God commands us to live without sin. We can make no room for sin at all, for then we must ask, "how much sin is allowed?" The reply, "Oh, I don't pretend to be perfect," is not a proper one. Jesus' very name calls for deliverance from sins. Only this doctrine can save sincere souls from despair.[7]

With this type of thinking, the giving up of "darling sins" becomes extremely important. One Free Methodist tells of giving up all sins but one. She would think that everything was all right, but would continue to give in to that one sin and experience condemnation. In a camp meeting she realized that she must give up that one sin, "though it were like plucking out the eye," or be lost.[8]

What about when a Christian does commit a sin? Here as

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[5]Roberts, HT 1.

[6]N.a., n.t., FM Nov. 2, 1867, 1-2.

[7]Timothy S. La Due,"Salvation from Sin, Full and Present," FM Nov. 14, 1872, 2.

[8]Sarah C. Clark, "My Experience," FM Mar. 20, 1873, 3.

elsewhere the common Free Methodist perspective at the time was uncompromising. An article in the FM stated that what is needed then when a believer falls is repentance, not faith. If you confess salvation without confessing your sin (even if the sin and confession is after a conversion experience), you are confessing a lie. This is a false comfort. Thus, it is a mistake for a backslider to seek entire sanctification by consecration and faith. The backslider should first seek forgiveness like any other sinner.[9]

These concepts led the Free Methodists to view many professing Christians as "spurious," or false, converts. The way to tell the difference is that a spurious convert has no real victory over sin, but is just like they were before. They are still fretful, or impatient, use tobacco, and so on. The work of God does not dissuade them from their sin.[10]

This approach was recognized as different from what was commonly held to by the churches of the time. One article speaks of conversion and the accompanying desire not to sin, quoting, "go, and sin nor more." This is what Christ expects of us, and what is needed for heaven. The popular idea is to have religion and yet have sin. One can not enjoy religion at any stage and sin (I Corinthians 15:34).[11]

In the March 5, 1879 issue of FM there is a very strongly-worded article against the idea that one can sin in a justified state, and that entire sanctification implies deliverance from the acts of sins, which until then has not taken place. The article is phrased in such a way as to indicate the author believed this type of thinking was beginning to get a foothold in the FMC.

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[9]N.a., n.t., FM Nov. 2, 1867, 1-2.

[10]N.a., "Spurious Conversions," FM Dec. 29, 1870, 2.

[11]Mrs. H. A. Crouch, n.t., FM Feb. 12, 1868, 2.

He uses several examples of testimonies in FMC meetings.[12]

A significant difference in the Free Methodist approach to salvation and that of other traditions, such as the Baptistic, is that salvation is viewed not so much as a completed judicial reality as an ever-present experience. Roberts phrased this concept once as follows,

> The idea runs all through the Gospel that salvation is a present reality. It is something that is experienced and enjoyed from day to day. Jesus says, "Now ye are clean through the work which I have spoken unto you." He does not say, "shall be," as though the day of deliverance was in the future. And Paul writes, "By grace are ye saved, through faith." Thus the salvation provided in Christ is every where spoken of as something which has a positive existence in the heart of every believer.[13]

B. The Remaining Sin Principle

Methodism, as well as the rest of the church, views sin as involving more than just the acts of sin themselves. One Free Methodist sermon stated that the Old Testament had three reasons for giving sacrifices; for transgression, for inbred sin, and for mistakes.[14] Putting aside whether this statement is accurate, it does reflect on the Free Methodist idea of what separates humanity from God. Justification deals with the transgressions. Heaven deals with the mistakes. What then of inbred sin? God shows the Christian that a further work is needed. Without taking away evidence of pardon, He reveals the carnal mind, which brings deep sorrow. He shows how Christ's blood was shed to cleanse this inbred sin by "simple and naked faith." This causes a hunger and thirst for righteousness.[15]

There is a removal needed of the sin in the heart. This is where all sin originates from. The holy seed within us cannot sin,

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[12]C. E. H., Jr., "Does Holiness Disparage Justification," FM Mar. 5, 1879, 2.

[13]Roberts, HT, 2.

[14]Terrill, SCC, 145.

[15]N.a., "Various States of Experience," FM Apr. 29, 1869, 3.

because we are born of God. Something, however, has to deal with the very center.[16] This carnality exhibits itself in wrong tempers, desires and dispositions. There are inclinations to indulge a desire which is right in itself (such as hunger or sexual desire) in an unlawful way, or to an unlawful degree. Some inclinations are wrong in themselves, such as, as believed by Roberts, anger, pride and covetousness. One can even be delivered from feeling them.[17] Elsewhere Roberts further describes this state,

> Sometimes, unless we continually watch and pray, it lusteth to pride, sometimes to anger, sometimes to love of the world, love of ease, love of honor or love of pleasure more than of God. . . the tendency of our heart to self-will, to atheism or idolatry, and, above all, to unbelief, whereby, in a thousand ways, and under a thousand pretences, we are ever departing more or less from the living God.[18]

Thus, this carnality is seen in largely emotional terms. Another EC article indicates that this carnality includes,

> pride, anger, . . . a feeling of hatred to an enemy, a rejoicing at a calamity which has fallen upon an enemy, etc. Now in all this, the regenerate soul does not act voluntarily; his choice is against all these evils; God has given him a new heart which hates all these evils, and resists and overcomes them. Though the Christian does not feel guilty for this depravity as he would do if he had voluntarily broken the law of God, yet he is often reproved at a sight of this sinfulness of his nature.

It is interesting that Roberts felt that once one was entirely sanctified, with the removal of this carnality, one would no longer even feel the craving for tobacco or alcohol. "Affections, passions, desires, and propensities," are brought under control for doing good rather than harm. The intellect, judgment, will and desire must be made holy and pure in all that they do. All forms

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[16]Terrill, SCC, 114-115.

[17]Roberts, HT, 2-3.

[18]Ibid, 127.

of filthiness and defilement must be removed.[19]

II. The Nature of Entire Sanctification

A. The Broad Meaning of Holiness as the Essence of Religion

The term "holiness" is often used as "a generic term comprehending within its amplitude the moral excellence of life."[20] God has called us to be holy, and thus it is the basic nature of the Christian. People may possess it in different degrees, but they must have the same principle operating.[21] The exemplar of holiness is Christ Himself. Everything about His life was holiness personified. This was the unavoidable reality of His "disinterested love to all mankind."[22]

If holiness is the essence of religion, the basic form of a Christian's nature, and of Christ's, then it is an inherent need.

So great is the necessity and excellency of sanctification, that it is the great end God has in view in all the children of men. "Christ gave himself for the church that he might sanctify the people with his own blood." The Spirit of God is termed the Holy Ghost, and the Spirit of Holiness, not only because he is holy in himself, but also because it is in his office to sanctify and make holy; and God "chastens us for our profit, that we might be made partakers of his holiness."[23]

Not only is holiness needed inherently, but is also needed to gain heaven. No one may see God in peace without it, thus it is an absolute and eternal necessity. Because of God's inherent holiness, all who dwell with Him must necessarily be holy. "Heaven is a pure place, prepared for pure people; and holiness is heaven

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[19]Roberts, HT, 3-4.

[20]N.a., n.t., FM July 15, 1868, 4.

[21]Terrill, SCC, 95.

[22]Roberts, HT, 14-15.

[23]C. Elliot, "Sanctification," EC Nov., 1873, 152.

begun in the soul: it is the beginning of eternal life."[24]

Holiness is needed not only by the individual, but by the church.

> Without this [holiness], numbers, wealth, talent, culture, social position, and even zeal, activity, and earnestness will be unavailing. Holiness and spiritual life are joined together, if not identical; they are so related that one does not exist without the other,. . . Holiness is the proper aim of all religious effort."[25]

B. Deliverance by Faith to a Continual Abiding

Commitment and faith are the main medium of the deliverance from the carnal mind in early Free Methodist experience. This faith was not at all weak or academic, but vital and urgent. Redfield likened some people's faith to that of a lady who read the verse about faith moving mountains and prayed for a hill on her property to be removed before she went to bed. When she awoke to find it still there, she said to herself, "I knew it would be so."[26]

Here is one example of the expected intensity of the commitment process.

> The Lord began to talk to me. "Will you do all for my glory?
> "Yes, Lord"
> "Will you give me your right hand?" (I had always had a knack for writing.)
> "Yes, Lord; I will write on holiness" . . .
> "Suppose your wife will not believe it and accept it, will you receive it?"
> "Yes Lord."
> "Will you consent for me to make your family sick--your wife sick?"
> "Yes, Lord; give me the blessing."
> "Will you let me take your health in my hand--give you bronchitis or consumption?"
> "Yes, Lord. Any time you want me to die, I will consent to go."
> "Will you consent to leave these large appointments

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[24]William Fell, "Holiness," EC Oct., 1874, 110.

[25]Terrill, SCC, 6.

[26]Ibid, 6.

> you have been having--will you consent to take a poor appointment for me?"
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> "Yes, Lord. I will take the poorest appointment in Indiana, if it is thy will." I'll tell you there are some poor ones in Indiana.
>
> "Suppose your wife should grieve over it?"
>
> "Well, she must grieve it out." . . .
>
> "Will you give up your tobacco, that your body may be my clean temple?" I had tried several times to give it up, but would go back to it again.
>
> I said, "Yes, Lord, I will give it up. I will do anything. Give me the blessing." I do not suppose he will bring all these tests to pass, but he made me willing.[27]

With this intense faith comes a sure deliverance,

> All controversy in the soul ceases as soon as the last remains of inbred corruption are cleansed out by the blood of Christ. All desire or disposition to commit sin is gone. A temptation to do this or that which is wrong meets with no response in the soul. The Devil's relations are all gone, and consequently there is nothing for him to build upon.[28]

There is a complete deliverance from all sin, uncleanness and unrighteousness. It is total. There no longer needs to be any form of cleansing, provided that the experience is maintained. The concept of "more and more" is used in the Bible with various virtues, such as faith and love, but never with purity.[29]

Dr. Newman testified that he had rest from all conscious sin, ambition and aspirations for honor or positions. His desire was to be God's only. There was no anxiety for anything. Religious duties were done no longer by a sort of rule to suit himself, but as "conscious spiritual aspiration to glorify Christ."[30]

Roberts went so far as to assert that if one became angry, then the blessing holiness has been lost, if ever possessed. It

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[27]Ibid, 166.

[28]Fell, 111.

[29]Terrill, SCC, 134-135.

[30]N.a., "Dr. Newman's Experience of Full Salvation," FM July 7, 1875, 3.

makes no difference if one is naturally quick tempered. The very design of the work is to fix the problems in our dispositions, and without that it has nothing for us.[31]

C. Perfect Love

1. Theoretical Considerations. The sanctification experience was often viewed as love perfected. Although it was believed that divine love was experienced at conversion, there existed the additional need for love to abound.[32] This abounding or perfection in love is the positive form of Christian perfection; indwelling love replaces indwelling sin.[33]

Roberts points out that "perfect love" is a Bible term, meaning the same as holiness or entire sanctification. Roberts preferred this term, as inconsistencies with perfect love are more quickly obvious than if other terms are used. One may feel quite ignorant talking in terms of holiness, but all may love, and it is hard to give reason why one cannot love God completely and one's neighbor as oneself. Wesley is referred to as giving four implications of perfect love: entire humility, absolute self-renunciation, unreserved resignation and being of one spirit with God.[34]

In another article Roberts indicates that Christian love is based on personal purity. Love presupposes that the person is righteous. After the disciples were filled with the Spirit at Pentecost, they were of "one heart and of one soul" Peter did not make the mistake Roberts felt was common in the nineteenth century of encouraging Christian affection among those still under inbred sin's power. God is loved simply because He is holy, and therefore to love God is to love holiness, yet one cannot love

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[31]Roberts, PT, 125.

[32]Terrill, SCC, 111.

[33]Ibid, 137.

[34]Roberts, PT, 179.

holiness without being holy.[35]

Roberts gives a very detailed description in still another article. It is thorough enough to merit being reproduced here.

> There can be no such thing as Christian holiness without supreme love to God. This is its very substance. It may be summed up in this. A being possessed of the proper intelligence, and actuated at all times by supreme love to God, would never be wanting in any duty. Every obligation would be fulfilled. . .[36]

The reason that love can result in such actions is that it is self-forgetting, having a tendency to flow out to its object. The object of pure love, in more abstract terms, is "existence; all percipient and sentient existence whatever." Therefore, love is a desire for the good or happiness of everything which exists." This is what gives love its great attraction and beauty.[37]

2. The Practice of Perfect Love. These theoretical considerations lead to some very specific concepts of practice. Without this love the most strict morality merely makes one a Stoic, not a Christian, for the essential ingredient is missing. Service to God is impossible without the love of God, which implies walking with Him, having an awareness of His presence, and communicating with Him.[38]

The love of God implies a desire to know His will (through scripture, God's communication to the soul, and "physical laws"), and a high relish for preaching and reading that enforces God's will, "unquestioning obedience to all of His commands," and a spirit of devotion.[39]

There is a direct and opposite relationship between the carnal mind and this perfect love. If there is nothing but love in the

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[35]B. T. Roberts, "Christian Love," EC Jan. 1, 1861, 10.

[36]Roberts, HT, 73-74.

[37]Professor Upman, "Nature of Pure Love." EC Jan., 1886, 23.

[38]Roberts, HT, 102-103.

[39]Ibid, 74-75.

heart, then "there is no feeling of pride, anger, malice and envy."[40] It involves a selfless love of man, and especially of the brethren, but also of one's enemies.[41] This love also implies deliverance from prejudice, which is actually hate, against any, be they relatives, Yankees, religious groups, or anyone else.[42]

> Love says some very plain things, take very decided positions, never bends to error, yet it is always kindness and good will. Hatred in any form does not exist in a pure heart. . .
>
> Have we true love? That which enables us both to be firm and loving, and keeps us from all evil surmisings, and evil speaking, and jealousies, and envy, and where we would be willing to have others look into every motive that actuates us, as we know God does.[43]

A supernatural attribute of love, and thereby holiness, is that it returns good for evil. There is a "deliverance from all active hostility." It is a spirit of peace. Old hatreds are forgotten. Even more, you forgive those who have wronged you and those whom you have wronged. No longer is there an attempt to justify yourself by making the other appear as bad as possible, but an opposite tendency to take the blame for yourself, confess and make right.[44]

A final and extremely serious practical consideration is the need to be made perfect in love to gain heaven. If you do not "get the love that beareth all things," you will have a falling out with somebody, have hard feelings, and backslide. "Some of the greatest fighters we ever knew, but who were wanting the 'love that never faileth,' went over at last to those whom they had all their

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[40]S. K. Wheatlake, "Shall Be Filled," EC Aug., 1888, 49.

[41]Roberts, HT, 86-89.

[42]Ibid, 54-55.

[43]Janette Osmun, "True Holiness," EC June, 1893, 188-189.

[44]Roberts, HT, 52-54.

lifetime been opposing."[45]

D. Concepts of the Cross, Death and Crucifixion

1. The Nature of These Concepts. Considerations of the cross were very significant in perspectives on the sanctification experience. The FM ran an article that complained of the teaching on consecration at the National Holiness Campmeeting. They taught that God demanded a consecration of the heart, not a consecration of things. The complaint was that this leaves out the cross, that certain outward and physical things need to be done to follow Jesus. With this theology of the National Holiness Campmeeting it was easy to give oneself to the Lord, and then one can simply enjoy oneself. The author of the article felt that this approach was antinomianism.[46]

An early complaint was lodged by Mrs. Kendall against those who would complain of a lack of power, yet profess the experience of holiness. This is questioned by her. She sensed a pride of character in these people, a shrinking from some cross that God had for them. There is a coldness and formalism because one's Christian character is clung to so stubbornly, while we need to be brought to the cross. This results in resisting the truth and the Holy Spirit, false doctrine, and false claims to holiness.[47]

Another articles states the need for taking up a personal cross in the following manner,

> The Christian must have a Cross,--The temper of the present age inclines to every kind of enervating indulgence. Men appear to think the Christian armor an unnecessary encumbrance, they have no desire to engage in any combat, to indulge any trial; if religion is to be cultivated, it must be one of the fine arts, as an element of Belles Letters; they forget there is no passage to celestial glory but by some cross; that we must suffer with Christ as well as confess him, if we

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[45]Roberts, PT, 179.

[46]John T. James, "National Holiness Campmeeting Theology," FM July 11, 1872, 2.

[47]M. F. Kendall, "Pride of Character," EC, Feb., 1861, 59-61.

would be with him in Paradise.[48]

2. Three Crucifixion Experiences. The sanctification experiences of three early Free Methodists will be examined below to demonstrate further the significance of crucifixion concepts.

Redfield spent an incredible amount of time agonizing over his carnal condition and praying for the blessing. There was a time of what he called "emptying," the losing of all previous blessings, such as the witness of the Spirit, so that God could fill him with the new one. All the old food, the "corn and wine," had to be done away with. From now on it was to be manna only. At Phoebe Palmer's tent in a camp meeting she told him first to consecrate entirely. She then told him to believe according to God's promise, as the conditions had been met. He saw a vision of the crucified Lord, cast aside all other hopes, and believed. It was his belief, based on Christ's atonement, that brought about the Spirit's response of assuring that the work was done.[49]

Hart experienced his sanctification only three weeks after his conversion. His experience involved a very strong realization of his need and a great deal of crying out on Hart's part. In between these exercises the Lord gave Him direction concerning his future. Once Hart agreed to His guidance, he immediately received the experience.[50] Note the similarity to Redfield's experience in regards to understanding his need and crying out to God. Consecration is part of both Redfield and Hart's sanctification experience.

Burton R. Jones was the third General Superintendent (Bishop) of the FMC. He was sanctified only three days after his conversion. He experienced it in three steps; conviction, consecration and faith. However, consecration was mentioned only incidentally. The bulk of his experience involved a conviction of

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[48]N.a., n.t., EC Feb., 1861, 63.

[49]Terrill, Life of Redfield, 94-99.

[50]Hart, 29-31.

his depravity and the exercise of his faith.[51]

It could be said that consecration was viewed not so much as a direct condition of the sanctification experience, but necessary for one to have a fresh, vital justification experience so that the conditions may be met for the sanctification experience. Or, perhaps, three conditions may be regarded as necessary, a clear (and fresh) justification experience, conviction of inbred sin, and faith.

E. The Holy Spirit

The process of equating entire sanctification with Spirit baptism is documented in chapter three. The FMC was caught in the middle of this shift, and thus some of the teachings on the subject are somewhat confusing. It is significant that Roberts remains distinctly Christocentric in all his writings on the subject of sanctification. This writer could find no example in his writings of any equation of the Spirit baptism with entire sanctification, nor any polemic against such a move.

This does not mean that such equations were not unknown to early Free Methodism. Terrill's record of St. Charles Campmeetings occasionally equates the two from the beginning.[52] The equation often is more in terminology, with the concept still primarily being one of holiness rather than power. An unnamed associate of Finney wrote in the EC an article on the "Baptism of the Holy Ghost," indicating the Spirit presents the possibility of rising "to a higher platform of holy living," and if the Spirit's light is rejected and the concept not pursued, then the Spirit is quenched.[53]

There is a definite tendency by the 1880's in the EC to equate the baptism or filling with the Holy Spirit with entire

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[51]Burton R. Jones, Incidents in the Life and Labors of Burton Renselaer Jones (Chicago: Free Methodist Publishing House, 1910), 32-33.

[52]Pages 7, 138.

[53]May, 1882, 153.

sanctification as being quite synonymous. For example, "A Holy Heart" in the November, 1882 issue of the EC,[54] spends almost the entire article talking only in terms of sanctification and purity until the final paragraph, which equates the experience with receiving the Spirit and switches to Spirit language. Also there is a reference a few pages later to Fletcher's experience and teaching, that receiving the Holy Spirit is entire sanctification.[55]

At about this time there is much more vagueness in language. The traditional rhetorical structures become less common, such as putting the experience in the same terms used by Wesley. There is more recourse to exhortation along broader lines and a little less doctrinal and theological emphasis. Even though the Spirit language is equated with sanctification, articles referring to the Spirit often do not use any of the "traditional" holiness language.[56] Still, the traditional language is very much present. The very next issue[57] there is a very long article along the old line by Alice C. Phillips, called "Holiness." However, the number of articles per paper regarding the doctrine of holiness are far fewer in the '80's that at the beginning of the paper.

Equating Spirit baptism with entire sanctification and ignoring Spirit baptism were not the only two options available. Other formulations were suggested. Of course, some of these formulations came as close to synonimity as possible.

> It was not holiness that fell on the disciples on the day of Pentecost, it was the Holy Ghost that fell on them. That was the power that produced such wonderful results, not the power of their holiness. Holiness was

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[54]Pages 152-153.

[55]Same issue, N.a., "The Gift of the Holy Ghost," 156.

[56]For example, C. M. Cady, "Be filled with the Spirit, EC, Feb., 1888, 47-48.

[57]March, 1888, 77-80.

> the result of that power, but the power itself was the Spirit of God. Holiness, as we have seen, fitted them to become the channels of divine power. . . The need of the church today is the Holy Ghost; to make her members holy, and fit them to become channels of divine power to others.[58]

Another formulation was offered by Jesse T. Peck in his article printed in the EC, "Baptism of the Holy Ghost."[59] He viewed the baptism as the privilege of every believer. This baptism was for the whole church. It marks the full inauguration of the Messiah and is given in answer to prayer at various stages of Christian progress and followed by certain miraculous results needed because of the spirit and emergencies of the times, but not essential to the blessing. The more rudimentary steps do not complete the Christian character, or "clothe it 'in the beauty of holiness'" enabling it to conquer the world. God makes the church responsible "for a state of perfection for a style of activity, and a degree of moral power, which must be utterly impracticable in the absence of this special baptism." Not many, by Peck's observations, were at that time so baptized, still having their corruptions. They have "not bewailed their sinfulness for days and nights together, engaged in fervent agonizing prayer for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit," resulting in the "dissolving energies of the Holy Ghost, pervading their whole being, and filling their souls with a burning desire for the glory of God." It is a flood of light that reveals all our corruption, causing deep repentance, but is also the way of its removal. It is a necessary experience previous to entire sanctification. This view makes an interesting comparison with that of Dake and Shelhamer's, discussed in the eighth chapter.

C. M. Damon, a pioneer Free Methodist, wrote that he was converted and sanctified, but not filled with the Spirit for some time later. He felt his case to be unusual and unnecessary, and

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[58]J. M. Y. S., "Holiness Power," FM Oct. 9, 1873, 2.

[59]Feb., 1861, 39-42.

was opposed to teaching a third work, no doubt in response to some holiness groups, eventually to include the Pentecostals, although these groups are not mentioned in his autobiography. He writes,

> If there is a manifest defection in the consciousness of our experience by reason of failure to apprehend the fullness of truth pertaining to it, let us supply the defect without raising distracting questions of doctrinal controversy.[60]

Damon elsewhere comments that the use of the disciples before Pentecost as examples of a Christian's state before sanctification is unsatisfactory, as they were then in a different dispensation, and did not have the Spirit in the same way at all as Christians do. The baptism of the Spirit is for converts to distinguish them from followers of the former dispensation, but they do not have the baptism to full degree, necessarily, to be filled with the Spirit. There is some muddling of terms in this section.[61] In another place he presents a case for one receiving the spirit at conversion, but being filled at sanctification. Before entire sanctification the Spirit's work is hindered due to inward sin.[62]

III. The Process of the Personally Experiencing Holiness

A. The Intermediate State

1. Motives for Seeking Holiness. One article on the subject provides a whole list of reasons to seek holiness, such as, God desires, commands and promises it, Christ procured it and the Spirit waits to impart it. We have been given the word as a means to procure it, the ministry to promote it and examples of it in scripture. The apostles desired it and we are taught to pray for

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[60]C. M. Damon, Sketches and Incidents, or, Reminiscences of Interest in the Life of the Author, (Chicago: The Free Methodist Publishing House, 1908), 139-142.

[61]Ibid, 351-353.

[62]Ibid, 265-271.

it, as it makes us into God's image.[63]

Another article indicates that motives to holiness are everywhere. One is its own "intrinsic excellence and glory." A second motive is that God requires it. Finally, Christ's cause needs it. Nothing is so eloquent or powerful of an appeal to the gospel as a holy life.[64]

One very strong motive supplied is entrance to heaven. Lawrence writes how it had been asked whether if one remains justified until death without sanctification, would that person go to heaven. His reply was that the real question is, can justification be maintained without sanctification. For one thing, justification implies willful obedience, and we are commanded to be sanctified. What if that is not believed? Lawrence comments that searching the scripture is clearly commanded, that that in itself should reveal the truth, for these scriptures "are so plain."[65]

2. Description of the Intermediate State. The Free Methodists viewed this state as very unpleasant. One Methodist preacher refers to it as "toilsome Christianity."[66] Robert writes,

> He is so far sanctified that he has power over sin. He is not under the dominion of any of his former sinful appetites or habits. Sin does not have dominion over him as it once did. But he feels sinful tendencies remaining in his heart. He has, at times, to repress pride, to keep it down. He does not yield to anger, but sometimes he feels it, and suppresses it.[67]

A justified person is dead to the world, or he is not justified. However, this one must also have the death of the "old man." It is a real death. The old man tries to turn attention to

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[63]James Dixon, n.t., FM Jan. 23, 1868, 2-3.

[64]N.a., n.t., EC Sep., 1886, 69-70.

[65]R. V. Lawrence, "Sanctification," EC Sep. 1886, 69-70.

[66]Terrill, SCC, 162.

[67]Roberts, HT, 139.

something else to protect himself. When one is stirred in the examination of the evil within, the old man tries to divert attention.[68]

Sometimes the distinction is not all that clear. After all, Free Methodism considered there to be much blessing and presence of God in a justified state. La Due felt that he had mistakenly assumed himself entirely sanctified. The Spirit revealed to him that he had only been clearly converted, but that He could do the rest, which He did.[69]

Here are two examples of the type of striving involved in this intermediate state.

> I knew, without a doubt, that Christ was my Savior, but I found that there was inbred sin in my heart, and oh! it grieved me to think I still had sin in my heart. I felt the sins of pride and anger, (which were my darling sins,) and I felt I must get rid of them.[70]

> In the same happy frame of mind which God brought me into at my conversion I sent on for the space of three months, not expecting any more conflicts, but O, how greatly was I mistaken! I was soon taught that I had only enlisted as a soldier to fight for King Jesus, and that I had not only to contend with Satan and the world from without, but with the inward enemies also, which now began to make no small stir. It is impossible for me to describe what I suffered from "an evil heart of unbelief." My heart appeared to me as a small garden with a large stump of a tree in it, which had been recently cut down level with the ground with a little loose earth strewed over it.--Seeing something shooting up I did not like, on attempting to pluck it up I discovered deadly remains of the carnal mind, and what a work must be done before I could be "meet for the inheritance of the saints of light." My inward nature appeared so black and sinful that I felt it impossible to rest in that state. Some, perhaps, will imagine that his may have arisen from the want of knowledge of forgiveness. That could not be the case, for I never had

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[68]Nelson, 450.

[69]La Due, 33-36.

[70]Betsey A. Johnson, "Religious Experience, FM Mar. 11, 1869, 3.

> one doubt of my acceptance; the witness was so clear that Satan himself knew it was in vain to attack me from that quarter.[71]

B. The Truth Driven Home

The revelation of the truths regarding the experience of entire sanctification often appeared during preaching services. It was expected that often Christians would be convicted of inbred sin, come to the altar, exercise faith and receive the blessing. Seymour Coleman, the first minister to invite seekers of entire sanctification to the altar, attended the 1860 St. Charles camp meeting.[72] In the same camp meeting in 1874 they had specific holiness meetings daily at 5:00 am! It was moved to 6:00 in later years. Terrill reports that the first holiness meeting in 1874 was "well attended for a morning meeting." The next day it was larger and more "blessed" than previously. Testimonies were used extensively. Many came forward in all of the services (Friday through Tuesday). The topics of the sermons included, "Is Holiness Instantaneous or Gradual," and "How is Entire Sanctification Obtained, Maintained and Lost."[73] The accounts of the St. Charles meetings are packed with references to people receiving entire sanctification.

Meetings were not the only place that this blessing was commonly received. Often a seeker, (whether seeking privately or in a meeting), would go off somewhere to pray and struggle. Carvosso, whose experience is mentioned in detail above (note 72), went to a prayer meeting and returned to pray for the blessing. He agonized and was given the verse, "Thou art all fair, my love; there is no spot in thee," but he did not "grab a hold of it." He returned to the prayer meeting. Upon exercising faith he felt a "heavenly influence" in the room. He said, "I shall have the

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[71]William Carvosso, "William Carvosso," FM Mar. 11, 1869, 3.

[72]Terrill, SCC, 9.

[73]Ibid, 65-69.

blessing now," and immediately did.[74]

Betty Johnson's experience, also referred to above (note 71), involved going to Free Methodist meeting and feeling she would die if she did not get more of God. She testified to this and there was an altar call for holiness. She came forward and was blessed more than ever before, but the work was not done. She could not at first sleep that night, she was so happy, but she finally did and dreamed of a light that she was trying to reach. She awoke still burning after God, but the work was not done yet, so she continued in prayer. A strange feeling arose which she thought might be death, followed immediately by a quiet rest. She continued in this rest for two or three days, but she needed clearer evidence, which came two days later.[75]

With the type of Methodist piety indicated above there was often a mix of circumstances involved; camp meetings, revivals, prayer meetings, private prayer, reading of Scripture and of Methodist Holiness literature, and so on. However, the experience of seeking was sure to be intense and sure to bear results. In an 1857 camp meeting, following a sermon by Redfield, the following conversation occurred in the preachers' tent.

> "What do you think of the sermon?" asked one.
> "It is true," one replied.
> "If Brother Redfield is right, we are wrong," said another.
> "There is no use of talking; he is right," said another.
> "If he is right and we are wrong, we had better get out of bed and go to praying," said another.
> "I will if you will," said still another.
> In a few minutes their cries had awakened the entire encampment, and the people poured forth to engage with their minister in pleading for the Spirit's Baptism. It is said that fifteen of them entered into the experience that night. From that time, for a short period, a

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[74]Carvosso, 3.

[75]Johnson, "Religious Experience," 2.

glorious work was accomplished throughout that section.[76]

C. Commitment, Faith and Confession

The process and practice of actually receiving the blessing involved a complex mixture of confession, commitment and faith. Roberts stated that there must be confession of inbred sins, which are sinful dispositions (I John 1:9), just as we confess our acts of sin to be forgiven. If we confess our inbred sins we are promised to be cleansed.[77]

A person seeking the experience was told to consecrate, then claim the blessing by faith, even, in a sense, before one actually has it. One author, writing an article that gives his testimony, states that he had a great deal of problems with this process, as faith before possession seemed to reverse the natural order, but as his instructor in the faith was experiencing the blessing and he was not, he did as he was instructed and received the blessing.[78]

Roberts describes this consecration process as including,

> . . . all of time, talent, property, reputation, influence, yes, life itself, [being] handed over to God to be His forever. Confession, not of actual sins now, but of inbred sin, and faith in Christ. It is very important to be thorough, especially if you are backslidden, as you might be satisfied with something short of the real thing. Confess completely according to the direction of the Spirit and the word, plead the promises, rely on his grace.[79]

He describes this elsewhere as a determination. The decision must be made independently and must be self-sacrificing.

> He who will be holy while it is popular, or profitable, will never become holy at all. The very essence of holiness is the extinction of selfishness. It requires just as much of the martyr spirit to be a holy man or woman today, as it did in the days when they

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[76]Terrill, SCC, 6-7.

[77]Roberts, HT, 126.

[78]N.a., "Claiming the Blessing, EC Nov., 1882, 144-145.

[79]Roberts, HT, 10-11.

> exposed holy men and chained them to the stake to be burned. The spirit of persecution is not dead. . . There must be a willingness to counter its hostility, to endure the worst that it can inflict us. . .
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> If, then, you would obtain true holiness, you must count it of more value, not only than only one thing; but more than all things else. Things that were the greatest sources of joy to you must be abandoned if they stand in the way of living a holy life. To obtain holiness we must sanctify ourselves. This is the Lord's order as laid down in both the Old and New Testament. He who prays for a harvest, must, if he would not mock God, prepare his ground, and sow, and till, and guard against destructive forces, in a proper manner. So he who would be holy, must break up the fallow ground of his heart, and sow to himself in righteousness.[80]

Damon, who can be compared with Dake and Shelhamer discussed in later chapters, taught that holiness is obtained by conviction and faith. The concept of consecration and faith is not expressly opposed, or even mentioned, but conviction and faith is very clearly and explicitly taught as all that is needed to be done to receive the blessing.[81]

Damon is concerned over the same danger as the radicals of the second generation, whom he became a contemporary with early in his ministry. This concern was that in the popular holiness movement, conversion is assumed by a sense of pardon, rather than from a regenerate life. Thus, when they are urged to sanctification they get converted and mistake it for sanctification. He thinks that using the term "regeneration" rather than "justification" when making comparisons would help.[82]

D. The Resulting Joy

One of the first experiences upon receiving the blessing was often an overwhelming sense of joy. Roberts regarded it as a supernatural joy. There was a tendency among some to undervalue it, but he believed it essential to true holiness. It is promised

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[80]Ibid., 121-123.

[81]Damon, 340-344.

[82]Ibid., 344-346.

(John 14:21), and Scripture plainly states in many places that holiness is accompanied by joy.[83]

In one meeting a person testified that he had received "a great blessing, felt great tranquility, and called it perfect love."[84] Sometimes this joy did not result in a great deal of outward expression, yet it was always intense. Sarah Cooke, a Free Methodist instrumental in leading Moody into the "fullness of the Spirit," tells of her suffering and corresponding joy in the following manner,

> I held on. I had no idea of time in that fearful Gethsemane of suffering, but tired nature, after it, sank into sleep. When the morning dawned, and I awoke to consciousness, then came the blessed assurance that God had sanctified me wholly. As I looked out of the tent, the world had never looked so beautiful, and the thought came, this is the very earth Moses and Paul and all the holy ones of the past lived on, and the blessed consciousness that I was as near God as they were.[85]

This quietness was not the only way this joy was expressed. It appears to have been more common for it is to be accompanied by a great deal of physical expression. In defense of this Levi Kelly wrote,

> We must not by any means ignore the power of holiness. The danger is increasing of undervaluing the necessity of demonstrations. We cannot run holiness in a formal rut without destroying its effects. Life is a silent agent, but a very powerful one. When we begin to regulate life by crushing its demonstrations we will have death and putrefaction [sic] instead, if we see manifestations that we cannot reconcile, perhaps we are not called on to do that. A dead holiness, in the proper sense, is impossible. It is a living, active and demonstrative energy.[86]

One of the earliest issues of the FMC was how far to allow

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[83]Roberts, HT, 90-93.

[84]Terrill, SCC, 161.

[85]Sarah A. Cooke, The Handmaiden of the Lord, or, Wayside Sketches, (Chicago: T. B. Arnold, 1896) 40-41.

[86]Levi Kelly, "Holiness," FM Jan. 8, 1890, 6.

physical demonstrations. The rule given by Redfield was, "If you feel like shouting, don't you do it; but if it shouts itself, let it go. If you feel like jumping don't you do it; but if it jumps itself, let it go."[87]

Watson gives the following account of his joy.

> God let loose such a Niagara of salvation in my soul that I felt I was about to burst. I walked back and forth shouting, "Glory to God." Something in here seem to say, "This is the Spirit." It seemed I could see the bottom of my heart, and all the bad was gone. A sister came in and said, "You have got it." She said, "The angels are here." I replied, "I don't care for your angels, Jesus is here."[88]

An article in the EC declares that conversion should not be the happiest time in one's life. "The soul that walks in the light and obtains a clean heart, will know what it is to 'grow stronger and stronger;' Such will 'increase their joy,' instead of loosing it."[89]

This certainly would describe the experience of many Free Methodists, such as J. C. Vincent, who when he experienced the blessing in a meeting he laughed with all of his might, shouting glory to God when he could. He fell across the altar rail, laughing and praising "as the Spirit gave utterance." His state of praise continued after the meeting sixteen or seventeen hours.[90]

Although the above experience was more physically intense than many, it is not be regarded as unusual. To give another example of this physical intensity, which, although more intense than meetings usually were and not directly involved with the experience of holiness, gives a good contextual understanding for these expressions of joy. Below is an account of an early St. Charles

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[87]Terrill, SCC, 12.

[88]Ibid., 167.

[89]N. J. Davis, "Holiness Essential," EC Aug., 1893, 55.

[90]J. C. Vincent, "Experience of J. C. Vincent," EC Sep., 1861, 276.

Camp meeting.

> Many were prostrated. Almost all would, sooner or later, with extended arm and index finger point upward. Some lay in that attitude six and eight hours. Unconverted persons would come into the tent, look at these prostrate ones, and with a shudder turn and walk away. In a few moments they would return, gaze upon the scene, shudder and walk away again. This would be repeated three or four times, when with a scream they would fall to the ground, and lie there until converted. Almost invariably they would point upwards for a season like the others. During the night all conversation was in whispers. There was no singing or vocal praying. The place seemed full of the divine presence. It was thought at least twenty-five were converted during this night. The most wonderful manifestation of divine power was reserved for Monday night. . .[91]

E. The Need of Testifying

Free Methodists especially viewed testifying to one's experience of entire sanctification as soon as possible as extremely important. A Methodist Bishop gives some advice on such testifying which is copied in the EC. He believed one needed to testify to one's experience of entire sanctification almost always when with Christians whose church doctrine testifies to it, such as Methodist class meetings and love feasts. He also advises employing scripture terms.[92]

Another article indicated the importance to testify, even in "mixed assemblies," where there were people at various levels of spiritual commitment. Phoebe Palmer is used as an example, how her testimonies are very effective, and how that effectiveness is needed. The Bible order is to seek it as a definite work, experience it as a definite attainment and to profess it in Bible terms on all proper occasions, even before sinners. The life must back this testimony up. If it is beneficial to the work of Christ to testify of forgiveness, how much more "the crucified life, the death of the body of sin." If sinners are encouraged upon

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[91]Terrill, SCC, 13-14.

[92]Bishop Hamline, "On Professing Holiness," EC Nov., 1866, 133.

testimony to look at Christ, how much more to Christians looking for inward purity. Holiness is in the Bible, therefore it must be preached and therefore it must be testified to.[93]

Fletcher lost the blessing four times in a row by not testifying to it, which is the basis of another article in the EC.[94] Redfield was immediately led by the Spirit to tell someone, who told him to tell his wife, who in turn told him to tell all the people, which he did. Redfield felt this settled and established him.[95]

W. C. Kendall, peer of Roberts in his Genesee days, experienced holiness but thought that to keep it he had to not appear to zealous to his friend. Immediately darkness came. He could only retain justification by continuing in the light that he had and seeking all that God had for him. When sanctified the Spirit urged him to testify very plainly and clearly, until which he did not have clear testimony in his heart. This replaced his fear in testifying with boldness.[96]

Watson testified that when he first received holiness the elders of the church he was pastoring opposed him so that although he did not oppose the doctrine, he did not stand up for it. He soon lost the experience.[97]

There are a couple of common themes. The reason given for not testifying is always fear of opposition. Free Methodism almost always viewed itself as opposed by everybody, the world, the church, and the so-called popular Methodists and Holiness groups. It was imperative to Free Methodists to not allow opposition to hinder spiritual exercises in any way whatever, and thus to expect

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[93]William Cooley, "Confession of Holiness," EC May, 1861, 111-114.

[94]N.a., "Egotistical--or is it?" EC May, 1861, 143.

[95]Terrill, Life of Redfield, 99.

[96]N.a., "Rev. William C. Kendall," EC Apr., 1861, 117-118.

[97]Terrill, SCC, 162.

constant opposition. The only way to retain the blessing, therefore, was to testify.

F. Beyond the Crisis Experience

Attention was given to the aftermath of this vital experience. After all, this experience was the beginning of real Christian growth.

> Being delivered from the carnal mind, he is enabled now to grow up into Christ, his living head in all things. Being cleansed from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, he perfects holiness in the fear of God. The flesh no longer lusteth against the Spirit, nor the Spirit against the flesh. But this exalted and happy state of mind does not exempt him from temptation.--He may be tempted to unbelief,--to presumption,--to the world with all its vanities, by all the greatness, honor, and beauty,--to spare himself, and not zealous overmuch,--to anger, revenge, and every evil temper. He may sometimes be more tempted, sometimes less. He may be in great heaviness, yea, exceeding sorrowful unto death, so that all communion with God may appear to be broken off, and be led in the bitterness of his soul to exclaim, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"[98]

Although there is an increase of the blessing of holiness, it is only that, an increase without any new cleansings or works of grace. Watson indicates that the Bible has much to say on urging one to advance in all the "positive fruits of the Spirit; and with great diligence seek enlargement in all the mind of Jesus, both in its inward and outward practice." These enlargements may be so extensive as to appear to be a third work, but scripture does not teach any.[99]

It is important that the Christian does not stagnate after being entirely sanctified. The importance of this is stressed by Roberts.

> So, no matter how much grace a person received when he was converted, and how great an increase was realized when he was sanctified wholly, if he does not go on in his experience and grow in grace he will become dry and unfruitful, spiritually dead, and insensible to his

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[98]N.a., "Various States of Experience," FM Apr. 29, 1869, 3.

[99]Terrill, SCC, 138-139.

> unfruitful, spiritually dead, and insensible to his condition.[100]

There needs to be definite practical results from this experience, such as integrity of conscience on every point, such as tobacco, fashionable dress, business and so on.[101] One preacher tells of wearing a gold watch worth $175 (in 1881!) which he had to put aside because of his conscience troubling him. Interestingly, he found that it was cheap gold plating and that such swindling was common. He used this to tell others to put away their gold jewelry, as it was probably counterfeit anyway![102]

Another practical consideration was the increased ability in gospel work. Watson stated that the baptism of the Holy Spirit will fill the believer with the highest capability for work. No man, woman or angel can reach their maximum until God fills them. One's eye does not reach its maximum until it is full of light, nor your lungs until they are full of air, free of disease. So one's soul can never do its best until filled with the Holy Spirit.[103]

In a more negative aspect, stumbling was regarded as a regular occurrance even for the sanctified.

> Many holy persons have done injury to themselves and others unwittingly, or from ignorance or erring judgment. They fail in a thousand ways through stupidity or dullness, . . .
>
> Many persons are saved from sinning but not from stumbling. They stumble often, not because they are perverse, but because like some animals they are not sure footed. They mean right in every particular, but blunder because they do not consider what they are saying or doing.[104]

However, the possibility of loosing of sanctification was regarded as very real. One author commented that many fall from

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[100]Roberts, HT, 130-131.

[101]Terrill, SCC, 111.

[102]Ibid., 113.

[103]Ibid., 147.

[104]N.a., "Sinless Holiness," EC Feb., 1893, 57.

sanctification, perhaps not even one half ever get established in it. The reasons include, too much time in company talking, neglecting prayer, reading "unscriptural" books, lack of being a witness, self-indulgence in eating, drinking, sleeping, seeing, hearing and so on, or failing to press on to greater depths. Any neglect of duty will "blur our spiritual vision, will paralyze our faith, and engender doubts and fears."[105]

Roberts believed one could lose the holiness experience from failure to watch and pray, committing actual sins, from doubt, from listening to the accusation of Satan.[106] The only way to regain the blessing is through repentance, confession and faith in Christ. Reformation of conduct will not accomplish it, neither will seeking more power. One must become humble before God and make all the necessary confessions.[107]

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[105]J. A. Wood, "How Entire Sanctification is Lost," FM Mar. 28, 1894, 6.

[106]Roberts, HT, 134-137.

[107]Roberts, PT, 128.

CHAPTER SIX: CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS ON REFORMS, 1861-1878

Much insight upon early FMC ethos is to be gained from examining the reports of committees in the Annual Conference Minutes (AC). Nearly all of the sources used in this chapter are from these minutes. Other sources could be used, as there are articles, particularly in the FM, which provide at least some information on this topic, but there is such a quantity of information from conference reports which as such represent official statements of conferences that they will be used nearly exclusively. Also, much can be observed by examining them over the course of time, and generally chronological order will be observed in this chapter for each subject. After 1878 new conferences continued to be added at a quick rate, and almost all of the information in the reports are contained in earlier reports.

It should be noted that minutes used from the year 1864 on are complete. Minutes previous to this are available from the Genesee Conference only.

I. Equality

A. Racial Equality

1. During the Civil War. The first conference record regarding the Civil War is Genesee, 1862, which refers to the "Southern rebellion" as the "most causeless and criminal that the history of any nation records." It was felt that the central idea of the rebellion was slavery, "the bane of American society--the source of unnumbered evils." They also felt that attributing any other cause to the war "produced confusion and disaster." Abolition of slavery is a right and a duty, and urged that the slaves be emancipated speedily. They even felt this would be good policy to rally the army, not to mention to "secure the friendship of Heaven, which alone can ensure success." Rejection of "colored" men as soldiers and pro-slavery northern leaders were opposed.[1]

It is clear from the above that the most important issue of the war to the Genesee Conference were the rights of the black people, and they would not tolerate anything infringing upon that

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[1]AC, 1862, 6-7.

right, whether it was delaying their emancipation, not letting them fight, not admitting that their slavery is why there was a war, and being opposed to pro-slavery leaders everywhere.

In 1864 Genesee provided a lengthy defense of the use of force to bring about the end of slavery. "Humanity demands that the rebellion be put down, no matter how great the expenditure of blood and treasure necessary to secure its overthrow." The struggle was seen as one "for national existence and the rights of humanity." It was resolved to have the war continue until "the rebellion is thoroughly subdued and slavery, its guilty cause, is completely and forever extinguished in all our borders." Although they wished to avoid party strife, they strongly supported the government in its war effort and in emancipation "until all their rights as men are restored to the colored race." There was no sympathizing with slave holding, nor could one do it and remain a Free Methodist. Thanks was given for military victories, desiring to "establish our free institutions on the firm foundation of universal rightness and justice."[2] The new church clearly wanted to be as uncompromising on this issue as they felt their mother church had been compromising. No amount of suffering was too little if it could end slavery.

In the same year it was asked how to deal with apologists for slavery who had found themselves in the FMC. The conference deplored "the fact that this should have ever happened," suggested that the church try to "enlighten and reform them . . by our preaching, praying, and voting," and if this is unsuccessful, request their withdrawal from membership.[3]

The same year Susquenhanna suggested that the suffering of the nation was punishment from God. They resolved that the Bible justifies the use of force on "evil doers," which would include "the aiders and abettors of this cursed rebellion," that they are

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[2]AC, 1864, 20-21.

[3]AC, 1864, 23.

opposed to those in the North not fully in favor of disabling the South and voting should indicate this sentiment, that they are thankful to God for recent victories, and finally, that they will earnestly pray for those in authority, for guidance and not to compromise.[4] It can be seen that these conferences had quite similar sentiments, and quite possibly conferences not only had available minutes from previous years, but minutes of conferences just recently held, as often they sound quite similar. This, of course, makes it all the more significant when there are definite differences in ideas.

2. Following the Civil War. Illinois' 1865 minutes expressed rejoicing over the successful end of the Civil War. They note that like many sins, slavery was first tolerated, then claimed a right to exist, was taken into the church and finally controlled national affairs. They observe, however, that "the spirit of slavery still survives, and it is as cruel and as directly in antagonism with the Christian religion and a republican government as ever. It cannot be trusted, our only safety as a nation is to render it powerless for mischief." They resolve to give the "colored man" the vote right away, that the constitution be amended to secure everyone's "civil rights," that strong efforts be made to "educate them morally, socially and religiously," and that they support government policy that aims at removing all vestiges of the spirit of slavery from the south.[5] It is to be noted here that immediately when the reform-minded FMC gets the end they want, the end of slavery, they wish the full rights of the blacks to be immediately provided for and the sentiment of abuse to be removed by government efforts. Superficial reform would never suffice.

Genesee's 1865 report also rejoices at the end of slavery, and is also concerned about the remaining spirit of slavery. The assassination of Lincoln is used as an example, as well as the

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[4]AC, 1864, 30.

[5]AC, 1865, 6-7.

efforts of southern states to deprive the blacks of any rights or privilege they can. "Our efforts against it should never cease until the last vestige of its existence shall be utterly obliterated, and the self-evident maxim of the Declaration of Independence 'that all men are created equal' shall be incorporated in all the institutions of the land." This almost seems to echo the rhetoric of the recent Civil Right's movement. Genesee resolved to support the government's efforts toward civil order in the South, that all rights of citizenship be given to blacks so they are not left at the mercy of the society in which they had just been enslaved, that they cannot support for office anyone not supporting giving blacks the same rights as whites, and that the Constitution be amended to give full civil rights to everyone despite color.[6]

In the 1866 report from the Genesee Conference an extremely lengthy discourse on human government and its basis in scripture and the consent of the governed is provided. They resolve that congress re-examine reconstruction laws, to be tested by the Supreme Court and enacted by the President, that they believe the policy of reconstruction to be "a gross usurpation of power," and that all people in the South should be given full rights, and that anything less "will inevitably bring upon the country the severest displeasure and curse of God."[7]

It is clear from many committee reports that the FMC saw a definite connection between God and country. If the nation was righteous, God would bless it, and if the nation countenanced sin, not only would these sins naturally destroy the nation (this is especially emphasized in reports on secret societies), but God's displeasure would weaken or destroy the nation.

The 1866 report from the Illinois Conference recognized that "the elements of that rebellion still exist in all their virulence

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[6]AC, 1865, 17-18.

[7]AC, 1866, 9.

of feeling, impudence of pretension, and iniquity of purpose." It is resolved to affirm last year's resolution, that blacks be given the vote, that the Constitution be amended to grant civil rights to all, that the blacks be fully educated, and that the rebels be "disenfranchised" for at least a generation and their government be appointed, that they support the congress against "the attempted usurpations of the Chief Executive," and that deep and earnest prayer is needed for the country.[8] What is particularly interesting here is the strong "affirmative action" bent of the young denomination. It was not enough to simply have the government declare the rights of the blacks, but the blacks must be empowered at the expense of the power of the white southern "rebels." True, such terms as "affirmative action" and "empowerment" are twentieth-century civil rights terms, but these ideas are clearly stated by these conferences.

An apology for political involvement is provided in Susquehanna's 1867 report. They note that as members of the FMC they gave their "hearty and unanimous support" to the nation during the war, that many members and some preachers "freely periled their lives," and disloyalty was utterly unknown. Christian citizenship demands "a deep interest in those political movements which affect the welfare of the people at large. "Cordial support" is given to the Congresses effort to reconstruct Southern government "upon the principles of justice, loyalty and equality."[9]

B. Women's Issues

A report in the 1861 Genesee Conference states that the church approves of "female labors," "It is the duty of all Christian women to exercise in social and public meetings, but way of prayer, personal testimony, or exhortation, according as their abilities may warrant or the occasion offer." However, they did not approve of female preaching, as they held that it was not authorized in

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[8]AC, 1866, 20-21.

[9]AC, 1867, 29.

either the Old or New Testament, but rather, it is "clearly intimated" in Scripture that the woman is "not designed" for such. They held that women preach clashed with their "ordinary duties and relations," awakens prejudice and "produces confusion" in the work. They held it to be contrary to Church tradition throughout the ages, including that of John Wesley. They quote his advice to a Mrs. Crosby.[10]

> The Methodists do not allow of women preachers. * * * * In public you may properly enough intermix short exhortations with prayer; but keep as far from what is called preaching as you can; therefore never take a text; never speak in a continued discourse, without some break, above five or six minutes. Tell the people, 'We shall have another prayer meeting at such a time and place.' If Hannah Harrison had followed these few directions, she might have been as useful now as ever."

Although this issue was eventually to be addressed at length, particularly in the 1890 General Conference, there is only one more reference to women preaching in these reports during the time period in question.

In 1873, Susquehanna did not take a decided stand against women preaching, but rather, requested clarification by the General Conference. The issue, as far as can be observed, was not taken up by the 1874 General Conference. Also, it would seem that this request may have had behind it a desire to limit the role of women in ministry. The Susquehanna Conference observed that it is commonly believed, on the basis of Joel's prophecy, that God has poured His Spirit out on women as well as men, "prompting them to public declaration of gospel truth." The Discipline, they state, is not clear on public teaching by women, so to have harmony in this issue they resolve to ask the next General Conference to examine the question, and define the church's position, allowing the authorization of suitable female candidating and the

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[10]This report is found in AC, 1861, 5, and the quotation is from Wesley's Works, Vol. VII, 28-29.

restriction of unsuitable ones.[11]

II. Individual Behavior

A. Temperance

1. Alcohol.

First Formulations 1866-1867

Now that slavery had been put down the greatest threat in the country (according to the 1866 report from Illinois) is drinking. "It is the duty of every friend to his country and the race, and especially of every minister of the Lord Jesus Christ to exert all the moral power that he can possibly command, against the practice of dram-drinking." Support is given to all efforts now in place in support of temperance. FMC preachers are to make temperance a part of ministerial duties, preaching once a year on the subject at each appointment. A "stringent prohibitory law is necessary."[12] It can be seen that the same lack of compromise, thoroughness and fervor to eliminate all mistreatment of blacks is now transposed in the temperance battle.

Susquehanna in the same year declared the use of alcohol a sin, "carrying in its train disgrace, disease, pauperism, death, and eternal ruin." The resolved to fight constantly against drunkenness, that they will fight in every lawful way against beverages such as "cider, beer, wine--homemade or foreign--whiskey, rum, etc," that those growing of grain for distilling and wine (and tobacco) are full accessories. Such activities will be discouraged among Free Methodists. All means, including voting, will be used to repeal laws that allow the sale of liquors, and to make the use or selling of them except for chemical or medical use a misdemeanor. Also, they are not to vote for anyone who "gives his influence or support to the liquor traffic." The purchase of wine for sacrament is disapproved (a recipe for nonalcoholic sacramental wine follows). A later resolution was made to request that the

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[11]AC, 1873, 45.

[12]AC, 1866, 22.

General Conference amend the general rules to forbid the growing of grain for beer by church members.[13] This begins a lengthy and oft-repeated desire for Free Methodists not to participate in liquor production even by growing hops, barley or other forms of grain. The mindset indicates that true reform means that all who name Christ refuse in any way to participate in a process so evil as the liquor traffic.

As requested by Susquehanna, the General Conference of 1866 addressed these issues with resolutions having the force of law, particularly

> No. 3--ON HOP GROWING--that in our opinion the raising of hops for the general market is a violation of the rule of Discipline prohibiting "evil of every kind;'--and also the rule prohibiting the doing of what we know is not for the glory of God."[14]

In 1867, the Genesee Conference seems to quote Susquehanna's report of the previous year, stating that use of alcohol "is a sin, carrying in its train disease, disgrace, pauperism, death and eternal ruin." The stood opposed not only to the use of alcohol, but the raising of grain for producing alcohol. They resolved that their influence will be used against drunkenness and what it leads to, and that vote and labor will be used to repeal laws permitting the sale of alcohol and passing laws that prohibit its use ("except for medicinal, mechanical and sacramental purpose") a misdemeanor.[15]

Time for Stronger Language 1867-1868

The Illinois 1867 report viewed intemperance as a vast evil, and a "terrible crime against God and humanity." It was seen as on the increase, legally sanctioned as well as by the practice of professing Christians. They resolved to bear testimony at all times against it and to "enforce that rule in our excellent

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[13]ac, 1866, 33-34.

[14]The General Conference Minutes for 1866 are located in the back of AC, 1870. The quote is from page 54.

[15]AC, 1867, 6.

Discipline touching this subject," that except for sickness the making or using of wine by church members is "derogatory to Christian character and a violation of our discipline," that growing and selling "those kinds of grain and plants with receive their market value from the liquor traffic to be morally wrong and contrary to the spirit of Jesus," and that they are opposed to all secret organization opposed to alcohol, for no cause, no matter how good, justifies means not consistent with Christianity but that they will "cast our votes and influence in favor of a stringent prohibitory law."[16]

The last report introduces several important new features in these reports. First, intemperance would continue to be viewed as being on the rise, and real encouragement wasn't taken until the WCTU arrived on the scene. Second, the stand against growing hops is stated more strongly (now growing these crops at all is condemned, even if not for the express purpose of selling them for the distilling process), and statements in temperance reports continue to get stronger until the WCTU is formed. Finally, the FMC expressed great concern over the introduction of secret temperance societies, and eventually it would cause the conferences to lose all confidence in temperance organizations other than churches and the WCTU.

Susquehanna's 1867 report objects strongly to New York's Republican Party's State Convention supporting liquor traffic, as this traffic fills prisons and poor houses. This, combined with their stand on Sunday laws "has utterly forfeited the confidence which the lovers of temperance, morality and religion have hitherto given to that party, and which has constituted one main element of its strength." Added to this, a bribe (so called) of the state legislature by a railroad (perhaps to allow it to go on Sunday) means that a new party is needed for "thorough political reform"

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[16]AC, 1867, 18.

and morality in all parts of the government.[17] Both of the main parties, including the very young Republican Party, are rejected in favor of functioning independently, and later, as a third party. This approach remains largely unsuccessful until the driving force of the Women's Temperance Movement brings action.

Susquehanna used powerful rhetoric that year to describe the effects of intemperance, as

> sweeping, like a pestilence, over these lands. Thousands of human beings are annually consigned to drunkards' graves. Our jails, prisons and work houses are filled by this wicked system. Poverty theft, profanity, licentiousness, Sabbath breaking and murder are its legitimate fruit.[18]

Genesee, 1868, echoed Illinois 1866 observation that after the war it was seen that alcohol was consumed much more than previously and is invading everywhere, in all parts of the country. It kills, they state, tens of thousands every year and takes many thousands of people out of better businesses, or makes them "paupers, or criminals, or lunatics." Good efforts are being made in helping the drunkard and stopping the liquor traffic. Experience shows that "no compromising, conciliatory measures" will do. They disagree with temperance societies that require oaths of secrecy as "unwise, unprofitable, mischievous and anti-Scriptural--especially when coupled, as it usually is, with a meaningless and puerile ritual."[19]

Illinois, in 1868, passed resolutions almost word for word what they passed in 1867. The one addition is that disciplinary action is to be taken against members raising grain for beer or distillation.[20]

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[17]AC, 1867, 29.

[18]AC, 1867, 29-30.

[19]AC, 1868, 12.

[20]AC, 1868, 26.

Changing Tactics 1868-1873

Powerful rhetoric was again the approach of Susquehanna in 1868. Alcohol is "injuring our young men, enervating many and debauching them, and being an indispensable of doggeries, saloons, club-houses, and gambling hells." A new approach to become common in these reports is the use of statistics to indicate the extent of alcohol use. They note that the Secretary Wells (probably the Secretary of Agriculture), commissioned to study the situation, observed that the total money spent each year on alcohol exceeded the national debt. Also, hop production was vastly increasing due to large profits. They resolved to a recommitment toward the temperance effort, preaching more frequently on the subject. Temperance societies, secret or otherwise, are seen as largely a failure, and that temperance needs to be made a "religious and church duty." This is the first intimation of this sentiment, which strongly characterizes the next time period (1870-1873), and paves the way for the Women's Temperance Movement's amazing ability to function like a revival for reform. Finally, the conference strongly urged their members not to produce hops, or be dissuade by the argument that they can be used for coloring or tanning, as even the Secretary of Agriculture has admitted that hops are used almost exclusively for beer production.[21]

Genesee stated in the 1869 report that Christianity has a direct tendency to establish temperance of all forms. The Word describes it as a grace of the Spirit (presumably they are referring the list of the fruit of the Spirit in Galatians 5:21, 22). Thus every Christian must be opposed to all forms of intemperance, and especially ministers. In language similar to that of abolition, it is urged that the issue be "agitated on all suitable occasions," and that a sermon be preached once a year on the subject at each charge. They regard production of hops as the equivalent to the sale of alcohol. Secret temperance societies are opposed, but full approbation is given to other intemperance

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[21]AC, 1868, 49.

societies. Note that this is a different approach from Susquehanna, which views all temperance societies as failures. Genesee does not say that they are success, or that they are a failure, but they feel positive enough about these societies to fully support them.

A new feature of these reports, introduced in these reports, is the objection to the using of fermented wine for the Lord's supper. They resolved not to use fermented wine in the sacrament.[22] Nowhere could the author find any actual instance where fermented wine was used in a FMC service.

Illinois that year noted that interest in temperance is at a peak. "Just now its forces are earnestly gathering for determined aggressive action." They rejoice over the forming of a national temperance society, and the certainty that they will win, because right must always conquer. "Truth is invincible; and formidable numbers melt away before the steady, strong-hearted march of unflinching faith." Free Methodists are urged to participate fully in the temperance movement, which shows that Illinois felt at least or even more positive about the temperance movement than Genesee. A strenuous warning is given to not get carried away to the point of using secret societies to promote the work. These societies are "weak and precarious," and can offer but "a feeble resistance." The report reminds that the "World's Reformer" stated, "In secret have I said nothing." Expediency should not cause us to use the devil's tactics. Following Genesee's lead, they state that alcoholic wine was not to be used for sacrament. Stewards are to store up enough grapes in the fall to provide for the sacrament, or prepare it from raisons.[23]

Michigan gives its first report on any reform this year (it is the third conference year), simply stating, "Temperance is a good

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[22]AC, 1869, 11.

[23]AC, 1869, 18-19.

thing, and we will give it our hearty support."[24] Reports in following years become similar to that of other conferences.

The next year, 1870, Susquehanna Conference observes that intemperance seems as strong as ever, if not stronger. The desire for alcohol seems insatiable, and vast qualities of different kinds of beverages "prepared by perverted arts from fruits and vegetables, otherwise useful and health giving," made in amounts so large as to be difficult to calculate. This is exacerbated by and in turn exacerbates covetousness and greed. Organizations not calculated to bring people to Christ are insufficient to meet this need. Only God's grace through salvation can bring it to pass. They resolved to continue the war, using the gospel and moral suasion, to vote only for men "unequivocally" committed to "thorough temperance reform," to elect delegates to General Conference who support changing the Discipline to explicitly require the expulsion of full members who "raise or traffic in grain of any kind, or use any fruits of the earth for manufacturing into intoxicating drinks to be used as beverages."[25]

In a few years the other conferences started to make similar conclusions as to the ineffectiveness of temperance reform that was not closely connected with gospel efforts, but Susquehanna would remain more dissatisfied with the movement than the other conferences.

The 1870 Genesee Conference report refers to statistics that when the country had less than half the population it currently had 30,000 died from drinking every year, and one fourth of the families suffered from alcohol use. "We feel that this sin is as deep as hell, and its effects as endless as eternity." In 1860 there were 1,138 places manufacturing alcohol, including over eighty million gallons of whiskey, high wine, and alcohol, over three thousand of brandy, gin, etc., and four million of New

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[24]AC, 1869, 25.

[25]Ac, 1870, 8-9.

England rum. There were nearly one thousand establishments producing three million gallons of beer. This totals to $42,000,000. This could provide for one thousand missionaries at $1000 annually and over fifty thousand ministers and $800 annually. They suggest that they have been too lax in their efforts to stem this tide. Moral suasion is insufficient. They emphasize, "To organize societies of Good Temperance, etc., conducted not so much for the suppression of intemperance as for parade, and social amusement, has not been effectual." Effort needs to be bold, united, and organized to "banish forever this curse from our land." They recommend forming temperance societies in connection with Sabbath schools. They strongly support the temperance party platform, and that it is vital not only to speak and preach against intemperance, but especially to vote against it.[26]

Note that the conference expresses dissatisfaction not only with secret temperance societies, but showy and superficial ones. However, they feel the key is not, as expressed by Susquehanna, joining gospel and temperance efforts, but by strongly pushing for prohibition.

Michigan and Illinois that year raise the familiar issues, such as voting, crops, secret temperance societies, sacramental wine, and the increase of alcohol use.[27]

General Conference of 1870 stated that annual conferences shall not pass resolutions interpreting the Discipline and then punish ministers or members for violating the interpretation.[28] This resolution has the force of law. This seems to refer to committee reports, and perhaps more to statements on tobacco than statements on alcohol.

Genesee, following its interest in alcohol statistics from the year previously, in 1871 provided figures from Washington for the

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[26]AC, 1870, 25-26.

[27]AC, 1870, 35-36, 45.

[28]AC, 1870, 60.

70-71 fiscal year,

Whiskey, 60,000,000 gallons at $6 retail	$360,000,000
Imported spirits, 2,500,000 gallon at $10 retail	25,000,000
Imported wine, 10,700,000 gallons at $5 retail	53,500,000
Ale, beer and porter, 65,000,000 bbls. at $20 retail	130,000,000
Native brandies, wines, cordial, quantity unknown, estimated value	31,500,000
	$600,000,000

Additional figures are given to establish these figures.[29]

Michigan, in an interesting connection between temperance and the FMC mission statement in the Discipline, stated that their 1871 conference report that the call to spread "Scriptural holiness over these lands," involves rejecting every form of indulgence prohibited by Scripture. Other than this the resolutions are similar to previous years.[30]

Susquehanna that year expressed a great deal of frustration, stating that despite all efforts intemperance continues to increase.

> We believe that the only cure for this vile practice is salvation; that alone will destroy it root and branch. The only organization needed is the church of Christ, and if those who are disciples of the Lord Jesus are true to their great commission, this monster iniquity will soon cease from the land.

A connection is seen between much temperance effort and the lodge. In response to this situation they determine to "double our diligence in laboring to get men converted to God and by so doing create a moral tone everywhere, in favor of temperance and prohibition."[31] This is the height of despair reached with the temperance movement, where all temperance efforts not tied to gospel promotion are viewed as not merely ineffective, but too likely to be tainted by the lodge.

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[29]AC, 1871, 30.

[30]AC, 1871, 41.

[31]AC, 1871, 13.

The next year Susquehanna stated that it is their "increased conviction" that the real means to temperance is the spread of the gospel, enabling men to "add to their faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge, and to knowledge temperance." Although any "philanthropic effort" is worth it if it rescues on person from this curse, yet it is especially our duty to promote this effect by laboring more to bring people to accept the Gospel. They resolve "renewedly, 'to strive for the mastery,' by being 'temperate in all things,' and to preach, pray and labor more earnestly than ever to rescue and save the fallen, by warning every man and teaching every man in all wisdom, that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus."[32]

Illinois that year expressed their frustration in a different way, by urging even more strenuous effort, and extending the fight to a broader sphere of "accessories." They resolve to regard anything aiding or tolerating the liquor traffic not only as in sympathy with the evil, but accessory to it. They strenuously object to the growing of grains for liquor production; "no Christian can knowingly do it." The restrictive laws passed in Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa and are heartily endorsed, and they pray for the same everywhere.[33]

The Minnesota Conference that year, its first year refers to secret temperance organizations as "nurseries of Free Masonry and Odd Fellowship." All the familiar territory of these reports are covered, such as seeking legislation, preaching and organizing against it, no raising of hops, no fermented wine in the sacrament, and no tobacco, enforcing the Discipline's rule on the subject.[34]

Still alone in their approach, Susquehanna the next year (1873) recommend that temperance advocates stop trying to get bad trees to bear good fruit, but start with reformation of their

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[32]AC, 1872, 15.

[33]AC, 1872, 38.

[34]AC, 1872, 59.

heart, from which these evils come. They do express support of all non-secret temperance efforts.[35] There seems to be definite effort to agree with the other conferences that there is some value in all non-secret temperance efforts, but as of yet the other conferences have not expressed, as Susquehanna had, the necessity of combining gospel and temperance effort. It would take the Women's Temperance movement to do that.

Following Genesee's lead, the 1873 report from Michigan quotes some statistics from a recent temperance lecture. One eighth of "aggregate products" of the nation were alcoholic beverages, which is ten times the value of all US church property, and more than half the value of all the US railroad property outside of Pennsylvania. Intemperance is still on an increase.[36]

That year Illinois used some of the strongest rhetoric yet. "The hydra-headed monster Intemperance is still spreading its poisonous influence over the land, and with unblushing impudence scattering misery, disease and death in its road." In the first expression of such an explanation for the lack of success in temperance in efforts, they believe the increase of intemperance is largely due to the examples of people in high places. The gospel is "the only power with which we can successfully meet and overcome this evil."[37] Here, finally, is agreement with Susquehanna on this point, although the conferences had never stated specifically that success could be achieved without combining gospel and temperance efforts.

During the Women's Temperance Movement 1874-1878

Genesee is the first conference to mention of the Women's Temperance Movement, in 1874. Their success is noted and held up as an example, repressing all sale of alcohol in some places. Especially it's success was attributed to the prayers of faithful

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[35]AC, 1873, 45.

[36]AC, 1873, 37.

[37]AC, 1873, 55-56.

women. It is becoming a political movement and is looking toward legislation. They promise their aid for this and any similar movement that may arise.[38]

Michigan again maintains their interest in statistics. Government revenue from the liquor traffic in 1873 was over fifty-two million, and the country experienced an additional eight hundred thousand paupers and orphans. Over forty percent of crime is attributable to drunkenness. They also note the rise that year of Women's Crusades. Whatever can be said about their methods, they have been quite successful. One wonders what problem they might have had with their methods.

> Thousands of saloons were closed and many souls saved from the drunkard's hell; and public conscience has been quickened to a degree scarcely ever known before. In five different States of the Union, temperance tickets have been put in the field, and the friends of temperance are looking for a general move all along the line.[39]

Illinois desires for stronger measures to be taken, urging that every circuit in the conference hold temperance meetings and that no Free Methodist patronize anyone involved in the liquor traffic. Illinois continues to have the perspective that all that is needed is more effort, and more radical effort. They do express their approval the "Prayer Crusade" of the women over the winter.[40]

Genesee the following year (1875) finally expressed, and that strongly, disagreement with Susquehanna's approach.

> To attempt to reach liquor dealers by the gospel, or moral suasion in order to cure the evil in that way, is an attempt at once futile and silly. What do they care for the gospel, or moral suasion, or the tears and groans of their wretched victims? It is their chief business to trample all these things under their feet. All that they will appreciate is physical force, pains and penalties, in the form of legal suasion. Society owes it to itself

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[38]AC, 1874, 38.

[39]AC, 1874, 48.

[40]AC, 1874, 57.

to protect itself from these voracious monsters.[41] Although Susquehanna would agree with prohibitory laws, they have a much more positive perspective on the effectiveness of gospel work.

Genesee continues with some interesting political analysis. The main political parties would only pander to temperance people when they were weak. Once they had gained strength, they would leave the temperance movement behind. State and national temperance societies have urged temperance candidates to run as third-party candidates. Legislation that has been achieved has allowed intemperance forces to provide alcohol nonetheless, due to lax enforcement. The liquor laws themselves have been framed in such a way as to make them ineffective. People need to take the advice of the State Temperance Society and avoid both the Democratic and Republican party. Full prohibition legislation is needed.[42] Prohibition parties were soon to be formed.

In 1875 the Illinois Conference provided another reason for lack of success, that the people in the liquor trade have banded together to avoid the law. The committee is pleased that some are trying to bring this situation before congress.[43] Following Genesee and Michigan's interest in statistics, they note the following year that malt and spiritous liquors comprised $625,000,000 annually, with 78,000 people being killed, and 800,000 "habitual drunkards cursing the land"[44]

In 1876, Susquehanna is extremely positive over the state of things, declaring that temperance is in a stage of revival more than ever previously seen, urging the church to come "to the front and help to push" the movement even farther. "The only hope lies in God and total prohibition. . . we cannot do less than to bind

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[41]AC, 1875, 31.

[42]AC, 1875, 31-33.

[43]AC, 1875, 82.

[44]AC, 1875, 70.

ourselves to the chariot of total prohibition and by all the powers God has given us pray and labor for its success."[45]

That year Illinois noted the tremendous success of temperance efforts of the last three years, particularly the last years (the beginning of Women's Temperance Movement), which they attribute change of tactics, from secret societies and legislation to emphasis on the gospel. These methods are what have been contended for so long. recommend measures and zeal of the "Ladies Christian Temperance Union," in their special prayer meetings and circulating literature. They favor the prohibition law of Maine, and wish to have one in Illinois, and they are opposed to the license system.[46] The reiterate their disapproval of the license system in 1878.[47]

The idea of using the church itself to promote temperance, since it has been so successful with the women, became popular with other conferences. Michigan in 1877 states that "the Church of God is the great temperance society."[48]

2. Tobacco. Temperance from the beginning included the issue of tobacco as a side issue. Many of the temperance reports would include statements on tobacco. 1866 brought the first statements on alcohol and tobacco, in the same reports on Temperance. Susquehanna includes tobacco in a list of things member should not grow.[49] They resolve that any preachers known to use tobacco are to be discontinued the next year.[50]

General Conference in 1866 ruled that Susquehanna's resolution regarding preachers' use of tobacco is creating law, and

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[45]AC, 1876, 55.

[46]AC, 1876, 79-80.

[47]AC, 1878, 98.

[48]AC, 1877, 89.

[49]AC, 1866, 33.

[50]AC, 1866, 35.

disapproved of it.[51]

The following year, in a resolution not out of committee but on the conference floor, Susquehanna resolved that the growing of tobacco for "chewing, snuffing or smoking, except when employed strictly as a medicine" as violating the general rule in the discipline against doing what "we know is not for the glory of God," and especially the application of the rule forbidding "needless softness and self-indulgence."[52]

An interesting assessment is contained in the Genesee Conference report in 1869. Tobacco is regarded as "possessing narcotic properties," and its use breaks the same principles as the use of alcoholic drinks, being different only in degree and rapidity of its effects.[53] Illinois also regards tobacco as the same kind of issue as alcohol use, calling tobacco use as "a filthy specimen of intemperance,"[54] while Susquehanna sees tobacco seen as a waste of the Lord's money, and violating the Bible's command to "cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit."[55]

The next year Susquehanna resolved to elect General Conference delegates who will support expulsion of full members who "engage in manufacturing, dealing in, or using tobacco, for snuffing, chewing, or making as commonly practiced."[56] Michigan regarded snuff, opium and tobacco as all for a "perverted and unnatural appetite," and that, as a filthiness of the flesh, the godly should avoid them

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[51]AC, 1870, 54.

[52]AC, 1867, 30.

[53]AC, 1869, 10-11.

[54]AC, 1869, 19.

[55]AC, 1869, 39.

[56]AC, 1870, 9.

all.[57] Illinois makes the same point that tobacco intemperance closely related to that of rum. It is "filthy, disgusting, health-destroying; involving a squandering of money, and of pernicious example--that we are utterly opposed to it, believing it to be utterly incompatible with purity of heart and life--and lasting and enduring clearness of Christian experience." They too petition General Conference to connect use of tobacco in any form to the rule against "soft and needless self-indulgence." The wearing of jewelry is used as a comparison to show how evil tobacco is.[58]

The 1870 General Conference did as requested and added to the rule on "softness and needless self indulgence," is "especially chewing, snuffing, or smoking tobacco, for the gratification of a depraved appetite."[59] This seemed to satisfy the conferences, as no more statements on tobacco are made until 1872. Illinois suggests that those who raise, sell or use tobacco "are not to be tolerated, fellowshiped, or received into the Christian Church, especially the Free Methodist Church." They petition next General Conference to add requirement of receiving members and preaching candidates the question, "Will you abstain from the use of tobacco?"[60] This request was not to be fulfilled. The next year Michigan goes even farther, recommending that those who raise, sell or use tobacco not only be prohibited from being members, but not allowed to partake of the Lord's Supper.[61]

As noted above, the Michigan Conference contained statistics on alcohol production in their 1872 and 1873 reports on temperance. Their 1874 had statistics for tobacco use and production. In 1871

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[57]AC, 1870, 36.

[58]AC, 1870, 46.

[59]AC, 1870, 57.

[60]AC, 1872, 38.

[61]AC, 1873, 37.

the Government collected revenue from ninety-five million pounds of tobacco, and 1.3 billion cigars, which gave the Government over thirty-one million. The retail cost was approximately 150 million, but "many hands make light work," as there are eight million tobacco users. They resolve to "kindly, and yet firmly, enforce the rule of Discipline in respect to tobacco," and to add to the general rule regarding "softness and needless indulgence," "especially snuffing, chewing, or smoking tobacco or opium for the gratification of a depraved appetite." This is exactly the same as what had been added in the 1866 General Conference except it adds the words, "and opium." It is noted that in 1871 over 300,000 pounds of opium valued at nearly two million dollars was imported. There are about five thousand opium users in New York.[62] This connecting the use of tobacco and alcohol with the problem of narcotics addiction seems almost prophetic of present-day problems.

In the following years the connection between tobacco and alcohol use is seen as more than just violating the concept of intemperance, but that one form of stimulant leads to using other stimulants, finally leading to alcohol use. In 1875 Susquehanna declared a connection between tobacco use and alcohol use. The former creates a desire for the latter.[63] The next year Iowa noted that tobacco raising, selling and using needs to be discouraged as the "first step downward towards a drunkard grave."[64] In 1877 Michigan went even farther back for the source, in homes that use "rich foods and stimulating drinks, such as strong tea and coffee. Narcotics, as the use of tobacco; certain drugs and medicines taken for diseases, are frightful

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[62]AC, 1874, 48-49.

[63]AC, 1875, 20.

[64]AC, 1876, 56.

sources of intemperance."[65] Again, there seems to be a farsightedness, in detecting the problem of addiction to prescription drugs. The General Conference of 1878 noted that the rule on tobacco has been misinterpreted, and that no Free Methodist is to use tobacco, not even as medicine.[66]

B. Worldly Behavior

1. Dress. The first year dress was brought up as an issue in the reports was 1866. This was an important issue for the FMC, but it was not a political reform, and there was sufficient agreement on the issue to make comments at conference on the subject generally unnecessary. A great deal of information on dress can be found in testimonies and biographies, as well as in the EC and FM. Susquehanna, in 1866 stated that they believed the Discipline's statement regarding dress to be "founded on the express teachings of scripture," and interpret it to prohibit "the wearing of all parts of dress put on for ornament only." It was noted with regret that there was a "growing tendency to worldly conformity among our members, . . . such as lace, fringes, embroidery, buttons, ribbons, braid, strips of velvet, etc," that they "affectionately admonish" them that this conflicts with their "solemn vow," that preachers be required to "lovingly, but faithfully enforce the discipline," and that Christian parents should refrain from "putting ornaments on the dress of their children."[67] Again, the tendency to make sure that no form of compromise was allowed, however small.

Susquehanna reaffirmed the above resolutions and reprint them fully in their 1868 minutes.[68] The same is done in 1869, a

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[65]AC, 1877, 56.

[66]AC, 1878, 115.

[67]AC, 1866, 35.

[68]AC, 1868, 25-26.

reprint and re-approval of the above.[69]

In 1870, Illinois resolved to take a decided stand against popular evils, such as wearing jewelry. It's evil is used as an comparison to show the evil of tobacco.[70] As tobacco was not a fully-developed issue when the church was formed, and the issue of dress had been prominent with the Nazarites from the beginning (and with the Methodists from the beginning), it was perfectly logical to use the wearing of jewelry as a paradigm of evil for which to compare tobacco use and demonstrate its evilness.

The General Conference of 1878 recognized that the FMC is nearly alone in calling for plain dress "in opposition to the extravagant fashions of the times, and earnestly exhort our people against the introduction, little by little, of innovations and practices calculated to foster conformity to the world."[71]

2. Worldly Amusements. This issue had a similar status to that of dress, and only one reference to it is contained in these minutes, in a report given by Michigan, in 1874. It employs the notably strong rhetoric that so typically characterizes these official statements. The reference to croquet is fairly unique, as references to dancing and card-playing were far more common.

> We believe croquet, and all popular amusements that we have any knowledge of, indulged in as a mere past-time, are contrary to the spirit of the Gospel and the Disciplines of the Free Methodist Church. They are such diversions as, we believe, cannot be taken in the name of the Lord Jesus. We believe that Christians cannot engage in them, nor suffer it to be done when in their power to prevent it, without suffering great spiritual loss. therefore, we request our ministers to discourage such sinful practices, both by precept and example.[72]

3. Sabbath Desecration. Unlike the issues of dress and

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[69]AC, 1869, 37-38.

[70]AC, 1870, 45-46.

[71]AC, 1878, 115.

[72]AC, 1874, 47.

worldly amusements, the issue of Sabbath desecration had a political edge, because it could so easily be legislated against, which is exactly what the FMC aimed for. In 1867, Susquehanna expressed a strong objection to the New York Republican Party State Convention resolution to make the Sabbath legally a day of "public or private recreations or pastimes." Here can be seen the tensions between conservative holiness people and European immigrants. The European Catholic tradition appreciated Sunday not so much as a day of worship, as a day free from work to relax and recreate. The more puritan approach of the largely Yankee Free Methodists did not view a day given to be God to include levity as an option. The conference also objected to the "bribe" of the New York legislature by a railroad, presumably allowing it to run on Sunday. Also, Sabbath breaking is listed as one of the effects of intemperance.[73]

The next year Susquehanna resolves to "heartily disapprove" of making cheese or carrying milk to cheese factories on Sunday, "and [we] will do all in our power to extirpate this evil from the land."[74] This issue would eventually be addressed by General Conference.

No more reference to Sabbath desecration are referred to until Michigan's 1872 report. They state that it has been shown that men can do more work if they observe the Sabbath. Journeys are made sooner, with both men and transported animals in better health, if Sundays are taken off. Not observing the Sabbath paves the way for intemperance and "all manner of profligacy. The family that disregards the Sabbath is losing everything." In a statement against immigrants, they indict "that foreign, Popish element in our country, that ignores our Sabbath laws, and would at the same time sweep, snatch the bible from our families and Schools, [which] is a drunken, reckless element and a vast expense to our nation."

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[73]AC, 1867, 29-30.

[74]AC, 1868, 37.

They urge careful instruction, showing how improper it is to do on Sunday what can be done other days, "Such as shaving, blacking boots, cutting hair, preparing wood, salting animals, going to the post office, making calls," and so on. They are opposed to "all worldly amusements, excursions, and secular business meetings on the Sabbath," and are committed to use their influence against Sabbath desecration by the railroads, street cars, "Beer saloons, Dancing Halls, Billiard Tables," as well as "Sabbath huxtering" on camp grounds.[75]

Minnesota's 1873 report notes that many efforts are being made to open city parks on Sunday for "driving, walking, dancing and other amusements," as well as opening public reading rooms to "peruse any fiction they may choose," and they grieve that the "reading of political papers and novels, visiting traveling, and worldly conversations are common on the Sabbath, even among professing Christians." Note the very close connection between worldly amusements and Sabbath desecration. On work days people generally could be trusted not to engage in such inappropriate activities, but the time that they have on Sundays pose a temptation to such amusements often difficult to resist, if the person has a desire to resist at all. The conference also pledges to, by "pastoral labor, and preaching to bring our Church and congregations into a love and observance of the Sabbath."[76]

Two years later the New York Conference mourns that Sabbath desecration is on the increase, due to various businesses, saloons, and and "pleasure taking" on Sunday. Sunday railroads are in full operation. The ministers and churches of Philadelphia have taken a strong position against Sunday railroading. They resolve to be opposed to Sabbath desecration in all its forms, but especially Sunday railroading, "by precept and practice" is passed

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[75]AC, 1872, 52-53.

[76]AC, 1873, 45.

unanimously.[77]

In 1877 Michigan recommend preaching of the subject at all regular appointments, to kindly but faithfully urge all members to "carefully avoid doing any unnecessary business," and that making or receiving social visits on Sunday breaks the fourth commandment, and guilt of this should prevent a person from retaining membership in the FMC.[78]

Finally, the General Conference of 1878 disapproved of Sabbath breaking, such as cheese and butter making, and the using of public conveyances.[79]

III. Secrecy and More General Political Reforms

A. Secret Societies

1. Increasing Dissatisfaction, 1867-1873. As vital an issue as the lodge was in the forming of the FMC, nothing is stated in conference reports until 1867. It is possible that some of the missing reports deal with this issue, or that until this time the increasing secular political power of the lodge, as well as the ecclesiastical power, is noticed. Illinois observes an "increasing influence of secret societies and the unjustifiable complicity of ministers of the gospel with the same," and regards the church's position on secret societies as scriptural, quoting "come out from among them." The church's position is also "consistent with the genius of our Republican institutions." This theme of the dual sphere of secrecy influence and danger, both the church and secular government, remains a common theme. Secret society influence is seen as "a subtle and insidious foe to spirituality, by its substitution of a Christless religion, a system of semi-biblical rites, and a spacious charity for the regenerating power of the gospel. They commit to in all proper ways and by all proper means oppose its "blasphemous pretensions, its arrogant assumptions, and

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[77]AC, 1875, 8.

[78]AC, 1877, 90.

[79]AC, 1878, 116.

its silent influence." Pity and indignation are felt toward professing Christians who are part of such societies. They do not regard it wise to create an organization as a conference to oppose secret societies, but support joint efforts by churches in such an effort, especially seen in Aurora, Illinois in October, which is aimed at creating a national convention of Christians opposed to secret societies. "We give our warmest sympathy and recommend our people to active co-operation with the same."[80]

Genesee, in 1870 notes that the conference is held near to where William Morgan was held and killed by the Lodge over forty years earlier. Masonry always is "earnestly giving evidence all over the land that it is opposed to the liberty of the press and freedom of speech." They mention a recent case of abusive behavior by the Masons against a minister who had spoken out against them. The lodge is gaining power in every part of government so that people are increasingly afraid to speak out against it. They strenuously object to this and determine to speak out, and note that many people from many different denominations, many former Masons, are joining together to speak out. Masonry is seen as weak because it will not bear the light, "so let us pray, speak, vote and work till this abomination be swept from among us." The anti-Masonic paper, The Christian Cynosure, is recommended (and will continue to be recommended by all the conferences regularly for some years), as well as the attending of the Anti-Secret State Convention, with the date and location provided. All members of the conference able to attend are to be considered delegates from the conference.[81]

Illinois' report of the same year reaffirm the committee's report of 1867. Oaths to the lodge and service to Christ are mutually exclusive, "Ye cannot serve two masters." "It is plain that two systems so absolutely incompatible with each other can not

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[80]AC, 1867, 17-18.

[81]AC, 1870, 27-28.

harmoniously exist in a Christian land. Either they or we must inevitably fall." Their concept of resurrection and government are at odds with that of Christianity. Support is given for the rise in anti-secrecy literature, both secular and religious, including the FM, The Religious Telescope, The American Baptist, and especially the Christian Cynosure, to which this is its main purpose. They rejoice at the success of the new National Association.[82]

The next year Michigan observed that two of their committee members were former Masons. They give their "unqualified condemnation of all secret, oath-bound societies, both in their principle and practice." Secrecy is antagonistic to our faith and our republican institutions. Again note perceived two-pronged danger of the lodge. Their rites "heap contempt" upon our faith, and they "sap the foundations" upon our government institutions by "treasonably and wickedly arrogating to themselves the power of visiting the death penalty upon those who may incur their displeasure: regardless of all civil law." The "wisest and best statesmen" of the past have opposed such societies. Christian religion is found in the good of others, the lodge in selfishness. A Christian cannot begin something that he does not know what it will require, but the lodge leads "their altered and blinded candidates into their dark precincts, require them to kneel at their sacrilegious altar and enter into a covenant of death, and make a league with hell."[83]

The same year Genesee urged preachers to inform themselves on "these secret abomination" and to, on all proper occasions, testify against them. Recommend the Christian Cynosure and Bernard's Expose of Free Masonry and that at least four members of conference be sent as delegates to the State Anti-Secret Society Convention. Among the six appointed were B. T. Roberts, Levi Wood (FM editor),

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[82]AC, 1870, 46.

[83]AC, 1871, 42-43.

and Asa Abell.[84]

In 1872 Illinois provided one of the strongest-worded statements yet.

> We recognize in the secret orders of the day, the embodiment of principles contrary to, and in direct antagonism to the spirit and genius of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and calculated in their necessary action to supplant Christ in the hearts of men, and overthrow His Church in the world; and to foster wickedness and contempt of moral and legal restraints; to perpetuate barbarism, cruelty, and unjust discriminations among men.

The lodge is referred to it as "modern Baalism." They were encouraged, however, at how many with to join in battle against the secrecy movement. Periodicals recommended include the FM, EC, and especially devoted to the subject, The Christian Cynosure, The Reformer and the Methodist Free Press.[85]

Michigan that year saw a connection between the lodge and toleration of alcohol use. They felt that the churches formerly opposed to intemperance (referred to as the "Father of vices"), and making it a condition of membership now ignore it. Where traffic is allowed Sunday observance and religious services are difficult to maintain.[86] It can be seen that all these issues were seen as interconnected.

In their first conference report (1872), Minnesota gave out a statement against secrecy and encouraging use of the Christian Cynosure, and those lecturers and societies opposed to secrecy.[87]

The growth trends of the lodge are observed by Michigan in 1873, that secrecy was once quite large, but went into serious decline with the Morgan incident, but now had been increasing for some time at an alarming rate. They urge the conference to secure

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[84]AC, 1871, 31.

[85]AC, 1872, 40-41.

[86]AC, 1872, 51.

[87]AC, 1872, 59.

as many subscribers to the Christian Cynosure as possible.[88]

That year Minnesota spoke out against a common defense of the lodge, its charitable efforts. A secret society may have benevolent aims, but they are still unlawful for Christians. Among the typical reasons is being in league with unsaved men.[89]

2. Climax of Resistance to the Lodge, 1874-1878. Strong rhetoric, similar to that used against intemperance, is used at length by Susquehanna in its 1874. It is of sufficient interest to be reported at length.

> Secretism, like the shadow of death, has spread her mantle over our beloved country, threatening our institutions, if not endangering our very existence. The parent of secretism has been truthfully alleged to be Freemasonry.
>
> It has bedimmed the visions of the people--enslaved the intellect--muzzled the pulpit and the press--corrupted legislatures--bribed juries, and justified crime; and boasts of its wicked deeds of darkness. It is a sworn enemy of all righteousness--has substituted a false religion for the true, and worships at the shrine of idolatry. It is a priesthood of unbelievers, as it rejects the atonement--ignores the doctrine of future punishment, and dreams of heaven as a place of masonic, bacchanalian festivities. It makes the compass and the square the emblems of universal moral rectitude, and receives or rejects the Bible at pleasure. It claims to be Christian, but places Mohammedanism and heathenism on the same level with Christianity, under pretenses of uniting under one head the common brotherhood of man.
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> It embraces within its folds, on masonic principles, the libertine, the drunkard, the skeptic, the profane, the nominal Christian and even ministers of the gospel. As it embraces such a variety of faiths and characters, the lines of distinction, between virtue and vice, good and evil, and right and wrong, are defined according to the masonic standard of morality.
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> It is an enemy to society because it infringes on the moral and civil relations of life, by its limited laws of chastity, its exclusion of the better part of community; and also in the aid and comfort it pretends to extend to those who are adhering members of its own

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[88]AC, 1873, 38-39.

[89]AC, 1873, 46.

communion.

> Therefore, in the full belief that God has raised us up for an especial purpose, we have arrayed ourselves against this satanic power, so ruinous to young and old, both men and women who come under its influence. We believe it to be a curse to society, a blasting mildew on the church and a combination of elements destructive to civilization and human and religious freedom.[90]

Defenses of Masonry are answered in Michigan's 1874 report. Masonry claims to be ancient, but Grand Lodge Masonry, or Speculative Masonry, began in 1717. It claims to be benevolent and charitable, but it is extremely selfish and exclusive. It claims to be the religion, yet uses the Bible only to deceive. "In the light of Scripture and fact we are authorized to say that no man can, at one and the same time, be an intelligent, adhering Mason and a Christian."[91]

Illinois expressed their approval of the National Christian Association, and rejoiced at their successes. They aim not at creating "a mere popular enthusiasm" against secrecy, but foster a healthy sentiment of opposition arising from education on the subject, "that under its influence, the lodge will die, and be buried beneath conviction too deep to ever admit of a resurrection." The conference is under "obligation to continual co-operation with the National Christian Association." Recommend that delegates be elected the next year from the conference to the National Christian Association and that a collection be taken up in the charges for the National Christian Association.[92]

Minnesota, in only its third year, has it's own strong rhetoric.

> In common with the nations of Europe and the world, our land is covered with a network of secret societies, prominent among which we specify the Jesuits, Ku Klux, Free Masons, Odd Fellows, Temperance orders, and Grangers. Their votaries here are said to number some

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[90]AC, 1874, 24.

[91]AC, 1874, 51-52.

[92]AC, 1874, 64.

> two millions. The Free Masons alone number half a million. The latter has laid its tenacious grasp on the throat of the nation and the Church; seeking with wily vigilance and insatiable ambition to acquire complete dominion in the government of both.

Stories are told of the abuse given to two lecturers against Masonry. They express appreciation of the National Christian Association for its providing of anti-secrecy material.[93]

The General Conference of 1874 viewed secret societies as being of,

> . . .one root and principle, seizing the reigns of government, plundering our public treasuries, acquitting the guilty criminal, disturbing the course of trade and commerce so that the natural law of supply and demand is made to give place to the ring power and Secret Society manipulation. while in the South the White Leaguers, and in the colliery regions the Molly Maguires, by intimidation and murder, over-ride law, and defy justice. . . Men meet and talk their schemes of Levelism and Infidelity; and notwithstanding the fact that government detectives have been employed; Congressional committees appointed; fact and data collect; still these outrages continue. For Judges and jurors, prosecuting attorneys and witnesses, have tied their own hands, padlocked their mouths, and stulified their consciences by affiliation with Secret Societies of apparently more harmless character.

They recommend for Free Methodists to participate with the National Christian Association.[94] These lengthy quotes indicate not only how strongly Free Methodists felt on this issue, but how practiced they were in their rhetoric, it having been such an important issue since their beginning. The reports are much more polished and deal a lot more with common arguments against their position than reports on any other subject.

Iowa's first report (1875) is a strong one with a typical statement, which they even declare to have done to show their

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[93]AC, 1874, 69-70.

[94]AC, 1874, 75-76.

solidarity on this subject with other conferences.[95] Minnesota that year indicates that Masons should not be allowed to be church members, nor even be allowed to partake at the Lord's table. Grangers should especially be opposed, "for they take God's money from all who unite with them without returning and equivalent." They are viewed as the "stepping stone" to an order which "assumes the power, even in this free land, to cut the throats, dig out the hearts, and smite in twain the skulls of all their dear brethren who presume to reveal their frivolous secrets."[96] The strength of such language is virtually unmatched in reform movements of the time, although such statements were not all together uncommon.

Wisconsin's 1875 committee on reforms reports on the lodges connection to other evils.

> Secret Societies, worldly conformity, Sabbath desecration, popular amusement, social religion. . . that they are kindred in their nature, all springing from worldliness and the spirit of the wicked one, is another fact that needs no proof; for the spirit of the world enters into all of them, while the Holy Ghost testifies against them, and the word of God bears testimony and agrees therewith.[97]

The next year Susquehanna recommend an article that Roberts had with him by Walter Sellew entitled Masonic Benevolence. They recommend it be published in tract form.[98] The same year Iowa maintains such interest in available anti-lodge material, and quotes at length an article in the FM[99] which it states its agreement with except the last eight lines in the original.[100]

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[95]AC, 1875, 53.

[96]AC, 1875, 64.

[97]AC, 1875, 70.

[98]AC, 1876, 40.

[99]Apr. 5, 1876.

[100]AC, 1876, 47.

Later, they recommend Finney's book, and Ranaynes' Handbook on Masonry.[101]

Three differences between the lodge and Christianity are indicated by Iowa's 1877 report, which are, acknowledging man's condition of lostness; of his redemption by Christ alone; and his need of the Holy Spirit to awaken, lead to Christ, regenerate, sanctify, indwell, purify and guide.[102]

Finally, and alarmingly, Illinois in 1878 reported that one of the conference ministers was "murderously assaulted," presumably by secrecy forces for his uncompromising position.[103]

B. Other Political Reforms

There are a few committee reports that deal with political reform, but do not deal with the more common issues of equality, temperance, the Sabbath or the lodge. Susquehanna in 1868 provides a defense of their political involvement, attacking the general extravagance of the age and its effects. They state that although "mere politics are unbecoming our profession--party interests too low," it is their duty to support and transmit moral and religious principles, and when these are threatened to speak out. They are concerned about the growing extravagance. There is concern over three specific areas, marriage (divorce was increasing), Sabbath observance and temperance. Legal corruption and complicity of professing Christians put all these values at risk. They are glad, however, for increased Christian activities, and the continuing increase in the cry for reform.[104]

The 1877 New York Conference report is extremely interesting. It gives approbation to the efforts of some "influential clergymen and reformers in our republic" for desiring recognition of God in the Constitution. This omission and refusal to include Him is a

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[101]AC, 1876, 53.

[102]AC, 1877, 37.

[103]AC, 1878, 99.

[104]AC, 1868, 47-48.

"black stain upon our national Government, and as bordering on impiety, if not actually impious." It is seen as part of the devil's work toward infidelity which, through "papal mechanations," would remove recognition of God from public schools by excluding the Bible.[105] Apart from maligning the Roman Catholic Church, this statement is quite similar to statements that could presently made by the Religious Right. The 1878 General Conference commends this effort to have the constitution recognize God, and pledge their support.[106] The Leslie Ray Marston Papers have correspondence with members of the National Christian Association in the 1940's that express just such a desire, to see recognition of Deity in the Constitution.[107] Quite possibly these were the people referred to in this report by the New York Conference, once again demonstrating the close connection all such reforms, personal and public, had with the Free Methodists and similarly-minded people.

In the same report they not that a large section of the country has been agitated by the revolution of many railroad and mine employers against their employers, with many lives and millions of dollars lost and the halting of much significant business, all at great loss to both sides. Capitalists and large corporations are condemned for "oppressing the hireling in his wages, we also condemn this action of the laborers." This is blamed on secret organization patronized by the laborers,

> which form a kind of communism; which, when fully developed, can only bring ruin to its members, and great injury to the public. We protest against the Communism and exhort our people to pay no heed to its mandates, but

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[105]AC, 1877, 15.

[106]AC, 1878, 115.

[107]See folder, "Correspondence: National Association of Evangelicals, 1947." These papers are housed in the B. L. Fisher library of Asbury Theological Seminary.

to firmly discountenance it.[108]

This is the first reference to the labor movement at all, with ambiguity, being opposed to capitalist oppression and labor violence and extreme political ideology. A similar statement occurs in the General Conference of 1878, which disapproves of the communist element in labor, and condemns "the lawless acts of violence inspired thereby, . . . while also severely censuring the oppression of capitalistic and business corporations. [109]

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[108]AC, 1877, 15.

[109]AC, 1878, 115.

PART III: OUTGROWTHS OF EARLY FREE METHODISM

CHAPTER SEVEN: RADICALS WHO LEFT THE FMC

I. A Growing Dissatisfaction with the State of the FMC

Even though the denomination was only twenty years old, its mindset was changing. In common with the second generation of many groups, people were already longing for the church the way it was. Also, a real concern for order is observed in the church, a concern that is difficult to interpret considering their history. As early as 1881 statements reaffirming church authority and urging restoration of their original fervor are present.

That year the New York Conference's State of the Work report makes an extremely significant statement regarding authority to minister in the church, namely that "under God and within Bible rule the authority of the church is second to none but that of our Lord--that individual preferences and opinions must, to a great extent, be submerged in the will of the majority to maintain either civil or ecclesiastical authority." To maintain her true dignity, the church should "lovingly, but firmly enforce the proper authority of the church," which, according to the above, is quite extensive.[1] No provision seems to be given for resisting the authority of the church for conscience sake, just as the Nazarites had done. It is important to note, however, that the only justification the Nazarites gave for their actions was that they were simply continuing the usages and laws of Methodism, thus the Regency (see chapter four) was breaking with church order, not them. As they could not see anyone having to go against their authority in maintaining the Methodist tradition (through which lens Scripture was interpreted), as they had made a great deal of effort already to maintain that tradition. They seem largely unaware of the influence of the Palmer and Oberlin on their Methodist tradition, especially on the method of accepting entire sanctification and the approach on reforms, but these traditions, as noted above, had been so influenced by Methodism themselves and in turn so influenced Methodism that their influences were no

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[1]AC, 1881, 12.

obvious innovations. Any radicals arising up would not be attempting to return to a pure kind of Methodism untainted by these elements of the early holiness revival, but would rather carry these influences and developments even farther. While being radical may come from the Latin word radix, meaning root, to be radical to Free Methodists of either generation meant more to apply what they perceived as the original Methodist concepts without compromise to the current situation.

In the interests of maintaining authority, a resolution is passed prohibiting people not authorized to do so from holding religious meetings. No meetings, public or private, should be held in the name of the FMC without properly authorized people. This is said to be the intent of the discipline, but conferences were expressly forbidden from passing resolutions interpreting the discipline by the General Conference of 1870.[2] In response to complaints about a spirit of restraint in some meetings, it is resolved that if such is the case (and they hope that it is not), the leaders in question should be prayed for and worked with, and if the problem continues to exercise proper discipline.[3] In an irony common with conservative leaders trying to prevent foment, they unknowingly break their own rules in their scramble to keep order. No doubt the conference would have adjusted their approach if they had been made aware of the 1870 resolution, but the spirit of that resolution would continue to be broken for the next decade and a half. It would become quite common to enforce certain interpretations of the Discipline (interpretations that are far from being clearly stated) and thus break the spirit of this binding resolution of General Conference. The radicals would feel that they were keeping the spirit of both the Discipline and this resolution, although no reference to this resolution was discovered by the author after it first came out in 1870.

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[2]AC, 1870, 60.

[3]AC, 1881, 12.

A very frank discussion on ministers follows this State of the Work Report. They are convinced that the FMC has produced preachers rather than pastors, that is, in part, ministers do not visit. Class leaders do not visit their members either. Not only is such a duty required of all Methodist ministers and class leaders, but Free Methodist ministers and class leaders are also required to teach holiness to members and to daily enjoy the experience themselves. They wish class meetings to be restored to their original structure, behind closed doors, only members and seekers be allowed, that classes be run according the structure laid out in the Discipline, that the issues of the church be earnestly pressed in the classes, and that they reassert their previous statements on dress.[4] As noted in chapter three above, the original Methodist forms were disintegrating in favor of new forms, or no form at all, as in this case with the prayer meeting suiting people better than the more seemingly intrusive and controlling class meeting. Again this matches a real Methodist concern for order, as pastoral visit and class meetings were essential elements in monitoring people's spiritual and disciplinary status.

An intriguing assessment of Free Methodist understandings of Christian doctrine and experience in found in the 1886 Genesee Conference State of the Work Report.[5] They contend that to a stranger it might sound that they preach justification by works rather than faith, that the standard for Christian perfection is sometimes presented as the standard for justification, "to the confusion of young converts and others who are weak in the faith." The result is some straining "for some things different from and higher than purity of heart." One wonders whether this indicates that the leadership was already more strongly connecting consecration with entire sanctification as opposed to justification

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[4]Ibid., 12-13.

[5]Pages 65, 66.

than the church had done previously. This equation of consecration with holiness is one of the complaints James leveled in the FM concerning the National Holiness Association, as noted above in chapter five, note 47. Also, as will be seen in the next chapter, this is also one of Dake's complaints, and why he eventually removes the concept of consecration from entire sanctification altogether, except for seekers needing to renew a faulty justification experience as preparation.

Genesee's report goes on to complain that there is too little "clear definite experience." This especially applies to Christian perfection. This lack of testimony leads to many being unsteady in their religious life, and the loss of new converts. It also explains the

> want of simplicity in apparel and the increasing worldliness in appearance and the manifestations of covetousness seen in many instances. It explains the empty seats in many of our places of worship, and the lack of spirituality of many of our people. It explains the lack of fervor in singing, prayer, testimony and preaching. There is marked lack of zeal, which is absolutely essential.

The 1888 Minnesota and North Iowa State of the Work Report[6] provides additional concerns, stating that "the church is not down on the bedrock of consecration, that brings the abiding Holy Ghost and fire. . . A consecration, comprehending the crucifixion of self, is called for." The means of grace are not made sufficient use of, although this had lately been improving. "Let one and all return to the old landmarks, consecrate to the line of self-crucifixion and then we shall have the old-time power, courage and zeal." This lack results in insufficient means to support preachers, who thus get discouraged and hampered. "When there should be abundance, a pittance is given." Such "unworthy stewards of God's manifold bounties, become dry and lean in spirit, dwelling in a parched land." Also, there is insufficient pastoral visitation. This is in part due to lack of support, but also to

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[6]Page 46.

a lack of complete consecration by ministers. It is to be noted that the concern here now focuses more on the spiritual life of Free Methodists than methods, indicating perhaps that the problem is seen as more serious, and indeed, complaints of this nature become more common.

The same year the West Iowa Conference's State of the Work Report[7] indicates that while the work is generally healthy, more aggression is needed. Circuit preachers need to "be their own evangelists" as was formerly common in Methodism, spending five or six months at least in protracted meetings. Efforts are needed to maintain a revival spirit, as well as a spirit of sacrifice, to "push out into the regions beyond. We need to wake up at this point. We are about half asleep in regard to the demands of the work of God." There is a need for deeper consecration by the church, both ministers and lay people. Here is a mention of the need for increased evangelism, not commonly a concern previously as it was so natural for the FMC. This increased concern for evangelism is a guiding concern of the radical groups, particularly the Pentecost Bands (PBs).

The California Conference of 1890[8] complains not only of the lack of use of class meeting, and for the need "of a fire-baptized religion upon the people." Many are still without "the grace of perfect love." This would naturally be regarded as a dangerous state of affairs by Free Methodists, as it would seem reminiscent of the MEC.

> We should urge upon them its necessity with all possible vehemence and persistency. It is impossible to over-estimate the necessity of keeping our people up to the standard in this particular. If there be arguments enough to do it we should make every Free Methodist feel that it is an absolute necessity for him to wholly sanctified.

That same year Central Illinois indicates that some places

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[7]Page 107

[8]Page 31.

have been bothered by a

> . . . spirit of insubordination and of come-out-ism, either forgetting or ignoring the holy precept, "Obey them that have the rule over you." This, we believe, is a result of entertaining too low an estimation of church authority. We believe that under God the authority of the church is second to none but that of her Lord. Hence individual preference and opinion must be, to a great extent, submerged into the will of the majority, in order to maintain either civil or ecclesiastical authority, considering this, that there is a vast difference between concession and compromise. We regard insubordination improper, unsafe and adverse to the interest of our Discipline, contrary to the teachings of the New Testament. Hence all public meetings held among us, whether indoor or out, should be in charge of some person or persons properly authorized by the Free Methodist Church. We heartily recommend the spirit of liberality as broad as is consistent with faithfulness to God, at all times, and under all circumstances; a liberality that is tolerant to the honest opinions of others.

Complaint is also made regarding lack of pastoral visiting and class meeting.[9] New York's 1881 argument concerning following the majority is here used to what was by 1890 a very specific problem, the growing number of people, especially holiness people, who believed that denominations were inherently sinful. The FMC was very sensitive on the issue of their right to exist, and seem to argue with particular vehemence against these concepts.

Thus in the decades of the 1880's and 1890's the FMC begins to feel a growing concern for their movement in several aspects. Regarding church authority, they are concerned that majority rule be preserved, that meetings are conducted by those authorized to do so, that pastoral visitation and class meetings be maintained, and that a spirit of insubordination not be inculcated. Regarding doctrine, definitions of justification and sanctification do not have sufficient consensus, particularly in terms of consecration. Finally, regarding spiritual life, the zeal and consecration of both lay people and ministers are called into question, particularly regarding their enjoyment of the blessing of holiness.

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[9]AC, 1890, 107.

II. Robert Lee Harris and Independent Missions

Although Sherman, Shaw and Dake (discussed below) were already operating their ministries when Harris began his faith mission work, the cooperation of these groups and their prominence denomination-wide was largely occasioned by Harris' venture, although this was already beginning to happen. Harris was born in 1861 and raised in the south, first Mississippi, then Alabama, and finally Texas. Converted and called to preach when fourteen, he fell away, to be reclaimed in 1880 and begin a private itinerant ministry. While in Indiana he renewed an acquaintance with a Free Methodist preacher, Warren Parker. This would lead to his joining the denomination.[10]

Being from the south, the FMC was a previously unknown group to Harris. The FMC had significant difficulties gaining a foothold in the South. In 1880 the denomination was centered from New York to Illinois, all above the Ohio River. The frontier was Northern Michigan, the Dakotas and Texas. A Free Methodist minister, Hardin Wallace from Illinois, held meetings in 1877 at Ennis, and left a holiness band, and invited W. B. M. Colt to hold meeting for them that year. G. R. Harvey organized Free Methodist classes in 1878 at Lawrence, Ennis and Corsicanna. The Texas conference was organized in 1881 at Corsicanna.[11]

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[10]Ingersol, Robert Stanley, "Burden of Dissent: Mary Lee Cagle and the Southern Holiness Movement," (Ph.D. diss., 1989, Duke University), 71, 72. I am extremely indebted to Stan Ingersol and his work. My examination of his dissertation and ensuing conversations greatly expanded my knowledge of the radical network, and all my materials on Harris and Shaw, whose connection with the radicals I had been unaware of, comes from either his work, our conversations, or material he showed to me at the Nazarene Archives in Kansas City, Missouri, where I was able to examine the copies of the Vanguard, Law and Gospel, Trumpet, and Michigan Holiness Record that I refer to in this chapter, as well as the sources by Jolley, Banker, Freeland, and John W. Harris. His dissertation refers to many articles in the FM that deal with the Independent Missions issue, as well as two EC articles, and his notes in the fourth chapter are to be referred to identify these articles.

[11]Ibid., 73, 74.

A. The Rise of Independent Missions in the FMC

1. The Harris Project is started. In the 1885 Annual Conference Harris informed them that he was called to Africa and desired to be appointed missionary. His connection is from an appeal from a Liberian chieftain named Tappa, which was presented by Mary Sharp, a Monrovia missionary connected with MEC Bishop William Taylor. Tappa's appeal had been reprinted in the FM, causing quite a stir. Harris published an appeal for money, and as he was unknown in the FMC outside of Texas, the FM editor suggested that it was either a "confidence game" or just a visionary project. He later apologized, as he had not known of Harris' connection to the church, but reiterated that the FMC was already trying to raise money to officially send foreign missionaries." This tension with the church was to continue until he withdrew.[12]

Missions were becoming an increasing concern in the FMC, both at home and overseas. In 1884 the Illinois Conference[13] indicated that many calls for missionaries had been printed in the FM, and that a Robert Shemeld from the Minnesota and Northern Iowa Conference and his wife were on their way to Africa. His work is commended to the support and prayers of the people, and a missionary meeting is scheduled for later in the conference (the details were provided in the resolution) which was to include a free-will offering to raise money for the Shemelds. The same year Louisiana reported on missions[14], a standing committee formed with the intent to devise a plan to "reach the colored people in the bounds of our conference," to convert them and organize them into their own societies. Wisconsin in its 1885 report[15] provides a lot of detail provided on missions giving, although it is home missions.

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[12]Ibid., 77, 78.

[13]Page 109

[14]Page 165.

[15]Page 74.

In the midst of all these more official and connected mission impulses, Harris' idea of going out independently was not always received warmly. Efforts were made to dissuade Harris, as it was felt that his itinerant spirit was ill-suited for missionary work. However, Harris' intent, in Ingersol's opinion, quickly projected him into prominence of the radical Free Methodists. The leading figure of the radicals at the time was C. W. Sherman of St. Louis, author of the Vanguard (VG). This paper became a major sponsor of Harris' Liberia mission. S. B. Shaw, editor of the Michigan Holiness Record (MHR), was another from this radical group, and was quickly becoming a leader in interdenominational holiness circles. The largest component of radicals were the PBs, led by Vivian Dake, their "founder and guiding spirit."[16] His role will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Common themes with the radicals included being even more evangelistic than their highly evangelistic denomination, stern standards of behavior and dress in response to perceived "second generation laxness," and renewed emphasis on "puritanical rules that had shaped the church in earlier years." The differences on these issues were really only a matter of degree, but their breach with the majority of the FMC and the more conservative elements allowed for greatly expanded roles for women. Although having the support of Roberts, the right to ordain women was not won, as will be examined in the next chapter. A more tense issue was that of "faith work" in home and foreign missions, resisting the increasing trend toward institutionalization in the young denomination, supporting what they felt was a more Biblical missions pattern. Ingersol believes the essence of these radical was the sense of being led by the Spirit. There was a "deep distrust of authority mediated through institutions, including ecclesiastical ones." God's will, found through spiritual disciplines, such as prayer and Bible reading, was what mattered most. Once found, this will must be followed at all costs, to be consistent with the entire

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[16]Ingersol, 79.

consecration intrinsic to the experience of entire sanctification.[17]

The basis for Harris' approach was William Taylor, who had founded missions in India, South America and now Africa, and although these eventually became part of the MEC missionary program, they were not so at this time, as Taylor did not believe in missions relying on denomination sponsors. Missionaries were to support themselves on the field or be supported by the natives. Clearly, Ingersol believes, Harris regarded himself as the William Taylor of the FMC.[18]

2. Promoting the work. Harris returned the following year in time for revival and camp meeting season, speaking at the St. Charles camp meeting, and calling on the FM editorial offices, as well as speaking in area churches in Illinois. He also strengthened ties with Dake and Sherman. Dake was at the St. Charles campmeeting in 1866 with two of the female band leaders. As soon as the meeting was over, Harris called on the PBs for support. Dake attended one of his meetings and a band member, Mary Primmer, volunteered to return with him to Africa, for which Dake released her from the Bands and arranged for her to speak in churches to raise fare. In the end she was unable to go because of schedule changes by Harris.[19]

At the same time, Sherman went with Harris to various camp meetings and churches in Illinois and New York. One FM article called Harris Sherman's "protege." The motto on the VG reads, "Radical in Holiness; Neutral in Nothing." This is an accurate reflection of Sherman. Ingersol notes that his reform impulse over two decades dealt with such issues as "women's rights and suffrage, anti-sectarianism, prohibition, and reform of state and local government." Judging by statements by annual conference committees

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[17]Ibid., 80, 81.

[18]Ibid., 81, 82.

[19]Ibid., 83-85.

below, it would seem that anti-secretism should be added to the list. In 1886, however, his main concern was the faith mission concept. Sherman's support for this kind of work could not but be magnified because of Harris' presence, and "the journalistic hype of Harris' Liberian work was underway in earnest." By the end of the summer photographs of Tappa and Harris (with a Bible, and with huts in the background) were being circulated. Shaw's MHR declared all profits from a recent issue as going to this African work.[20]

Sherman argued that faith mission should be promoted because without the interference of denominational boards they gave more to missionaries to change plans as they need to. Boards err in tactics and strategy and should not have our confidence, sometimes rejecting candidates led by the Spirit and thwarting God's plan. The FM editor, Travis, argued that discipline was exercised by the church in ordaining candidates, and this depended on members led by the Spirit in choosing their delegates to Annual or General Conference, and from this came the boards of the church. He saw irony in Sherman and Harris having confidence in their own godliness and intelligence, but not in several such men, or how such a board, although composed of men at least as high of caliber as Sherman, suddenly becomes something "vitiated, unworthy of confidence, if not decidedly immoral."[21]

B. T. Roberts ordained Harris at the 1886 General Conference, but did not say that Harris was called to Liberia, but actually said quite the opposite, asking him not to go, giving reasons not to attempt a mission at Liberia, but when it was clear that Harris would not be dissuaded, he wished "to afford him every possible facility for making the mission a success." The reasons Roberts felt such a mission would not be a success is the high mortality rate for foreigners in West Africa, and Liberia's large number of missions and churches while the rest of Africa had

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[20]Ibid., 86.

[21]Ibid., 86-87.

relatively few. Nonetheless, Harris left for Africa in October.[22]

3. In Africa. The first month in Africa was very difficult. The Westfalls left after a month due to Mrs. Westfall's health. A few days later Malaria hit the rest of the group, killing Eunice Knapp. This only left two missionaries other than Harris. Mr. Westfall, back in America, published attacks against Harris for not having sufficient provisions. One of the remaining missionaries, Jennie Torrence, wrote a defence of Harris in response to Mr. Westfall. During these two years Roberts, the new editor of the FM, printed a great deal of material on the mission, including various correspondence. Roberts' approach was that the mission should be given a chance as a test on the soundness of independent missions within the church. Jennie Torrence and Lizzie Cox maintained a missions school while Harris preached in the area and did preaching tours.[23]

The next spring (1887) he returned to take advantage of the revival season to recruit more missionaries, once again visiting the St. Charles camp meeting. This summer real tension mounted between Harris and the FMC Mission Board. Denominational leaders used the FM to attack Harris. T. B. Arnold, the denomination's publisher, held that these missions were not faith missions, for a true faith mission would rely on the Lord completely without seeking funding. Harris' work, he felt, was maintained by promotion rather than by spiritual means. An unsigned editorial, presumably by Roberts, concluded that the head of an independent mission has absolute authority. Harris is listed by the conference as a missionary to Africa, but the conference did not make the appointment, Harris himself did. It places the church in a difficult position, wanting to sympathize with Harris, but not supporting independent missions because they were not the best way

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[22]Ibid., 88, 89, nos. 22, 23.

[23]Ibid., 90, 91.

to support missionary work. Harris met with the Mission Board's executive committee two weeks later and agreed to several points, signed by him and Roberts, that Harris would travel back and forth from Africa according to his convictions, the board would assist in recruiting and fund raising, all financial records would be given to the board to publish, Harris would run the missions he established as long as he remained in the FM. Ingersol believes that this was the climax of independent mission in the FMC.[24]

In August Harris published the book Robert L. Harris in Africa and America, which gives what he feels is the apostolic plan of converting the world. Modern missions take too long and depend too much on organization. A classical education or being a "mighty man" is not necessary. He does indicate "that I am fighting missionary boards or salaried missionaries; but I think that there are better methods of evangelizing the world, and I contend for the best, but do not disparage other methods not as good as mine." Self-support is what he contends for.[25]

4. The End of the Harris Mission. Harris left that fall for Africa without additional missionaries, but Sherman had established a training center where members of the PB were preparing to join Harris. In Africa, Torrence and Cox were struggling with malaria and work had come to all but a stand still. "Harris' itinerant ways had not provided stable leadership or consistent fellowship." He renewed his itinerancy, but that spring the group made a joint decision to leave the field, and were back in America in the fall of 1888. This was seen as a failure by most, but the missionaries felt that they had done a good work from which God had released them.[26]

This thoroughly soured most of the church on the idea of

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[24]Ibid., 91-93.

[25]Robert Lee Harris, Robert L. Harris in Africa and America (Chicago: J. L. Regan Printing Co., 1887), 1-3 of chapter 7. Each chapter starts the page numbering over again.

[26]Ingersol, 93, 94.

independent foreign missions, but the PBs and the Vanguard continued where Harris had left off, resulting in a few years to strong resistance by the denomination. The 1891 West Iowa Conference report on missions[27] states that not everyone who feels called to missions should be allowed to collect money from the churches. His fitness should be investigated and agreed upon, just like the general church does with other appointments. To assume responsibility for a call to missions just as an individual when the church has established a missions board has the appearance of usurpation, and "can but cause disorder, confusion and division." They resolve to instruct preachers and entreat members to disallow missionary meetings in their circuits, collection for missionaries, etc., unless they have been appointed by the church board.

That same year both the Missouri and North Dakota Conferences make similar statements. Missouri states[28] that "We should view with suspicion and carefully guard against any innovation, either in theory, doctrine or method of work, that does not clearly and directly tend to unity, harmony and loyalty to God and the church." This is intriguing considering that just such a charge was used against Wesley and then later against the Holiness Movement and the FMC. Reference is then made to the General Conference of 1890 that established the General Missionary Board, and conference missionary societies to "have charge of all missions within its bounds."[29] They disapprove and forbid raising money in their conference by anyone for "opposition or independent missions, seeking to promote individual enterprises not sanctioned by the church." The North Dakota Conference[30] resolved to instruct preachers and entreat members to not allow missionary meetings or collection for foreign

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[27]Page 20.

[28]Page 27.

[29]see Marston, 434.

[30]Page 178.

fields except those appointed by the officers in the church.

B. The FMC and the Holiness Movement in the South

Although Harris now dropped the issue of independent missions, a battle ensued on the issue on the pages of the VG and the FM. Dake and the Bands were preparing to take up missions in earnest in Liberia. At the end of 1889 Harris left the FMC, without saying why, although Ingersol suggests it was to distance himself from the missionary controversy and from authority, as well as because of his relative success in the deep South.[31]

Harris soon began to produce his own paper, a very common thing for FMC radicals in the second generation, although he was no longer a Free Methodist, Ingersol is persuaded that Harris remains a Free Methodist in his mental constructs, and that he largely goes about trying to produce a contextually Southern version of the FMC, culminating in his new denomination, the New Testament Church of Christ.

In the first issue of Harris' Trumpet (October 93), the first page has an article by R. Gilbert regarding the common misunderstanding in the holiness movement of the need to claim the blessing before receiving it as a condition of receiving. This is seen as a misunderstanding of Mark 11:24. Significantly, this article is a reprint from the EC. There is another article from the EC (2), a discussion of Fletcher's position on dress (very like the EC), and an article by Harris (4). There is mention made as well of Calvary Holiness Bands, and their need to report the first of every month. Although the concept of bands were most prominent with the PBs, there were used by all the FMC radicals; Harris, Sherman, the Hanleys, and S. B. Shaw. It is interesting to note that when the Nazarites were in the process of leaving they often formed into holiness bands before organizing into churches. This fact no doubt made the practice by the radicals all the more disturbing to the conservatives in the second generation of the FMC.

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[31]Ingersol, 95.

Jernigan[32] provides a great deal of information on the Holiness Movement in Texas, which gives insight into issues for the FMC in the South and beyond, as Southern issues became issues outside of the South. Not only, as seen in chapter four above, was there a tension between East and West in the FMC, with the West taking a more intense approach, now the Southern culture had to be reckoned with, as less puritanical in some respects, and generally even more intense in its approach than the West.

Jernigan provides chronology of different "fanaticisms" that swept the Texas Holiness movement in his second to last chapter. Unfortunately, the author has not found any other information on the groups Jernigan discusses, however, the information is still useful in providing a FMC/Holiness Movement perspective on the Southern manifestations of the Holiness Movement. Jernigan first talks about Hayne's fanaticism in Corsicanna, Texas, and others who had been Cumberland Presbyterians. They taught that salvation was not only from sin but from death. If one were saved from all sin (entirely sanctified, or beyond), one would never die, because sin is what brought death into the world in the first place. They also believed in the exercise of all the gifts mentioned in the New Testament. Salvation was divided into seven steps; repentance, justification, regeneration, entire sanctification, baptism of the Spirit, the gift of healing, and "translation faith." Once this last was achieved, one would never see death, living until Jesus premillennial return. They started a meeting in Corsicanna, intending to run it until Jesus return. The world was soon to be converted and then He would return. If a wife did not believe as her husband, he had grounds for divorce. A committee from the town demanded that they leave, but Haynes defied them, saying that no

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[32]Charles Brougher Jernigan, Pioneer Days in the Holiness Movement in the Southwest (Kansas City, MO: Pentecostal Nazarene Publishing House, 1919). Ingersol also makes reference to George McCulloch's fascinating book, The Holiness Movement in Texas (Ennis, Texas: J. H. Padgett, n. d.), which provides a great deal of additional information of the "fanaticisms" in the Texas holiness movement, as well as additional commentary.

one could kill him, even if they shot him. A few nights later some men caught him (in his night clothes), ducked him in cold water extensively and took him on a carriage ride, but he became unconscious and they removed him to the house of a preacher. This ended the meeting and Haynes left, dying not much later in Brooklyn.[33]

Next, in 1884, Phil Allen came to the Texas Free Methodist Conference. He was highly qualified, and made district elder. A Mrs. Wheaton came to Ennis and strongly urged the concept of "come-outism." To have a name on a church roll was "absolute sin." She drew quite a following, including Allen, who sent his resignation in to Bishop Hart, and George McCulloch replaced him. These people were also anti-ordinance, urging people not to read their Bible, pray, use the Lord's Supper or keep Sunday. Humility was shown by always wearing overalls and doing dirty work. They toured other states, and the FMC, as about the only holiness church in Texas, was significantly hurt. The leader left his wife for some woman he had heard of, telling her God had told him to marry her, to which she did not agree. The last that the author had heard of "he was a mental, physical, and spiritual wreck." The group eventually died out.[34]

In 1887 a movement broke out called "The Fire," which taught that entire sanctification was to be followed by the baptism of fire. Some who claimed this experience would go into a trance and receive visions from which teachings were derived. B. H. Irwin was a leader in this movement. He strongly taught divine healing, but few were healed by him. The "Fire" people caused divisions at a lot of holiness meetings. They began to teach a concept of demon possession, that God sent demons into sanctified people to chastise them. When a holiness association was formed, it was demanded that either members give up the "Fire" teaching or leave, or the

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[33]Ibid., 150-151.

[34]Ibid., 151, 152.

association's rules must be changed. It was not long before all but a small group left the movement, the rest of whom started a paper and orphanage which continued to the writing of the book.[35]

Following this the concept of marital purity began to be promoted,

> mostly privately, to the hurt of many once happy homes. They taught that a man must live with his wife just as he did with his mother or sister. That cohabitation with one's wife or husband was an absolute sin. One preacher, who married a women preacher who taught this doctrine; was ordered to his knees often by her to keep him from backsliding. . . In some cases it brought about separation of husbands and wives.[36]

Marital purity would be an issue throughout the FMC in the 1890's. It will be discussed in more detail below, but it should be noted here that the terms can be confusing. Social purity, in its narrow sense, meant that the same standard of sexual conduct should be applied to both genders, abstinence outside of marriage. The WCTU had a department on social purity headed up by Francis Willard as it was regarded as the most important arm of the organization. With the WCTU's tendency to view men as more base and needing moral uplift from women, the idea that male sexuality was more animalistic and needed strict controls was behind many of the formulations, as well as a concern that women not be simply used by men. It was commonly felt as well that sex was more enjoyable for men and an annoyance and even a danger for women, and actually a danger for men as well. This led to the related concept of marital purity, that sexual intercourse other than for procreation was sinful. However, the term "social purity" was often used to mean this more strict concept.[37] The role in the FMC of Auntie Coon in this respect will be mentioned below.

Jernigan follows with some powerful testimonies about divine

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[35]Ibid., 152-154.

[36]Ibid., 154.

[37]I am indebted to William Kostlevey for this information.

healings, indicating that it naturally followed the preaching of entire sanctification and spread throughout the area. However, some cases of fanaticism are discussed, such as taking medicine being viewed as an act of backsliding. Some grouped doctors and drugs with devils. Some testified to a preference to die rather than to take medicine. B. H. Irwin particularly stressed healing a great deal. In one case he called for a girl crippled from birth to walk, and someone grabbed her crutches and ran crying, "Another miraculous case of healing," but she couldn't walk, and the holiness movement was badly damaged in the area. One man went to a house were a man had died and demanding that everyone leave so that he could raise the corpse to life, but they ordered him to leave. Jernigan also discusses the Jeffries-Hartline meetings that claimed many amazing healings. These healing are regarded as true, and he tells of the case of a girl with a withered arm being restored. He discusses how powerful the movement was, and the use of prayer and fasting to see God move, and ends by quoting James 5:14 (and Hebrews 13:8) regarding healing, and cries, "Oh, for a return to the old paths."[38]

One of the issues connected to these "fanaticisms" as well as the positive emphasis on divine healing was the coming of Pentecostalism. Although the Azusa Street explosion did not happen until 1906, and Parham's teaching the five years previous were largely unheard of, the dynamics for the spread of Pentecostalism were already present. A kind of Proto-Pentecostalism was present, that was based mostly in the South, which strongly stressed divine healings, had very informal structures (often viewing denominations as a sin), had very strong personalities as leaders, had special interest in various supernatural manifestations, and was highly interested in the end times.[39] This element was commonly grouped

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[38]Ibid., 155-157.

[39]Such developments paving the way for Pentecostalism have been previously examined. Particularly see Donald Dayton, Theological Roots of Pentecostalism (Grand Rapids: Francis Asbury

together with the Free Methodist radicals, at least in some respects, in the minds of the FMC leadership, thus resulting in both elements largely being removed from the church.

III. Sherman, Hanley and Independent Work in the US

A. The Vanguard and the Fire-Brand

1. Outspoken Support of the Vanguard and Fire-brand, 1884 - 1889. The only available edition of the VG previous to this century known to the author is the January 30, 1889 issue. It has on the first page lengthy comments on the propriety of the method of the China Inland Mission, as well as an article on dress and prohibition. Page two has reports from Africa, as well as reports from PBs, provided by Thomas Nelson. Page four has some material on health, condemning Hog lard (recommending Beef suet in its place), giving recipes for bran coffee and a beet drink, to avoid the "dread the effects of tea and coffee." Regarding the beet drinkers, "reclaimed tea and coffee drinkers say, that this, with cream and sugar, is a better beverage than those nerve-consuming concoctions."

Initial Reactions

Conferences regularly made reports on "Publications," not only dealing with issues regarding publications, but often listing what was considered safe to read and what was dangerous. The first mention of the VG by the conferences is 1884, and for several years support would virtually unqualified. That year the Michigan report on secrecy welcomed the stand against secrecy not only of the FM and EC and Christian Cynosure, as well as the VG.[40]

Several reports mention the VG in 1885, and it would continue to be mentioned by several conferences every year until 1893. The 1885 Illinois conference recommended the VG as "an earnest advocate of aggressive holiness," the Central Illinois as "spiritual, aggressive, radical," and West Iowa as "a medium of interchange of

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Press, 1987).

[40]Page 142

Christian testimonies, and as a fearless advocate of radical Christianity."[41] Iowa struck a more guarded note, urging that the FM "be given preference to the Vanguard, believing the former a truer exponent of the doctrines, experience and practice of New Testament religion; hence, its circulation will be productive of the greater good."[42] Like the Iowa Conference, Texas groups VG with the Cynosure as "radical opponents of all wicked practices and institutions, and as fearless advocates of true reform, and standing on a platform that does not wink at evil and that is eventually to win."[43] Probably all would agree with Iowa contention that the FM be given preference, but did not view it as sufficiently likely to need such a warning. The following year Missouri lists the VG as "a safe, radical holiness paper," but suggest that the FM be subscribed to first.[44] As this was Sherman's conference, such a warning was more likely needed.

That same year Susquehanna, while not mentioning the VG, makes an important statement regarding FMC identity. In commending the FM they state, "We have, in many respects, taken ground in advance of all other church organizations, hence our literature ought to measure up to the standard of our profession."[45] This explains in part why there was such a rise and a welcoming of periodicals in FMC circles. In 1887 there were less than 19,000 members of the FMC, continuing probationary members, and out of this group at least seven periodicals were being issued, many of them weekly. Although their readership went beyond FMC members, this is still amazing and the concern that the FM remain the most popular can be understood. However, literature had proved so successful in

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[41]Pages 115, 136, 153.

[42]Page 167.

[43]Page 182.

[44]Page 27.

[45]Page 42.

reformations in the Antebellum and now in the early Postbellum era, especially the increasingly popular form of periodical, that any group wishing to be as radical as the FMC would be likely to proliferate such papers.

In the first statement that lodges a specific complaint, the 1886 Minnesota and Northern Iowa described the VG as "a valuable, Spirit baptized paper. While we cannot concur wholly in its position on the faith-healing question, we commend it to the attention of our people."[46] Despite such reservations, for the time being the VG's place was secure. It was commonly listed immediately following EC and FM, and before other publications, even the Orleans Advocate, a paper put out by a Free Methodist "seminary" (what would now be called an academy or Christian day school). Sometimes only EC and FM mentioned, and if only three are, usually it is the VG.

The Law and Gospel

Echoing such positive sentiments, the 1886 Indiana and Central Illinois describes the VG as "radical, clear and aggressive," but also mentions the Law and Gospel for the first time, declaring it "a crisp and wholesome sheet."[47] The Wabash Conference that year lists the VG with the Law and Gospel, (and of course with the EC and FM) and they are all "heartily recommend," and urged to be received before other papers.[48] One wonders how many papers Free Methodists were reading.

The Law and Gospel was published by W. H. Hauser in Hutchinson, Kansas. Connections to other radical FMC groups is seen in the editions mentioned below, as well as in a letter to Shaw by Hauser described in the last section of the chapter. This periodical is not listed again in the Conference minutes that the author is able to detect. It is uncertain why.

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[46]Page 99.

[47]Page 112.

[48]Page 119.

The October, 1886 issue (Vol. ii, no. 10) has a description of a healing, reports of the Wabash Free Methodist Conference on Temperance and Secret Societies, a request from India for tracts on alcohol and tobacco use and a report from Africa by Mary Sharpe, the worker under Bishop Taylor that Harris maintained his contacts with.[49] It is interesting to note on page 77 that two workers, a Mr. and Mrs. Brewington of Litchfield, Illinois, offered themselves for missions to Harris, but he refused because they were black. Apparently they decided to go on their own, as the paper tells where to send contributions for their travel costs.

Another interesting article is one by C. M. Damon, printed in the VG. He states that the mission of reform (presumably for the FMC) is "to plow through, and overthrow the errors and wrongs of the day in the Churches." He describes in vivid terms a sermon preached and a candidate coming forward for baptism "who has her head decked in the silly slummery of this world" and the inappropriateness of her testifying to give up the world. He states that while there is little wrong with the doctrines, polity or methods of the churches, he strongly objects to their common practices.[50]

The next issue has another article from the VG on page 85 entitled "Tobacco Cure," by J. C. Roper, as well as the picture of Harris and Tappa on the next page, provided from the VG office, along with a lengthy vote of approval by Sherman. Materials from the National Christian Association are advertised on page 87.

In 1887 only the Wabash Conference mentions the VG, seeing it as "a paper owned of God, and recommended it to all our people, for its uncompromising fidelity to the principles of Bible salvation."[51]

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[49]Pages 73-74. Copies of the Law and Gospel are held by the Kansas Historical Society and the Nazarene Archives in Kansas City, MO.

[50]Ibid., p. 79.

[51]Page 77.

Introducing the Fire-Brand

The 1888 Minnesota and North Iowa report mentions the FB for the first time, listing it with the VG, and the Orleans Advocate as "papers calculated to enlighten and benefit its readers."[52] The only copy of the FB from the eighteen hundreds known to the author is the November 8, 1888 (Vol. 2, no. 8) edition. Some material is reprinted from the FM, as well as material from S. B. Shaw on the first two pages. The connection to radical Free Methodists was probably just as clear in every issue.

Lamson examines the FB, quoting one of the issues.

> The Fire-Brand is radical in holiness, and is strictly opposed to secret societies, intemperance, the use of tobacco, tea and coffee, the wearing of gold, peals and costly array; church sprees, suppers, theatricals, concerts, and choirs, renting of pews, wearing of corsets, bustles, bands, feather and lace, ruffles, tucks, extra ribbons, etc.[53]

The same year the FB's own conference, West Iowa states, "Prayers are going up from many warm hearts" for the FM, EC, VG and FB. The latter has had the blessing of God upon it, having stood the "test during the year, and marks to indicate the hand of God have been abundant."[54]

2. Support begins to waver, 1889-1890.

1889

The 1889 California Conference seems to stop just short of asking its people not to read the radical papers. The report regarded many of the new papers started supposedly in the interest of "holiness and truth" are "not born of God, but of human ambition." They generally disagree with the church's doctrine or work and have increased the divisions in the holiness movement until it was "rent and torn, and many of the pure and the good are

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[52]Page 47.

[53]Byron S. Lamson, Venture! The Frontiers of Free Methodism (Winona Lake: Light and Life Press, 1960) 136, no. 20.

[54]Page 106.

wearied and disappointed as to the outcome of the holiness movement; and as a church we are suffering from the same reason." Spiritual unity, being solidly founded on the truth and prospering as a church would be secured by patronizing before all others the EC and FM.[55] While there had been some concern previously regarding the FM receiving preference, and on doctrinal issues, this is the first time insubordination is raised, and it is taken much more seriously than slight deviations in doctrine. This is likely due to agitations regarding the denominations mission board that year.

A response seems to come that year from West Iowa, home of the FB. They regard the FB to be "full of spiritual truths and destined to do much good in spreading Gospel salvation through the land." They do not disapprove of increasing the number of holiness papers, but regret that there has been so much indifference in supporting them, "putting our means into them, and sending them into every clime, and giving to all nations a knowledge of true religion."[56] This may have been meant as a specific condemnation of the California Conference's report that year.

Also in 1889 Iowa, consistently more conservative than its daughter conference, West Iowa, contributes to the issue as well, stating that while independent publications within their denomination are not unqualifiedly condemned, the wisdom of producing such periodicals "in view of our financial and numerical weakness" is questioned. The FM should receive "all our strength . . . concentrated in sustaining" it.[57]

A moderating position was held by Minnesota and Northern Iowa as well. The FB and VG are "calculated to bless their readers," but this is modified by the opinion that the latter "has equivocated and has not acted with frankness that should

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[55]Page 20.

[56]Page 52.

[57]Page 60.

characterize a salvation journal in relation to the Harris mission project. We also deplore the appearance at least of a disposition to disregard proper church order and authority."[58]

Michigan provides the first unqualified condemnation of the VG, for encouraging "a spirit of insubordination among certain workers among us, and we advise our people to lend no financial or moral aid to such papers."[59] Similarly, Texas disapproved of the general tone of the VG, particularly toward the general mission board, and "its apparent disloyalty to our church."[60]

Michigan also noted in the same report mentioned above that the propagation of the Christian Life, which apparently taught marital purity. Eventually this magazine would be part of the Eugenics movement. While they approved of attempts to elevate and purify society, and they would not discourage people from following such ideas of purity if they believe it necessary to save themselves, they state that "we were born into the kingdom of God neither lecherous goats nor amorous monkeys; but, as we humbly hope, with our humanity purified and elevated and every power of our being in subjection to the will of God." These teachings are self-defeating, and have no foundation in Scripture. Young people should be taught the "mysteries of the holy state of matrimony" from their "sanctified and loving parents." God has not sent old women or young men[61] to "go about, filling the minds of the unmarried young with perverted ideas of the marriage relation." The people are encouraged to sort the "wheat from the chaff, and live in all good conscience in the sight of their God."

Kostlevey notes that radical social reconstruction applied to marital purity as well. This idea seemed most common among the

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[58]Page 76.

[59]Page 90.

[60]Page 175.

[61]This is no doubt a reference to Auntie Coon and the young radical leaders, specifically Dake, see chapter eight.

Bands, and with the FB movement. Free Methodists were often horrified at the casual way in which these young people talked about sex. He quotes an FM article, "And for young girls who have just doffed their knee dress skirts . . . publicly to parade borrowed views . . . is ridiculous and disgusting in the extreme." However, even those opposed to social purity felt that women were mistreated. He quotes the 1894 Minnesota and Northern Iowa report, recommending that they "not esteem our own pleasure or self-gratification above the health and happiness of wife or husband."[62]

1890

The 1890 New York Conference advises people to avoid papers whose teachings are not Methodist, such as the VG, which teaches "unlimited faith healing" and "distinction of meats,"[63] and social purity. "It has set aside the Discipline and all church authority in creating a new foreign missionary board." This discourages and confuses. All members are exhorted, "as they value the peace and prosperity of our church" to remove their patronage from this and similar movements.[64]

West Iowa is much more positive in its 1890 statement, advising the reading EC, FM and FB, and are sorry that they are not more generally used. Noticeably absent is any reference to the VG. Instead they "are glad to note the sweet spirit of the FB, and its loyalty to our church doctrines." They also support the FB Association's establishing of a self-supporting local school. "We have the fullest confidence in their piety, integrity and loyalty to the FMC." They do warn against big debts in establishing

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[62]Kostlevey, "Class, Gender, Culture and Prudentials," 27.

[63]This is possibly a reference to their stand on Pork, or on tea and coffee. Note that the term meats is taken from the King James Version of the Bible and simply means foods.

[64]Page 14.

schools.[65] This concern, seeming tagged on at the end, would be a very major concern of the conference in a few years. The story of the Hanley's is provided later in this chapter.

Iowa, as usual a bit more conservative than its daughter conference, recommended the EC and FM, but was sorry to admit that no other of the papers that have sprung up in their midst can be recommended.[66]

Missouri believed that "there is much evil among the young as well as the adults of both sexes in reference to 'social purity,' which should be corrected," but they do not support the teaching of the Christian Life, published in Jacksonville, Illinois by J. B. Caldwell, "but believe it to be pernicious in its teachings and calculated to lead its readers into fanaticism, and think it should not be circulated among us."[67] It is to be noted that some conferences were more concerned at this time with the social purity, apparently more strongly supported by the FB, than the tone of insubordination, more obvious in the VG. The Missouri Conference mentions neither the VG or FB by name, but strongly attacks a favorite idea of the FB.

With most conferences in 1890, Dakota's main problem is with the VG, regarding it as published by "a factious element in the church," and that to encourage its production will inevitably lead to disruption and division. They suggest that the General Conference should take action to "discountenance and discourage at least the most flagrant measures of this paper."[68]

Canada uses very strong language, perhaps in an effort to show their solidarity with their fellow conferences so far away. They "strongly reiterate" their stand against the VG that they had taken the year previously (not printed in the 1889 Minutes). The paper's

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[65]Page 28.

[66]Page 52.

[67]Page 84.

[68]Page 96.

policy on certain issues are seen as "subversive of the true interests of the Free Methodist Church." To support independent movements, of which some distract and divide, is "most deplorable and ruinous in its tendencies." They "emphatically protest" the ignoring of the Discipline and proper authority in forming a foreign missionary board. Also, their views on "unlimited faith healing" are seen as unbiblical.[69]

Michigan appears concerned about both the VG and the FB, and discourages circulating certain "independent holiness journals published among us, as promote schism in our church work, or put on foot schemes" that require the support of Free Methodists but without church "control or supervision." "We absolutely must be united among ourselves."[70] Wabash, however, took a more moderate position.

> While we recognize the right of independent religious papers to life and liberty and will forbid none that can cast out devils, nevertheless we are fully convinced that the general circulation of the Free Methodist will better conserve our work, produce peace and harmony among us and lead our membership into the deep things of God than the circulation of any other paper with which we are acquainted.[71]

Apparently the Shermans and the Hanley's accepted some of this criticism and changed, as the 1890 Central Illinois Conference regards the FB and VG as "much improved, and we believe helpful." They regret the report by New York as "without foundations in facts," particularly that the VG had "set aside the Discipline and all church authority in creating a new missionary board." No such missionary board was formed, only an auditing committee, and even that was without the editor's knowledge, and was stopped when people complained. "We deem such statements in conference reports very improper in their reflection upon the character of our

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[69]Page 102.

[70]Page 108.

[71]Page 137.

brethren."[72]

If such improvements were made by the FB, they were apparently insufficient for or unknown by West Kansas. They felt that since the FB is an advocate of social purity as taught by J. B. Caldwell in the Christian Life, they ought to "do all we can to discourage its circulation among us as a people." Also, regard the PBs as setting up an independent system which is harmful to God's work, and have publicly stated that their organ is the VG, which shows disloyalty to the FM, and causes division, they resolve "to advise our people against the Vanguard and thereby save us as a church from much trouble by way of division, strife and heresy."[73] Illinois is also opposed to these papers, urging preachers and people to stop encouraging the FB, VG, "and such papers at least until our own paper is on a sure and safe paying basis."[74] This is certainly an interesting reason, and a much more innocuous one than those offered by other conferences.

Wabash also desired the FM to be favored, but wished other periodicals to also be read. Thus they recommend FM, and after that, EC, VG, and FB, "though these are not official organs of the church and, therefore equally undenominational or independent publications, but emitting such light that we dare not say they are not candlesticks for the spread of the light of God's word."[75] This is a pointed reminder that Roberts' own EC was an independent effort.

3. Universal conference condemnation, 1891-1895.

Climax of Opposition, 1891-1892

Negative language by this time became stronger, and there were no more conferences attempting to lessen the opposition whatsoever. South Dakota in 1891 gave their first statement on the subject.

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[72]Page 166.

[73]Page 180, 181.

[74]Page 55.

[75]Page 75.

"We deprecate the efforts made by some to circulate periodicals of less worth which antagonize our publishing interests as a church. In all these matters we renew a pledge of loyalty to the will of the majority of our church."[76] Notice that the independent papers are now no longer competition, but regarded as opposition.

Central Illinois' report is nearly opposite of its previous in 1890. They "strongly protest" the circulation of the VG within the conference. Its policy in certain areas seen as subversive to the interests of the FMC. Its support of "so-called independents, insubordinate or opposition movements" which distract and divide, and are "most deplorable and ruinous in its tendency." Amazingly, they seem to quote the 1890 New York report regarding setting aside the discipline to set up foreign missionary enterprises (although the term "board" is carefully avoided). This may either have been done to strongly demonstrate that they are now in complete agreement with the New York Conference, or may indicate that both were quoting another source. Central Illinois also disapproved of their teaching on holiness, faith healing and social purity.[77]

As they did the previous year, West Kansas expressed strong opposition to the FB, and this year also to the VG, declaring that they "heartily disapprove" preachers and members supporting the VG and FB because of their stand for "Pentecost independent mission work," which creates division and disloyalty to church missions, teaching the dangerous concept of social purity. This may indicate that they object just as strongly to the PBs. They refer to the VG's March 30, 1891 issue as exhibiting rank

> Comeoutism, and shows such disloyalty to the word of God, and to church government, as found among the apostles, that every child of God may feel seriously alarmed. We need to come out and be separate[78] from all such spurious sheets, and "touch not the unclean thing," and

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[76]Page 116.

[77]Page 126.

[78]Probably an intention us of the phrases of "Comeoutism" against them.

> we as a church will be saved from the cause of much division, strife and heresy. "Whatsoever things are pure and of good report," "think on these things."[79]

1892 was the absolute climax of opposition to the FB and VG in the Conferences' minutes. Declarations against independent sheets are given by California,[80] Southern California,[81] West Kansas,[82] West Iowa,[83] Iowa,[84] Missouri,[85] Kansas,[86] Nebraska,[87] Central Illinois,[88] Illinois,[89] South Dakota,[90] and the Genesee Conference, in its first and last

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[79]Pages 152, 153.

[80]Page 5.

[81]Page 10

[82]Pages 29, 30. The frank discussions of social purity was felt to be subversive to the thoughts of the young.

[83]Page 36. Great detail is given, but names are not provided. West Iowa seems to most reluctant to resist the radicals, possibly because there were so many in the conference, which may also explain why Hogue is so harsh with the FB movement, but never mentions the VG, and speaks in mixed terms of the PBs and rather highly of Dake.

[84]Page 45.

[85]Page 52. Opposition was expressed against both the VG and the FB, the latter on its one-sidedness allowing no one to answer within the paper, social purity, especially as written in the March 10, 1892 issue, support of the "Death Route," identification with the come-outers, and the editor's change of heart in supporting independent missions.

[86]Page 68.

[87]Page 72.

[88]Page 99.

[89]Pages 118, 119.

[90]Pages 146-147, stating that they were "ashamed that such papers . . . are patronized by some of our people."

report on the matter.[91] In total, fourteen conferences (one half of the conferences) make statements against independent papers or devise Band Rules.

Opposition Becomes Less of an Issue, 1893-1895

Four more conferences would give reports on these periodicals, and they are of sufficient interest to examine. In 1893 West Kansas, as some did in the previous year, grouped independent papers with Adventist papers as being dangerous. They suggest the burning of all Adventist literature, as well as Caldwell's Christian Life and the FB as "Social Purity publications." All independent journals should be discarded and

> given wide berth, though they seem to be ever so religious, or published by Free Methodists. Do not say that they are just as good, pure and holy. While some selected articles may be, in the main they are not. Say not, 'They are cheaper.' They are not. . . We are Christians. We also are Free Methodists. Hence we heartily endorse the Free Methodist."[92]

The same year Wabash, which next to West Iowa had been the slowest to express opposition, stated that

> having in years past noted with sadness of heart the damaging and poisonous influences exerted and bad results produced by the circulation of such periodicals as the Vanguard and Fire-Brand, we feel like warning our people against them, as being unsound in doctrine concerning the so-called social purity question, and death route theory of entire sanctification; also their teaching and encouraging of insubordination is to be censured."[93]

Also that year South Dakota, which had consistently stated its opposition to the independent papers, observed that

> The printing press is a power for good or evil. We should be very careful what we read, or what we distribute. Often a thimbleful of truth sells a peck of error. There is much that goes for holiness literature which it is dangerous to endorse. After reading and

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[91]Page 184.

[92]Page 58.

[93]Page 74. The "death route" to entire sanctification will be discussed in chapter eight.

> seeing the effects of the Vanguard and Fire-Brand we are thoroughly convinced that the extreme views taught by them on the subjects of faith healing and social purity are not scripturally sound and not worthy of our endorsement. There is also a spirit manifested by these papers which has a tendency to promote insubordination and no-sectism. It is the judgment of your committee that their circulation should be discountenanced by us.[94]

No reports were given on this subject in the year 1894, and the only report ever again to be given was East Michigan's 1895 report, which makes a lengthy statement regarding publication, only mentioning any by name at the end of their very long first paragraph.

> We become like those with whom we associate. We unconsciously acquire their habit of thinking, as well as their manners. The assimilating process in constantly going on where there is intimate companionship. Hence, if we wish to improve our characters, we are careful in the selection of our intimate friends. How often have we seen those that were pure and innocent becoming intimate with those whose conscience with injustice is corrupted, and how soon were the pure and innocent corrupted also. "What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? Or what communion hath light with darkness? Or he that believeth with an infidel?" A like assimilation also takes place between the mind of a reader and the mind of an author; through his works. Hence, if we wish to improve our minds and our characters we must be careful in the selection of what we read. Those who read light and trashy literature have light and trashy minds, and as "Evil communications corrupt good manners," so the intimate relationship between the reader will corrupt the morals, delude the mind and ruin the soul of the reader. Hence we urge the importance not only of not reading light and trashy literature; but the necessity of constantly reading the best and purest literature. Hence, we urge that our people all read our own church paper, the Free Methodist; also the Earnest Christian, instead of the division-making Fire-Brand and Vanguard."[95]

It is quite amazing to see how the FB and VG are now characterized by some FMC leaders. It should be noted that this

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[94]Page 216

[95]Page 28.

was the year after the VG, FB and PB movements all left the church. The report seems to characterize the radicals as having corrupt consciences, and of being (or being analogous to) unrighteousness, in darkness, and infidels. Their papers are equated with corrupt communications and called "light and trashy literature." East Michigan treats the radical movements as it would any other movement it regarding as thoroughly evil and dangerous.

B. C. W. Sherman and Vanguard Missionaries

1. The Development of Sherman's missions program. Sherman and his wife Bessie began a mission in St. Louis in approximately 1880. On the Taylor model, it operated as a faith mission as in some sense Free Methodist, as the FMC was as yet without a missions program. It was a Taylor-style mission in the United States. In a few years they were aiding self-supporting missionaries in India, especially the Wards. As seen above, he functioned as a link between various radicals, particularly for supporting these independent missionaries. He and Bessie went to India for four years themselves, leaving the VG and the mission in the care of their sister, Anna Abrams.[96]

Grouping Sherman with Dake, Bundy indicates their desire to be free to be guided by the Holy Spirit by, in part, being free of control by church hierarchy. Those making decisions should be those in the field, not "church bureaucrats." At first the FM is very supportive of Taylor, and use him as an example, but then he begins to be criticized, eventually, Bundy notes, using the very same rhetoric that the MEC Mission Board used against him. Sherman and Dake, once held up as examples, begin to be ignored.[97]

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[96]David Bundy, "Wesleyan Holiness Mission Theory," 7, 8; a paper for the Wesleyan Holiness Studies Project, 1990, at Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, KY.

[97]Ibid., 9, 10. Bundy also notes that the radicals that ended up leaving (as did most of the FM churches in the south) often either became Pentecostal or Nazarene (although the PBs joined the Wesleyan Church, with many of what had originally been VG missions in India).

Sherman and the Hanleys leave the denomination together in 1894 and start a mission together, but separate after a few months. By 1898 there are VG missionaries in India. Sherman had originally been MEC, but wishing to be more radical, he became Wesleyan, and then joined the FMC. Around 1897 Sherman was in the Church of God, Holiness. In approximately 1905 he joined the Holiness Church of Christ, but he left it in 1908 before it merged with the Nazarenes, as he disliked denominationalism. A Pentecostal prophet took over the VG for several months, but Sherman imported holiness evangelists who helped him regain control. His daughter Susan married the Free Methodist missionary Agnew. His other daughter married a Mr. Ashton and started the India work for Sherman. After 1917 they applied with the Nazarenes, but ended up with the Wesleyans.[98]

As an Angel of Light mentions the VG missions school, as well as Ward, identifying him with the VG mission, and a Mrs. Muzzy in the '90's whose work became part of the FMC missions in India. She tells of Sherman's campground, as well as his paper, whose different departments included "Missionary, Holiness, Purity [presumably marital purity], Children's Corner, Health and Healing." She tells of the take-over by a Pentecostal, who told everyone what the Spirit wanted, such as Sherman was to walk the rest of his life with his hand at her side, while Sister Abrams was to have her folded in her lap for the rest of hers. All the old VGs were to be burned, and then the buildings. This last suggestion caused one brother Gardner to take action, as Sherman and Abrams seemed helpless. Shelhamer, brother-in-law to the author, felt called to go to St. Louis to straighten it out, and he succeeded in having the Pentecostal removed. A lengthy report by Abrams in the VG regarding her "harrowing experiences with the tongues" is given.

> The spirit of error and fanaticism walks abroad and is deluding multitudes. It seems to be like a contagion,

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[98]Personal conversations with Stanley Ingersol.

> communicated by contact. It is a devil charm or spell which settles on minds and souls like a mesmerism (or hypnotism), paralyzing their moral sensibilities and activities, striking at principles and sapping the spiritual lifeblood.
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> This generally has an air of deep spirituality, and dwells much on the power of the Holy Ghost. Its main argument is love, and no straightforward dealing with sin. It fawns over you with a fixedness of eye, and slimes you over with sentimental love talk, and leaves you weak and powerless to resist evil. It is like the coils of an anaconda around your person, with the head and eyes up in your face, charming you, preparatory to injecting its deadly poison.
>
> There is not way to get rid of this spirit of Hell but by resistance. Face it, call it by its right name, brand it and send it back to its own place. Because it is religious, it captures the unsuspecting and devout. These are the last days, and this is one of the workings of Satan to destroy souls.[99]

Jolley also tells of Mrs. Shelhamer in a "Tongues" crusade, and of some "colored boys" who once sat in the back practicing jerking. When asked why people did not speak in tongues in his meetings, he remarked quietly that they did so in private meetings, as "it might not be safe to start excitement in a large crowd, for fear of confusion and someone getting hurt or even killed."[100]

2. Ward and other VG missionaries. Lamson indicates that Ward went to India three years before Harris went to Liberia. He indicates that Dake's Bands, while having a Free Methodist core, were interdenominational. He raised funds to send Bands to Norway, Liberia and India. He organized a church in Germany in 1889. Samuel Mills went to the Dominican Republic.[101]

From Famine to Fruitage tells the story of the Wesleyan Missions in India. Ashton is mentioned, as well as that it began

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[99]Jennie A. Jolley, As an Angel of Light, or, Bible Tongues and Holiness and Their Counterfeits (New York: Vantage Press, n.d.), 28.

[100]Ibid., 29.

[101]Lamson, 129-130.

as a VG mission.[102] Chapter two is entitled "VG to the Rescue." The next chapter also discusses the VG, even mentioning an F. E. Ward, a member of the "Missionary Bands" (One is uncertain whether this group comes from Sherman, Hanley or Nelson), and later worked and a Free Methodist mission.

Lamson compares Shemeld, who refused to go to the Dominican Republic under the auspices of the Board, and after some years withdrew. Ward considered the Board to have an advisory role from the beginning, finally applied for status as a Board missionary, being received on trial in 1904. Lamson notes, "The shadow of Dake still lives [having mentioned Band work in India and Egypt], but in an appreciable degree interferes with the denominational overseas program of the church."[103]

Missionary Martyrs provides sketches of the lives of several who died in the missionary field, including Mary E. North, Charles Kerwood, Jennie Torrence, and Eunice Knapp. The latter two, it will be remembered, were the only associates of Harris to last until the mission closed. North was a PB member, and Auntie Coon had prophesied to her that she would die within three months of reaching Africa, which she did. Evidently sent by Nelson, she named one of the orphans in Africa Thomas Nelson. Kerwood was the foreman of the VG office. Torrence apparently went back to Africa under Sherman. Knapp's story is written by Ward.[104]

One interesting connection between various radical networks is Emma Woodcock, who was sent by Dake to work with the VG school. He sent her to Iowa to persuade Hanley's secession. She joins instead, but then leaves again, publishing a strong article against Hanley. In 1894 she helped with Harris' New Testament Church of

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[102]Floyd and Hazel Banker, From Famine to Fruitage: An Account of Fifty Years of Wesleyan Methodism in Western India (Marion: Wesley Press, 1960), p. 20.

[103]Lamson, p. 135.

[104]Freeland, Mariet, et al, Missionary Martyrs, (Chicago: T. B. Arnold, 1892), 221, 223, 227, 241.

Christ. She left Tennessee for Atlanta, Georgia to work with the Shelhamers on the Repairer. Thus she developed over time significant connection with the two most important radicals that left the FMC, and the two most important that remained.[105]

Tears and Triumphs gives the story of Pastor John Harris, a relative of Lee Harris, and mentions the author's favorable relations with the VG people shortly after the turn of the century (the common theme was re-introducing the old Methodist tradition of Friday fasting as a duty and essential for God's blessing), and with the PBs. He attended a Band meeting where a Pentecostal tried unsuccessfully to cast a demon out of a boy. He went to a Bands prayer meeting to warn them against tongues, and says that "at least a few took heed to my warning, and were saved from it." Apparently he did work both for the VG and the Bands at times.[106]

C. The Hanleys

1. The prehistory and beginning of the FB. The June, 1901 issue of the FB has the beginning of reminiscences printed consecutively every month that go up to chapter 13, on June, 1902. All of these chapters are on the first page of the paper, with the exception of chapter twelve, the end of which is continued later in the issue. Minnie George was born January 19, 1859 in Cleveland. She was converted on her fifteenth birthday in revival services. Minnie felt called to be a missionary, and began reaching young children to come to Sunday School. Charles S. Hanley was born in Hector, New York on May 5, 1854, but moved to Iowa when he was young. He too was converted at fifteen, and later became a publisher, publishing in turn four secular papers, the last being the Shenandoah Post. He married Minnie Sept. 12, 1878, with

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[105]Personal conversations with Stan Ingersol. Articles regarding and by Woodcock are in the FM, although the author is unsure exactly where.

[106]John W. Harris, Tears and Triumphs: The Life Story of a Pastor - Evangelist (Louisville: Pentecostal Publishing Company, 1948), 340-345.

neither by that time planning to go into ministry, but being quite devout. After preaching a sermon in a Presbyterian church that was quite a flop, he cried out to God to forgive him, and soon was actively witnessing. Experiencing an intense deepening in his spiritual life, he began publishing the FB in March, 1887.

Chapter two[107] tells of his rather radical new paper, with "Holiness Unto the Lord" standing out in large type, which was not popular with subscribers to what had just recently been a secular paper. He went into debt to start and continue operation. When the FMC came into town, the Hanley's became charter members of the newly forming congregation. This made the paper still more unpopular. A foreclosure was attempted, but a Christian lady donated sufficient money to keep the paper afloat.

Chapter three[108] provides more details on Minnie's religious experience previous to the events told the previous month. She tells of her deliverance from all inward sin, removing her pride and jealousy. In dealing with the death of a child, she realized that her old will still was present, refusing to submit to God's will. Her "old will," or "self" was given to God and His will was enthroned forever. She indicates that this was fifteen years previously, which would have been the year the paper started, 1886. An important story follows of a serious illness, where she felt God's remonstrations for not obeying "impressions," "when He would speak in my inner ear." She wasn't certain that such impressions were His voice, and felt her strength insufficient. She agreed and was sent on errands that she only accomplished with His special help. At one point she called out to God, "help me now," and she had perfect health for the first time in her life. After this, she came to wonder about the baptism of the "Holy Ghost and fire." She decided that she did not have it, and to tarry until she received it. She viewed it as the one unfulfilled

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[107]FB, July 1901, 1.

[108]FB, Aug. 1901, 1.

promise in her life. She experienced a sweet communion in this process as she went about he work. One night it seemed that all "the powers of darkness" were arrayed against her. They showed themselves in mysterious sights and sounds that she actually heard and saw. When she asked God for the blessing, it came, and the whole room was illuminated and filled with his presence. This experience occurred at the same time as Charles' deeper experience discussed in the June issue.

Chapter four[109] tells that the old headquarters of the Shenandoah Post became the FB headquarters. The mottos "Have Faith in God" and "Holiness Unto the Lord" were on the front and side of the building. Minnie had a dream concerning the house, and her role as host. The house was dedicated completely to God, Charles even going in and dedicating every item in the house to God individually. A fire happened next to the house, but although several buildings burned down, this house remained safe, men seeming to go to extra trouble when a piece of burning wood would fall on it. One person in the house slept through it, and told of a dream he had of a camp meeting where God poured out His "Pentecostal Fire."

Charles also tells of delivering the first paper, taking some to a location fifteen miles away, and being overcome with the difference between "the slavery of worldly methods and Pentecostal liberty." Farmers stared in amazement and he just waved his hat and kept shouting. By the time he reached town, his father, who had heard of his son's unique arrival, met him and urged him to stop for the sake of the business people. Charles's notes, "On my return, I shouted on the street corners of Shenandoah and the people thought I had gone into religious fanaticism bordering on insanity." Minnie tells of another time when he got blessed out of the house, pacing the length of it, and when he would get to the porch, going out and accosting passerby's with his shouts of praise. The work was strongly opposed in town, and family and

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[109]FB, Sep. 1901, 1.

friends turned against them. Workers at the FB (at the time eight girls, two of which went on to become missionaries) would be referred to as "Hanley's niggers" when they were seen, or accosted with a sarcastic "Amen" or "Praise God." The responses of four other papers are noted, the first being the VG and the third being Shaw's MHR. These responses are very positive.

The story is also told of Minnie "falling under the power," with hands upraised for an hour, absolutely still and stiff, apparently unaware of what was happening around her. This was new to the Hanleys, but several skeptics were convinced by it. Another case of an opposer to the work being struck to the ground by God is given. It lasted for many hours, and many doubts were removed as to its genuineness when he was converted

Chapter five[110] discusses the various struggles and triumphs of the family and workers, particularly financially. They often would be completely without food or money, but these needs were always met in answer to prayer. The next two chapters[111] have more of the same kind of stories. The eighth chapter[112] tells of the experiences of their young children and the starting of a school at the FB, taught by Minnie at first. Charles felt that the Lord had shown him a school house that the Lord would give him, and began to tell people about it. However, the denomination, just when people had promised nearly enough money to start a school, made it clear that they wanted the school to be Free Methodist. They waited, and tested the matter (perhaps by "putting out a fleece") and decided to go independent, but the delay caused some confusion and it was some time before the school was built. By the third year (1890) Faith School, as it was called, had over thirty students, and a building was built the following year.

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[110]FB, Oct. 1901, 1.

[111]The first page of both the November and the December, 1901 issues of the FB.

[112]FB, Jan. 1902, 1.

2. Tensions with the FMC. Here is a significant gap in the story. The story is not picked up again until 1894, when the Hanley's leave the FMC. Most details of ecclesiastical trouble previous to this year are left out of the articles, but some account of the is in the AC. In three successive years West Iowa produced reports regarding Charles Hanley and the FB Association. In 1892, in the conference's last report, on ministerial relations, regarding C. S. Hanley, gives two statements by him to the conference,

> I desire to be right before God. I have walked before God in humility and love, up to all the light as I have understood it. My life has not been without mistakes. I believe that through lack of experience I have not always shown as much charity as I ought to my brethren in matters as written up in the Fire-Brand. I do not and will not teach as a Bible doctrine sexual intercourse for procreation only, but as a blessed personal experience, and every man's privilege. I ask forgiveness for any and all lack of proper charity or respect,
>
> Yours in perfect love.
> C. S. Hanley
>
> I would say to the brethren of the conference that I am in favor of our missionary interests in the church and that our foreign missionary enterprises be conducted through our Missionary Board.
>
> C. S. Hanley.[113]

In 1893 a far more extensive report is made.[114] Six complaints are lodged against him, first, that he used his association and influence to mortgage property that the association had acquired with the stipulation that this property should never be encumbered, attempting to get permission to do this from the donors. Second, that he received money which he didn't know how to replace, breaking the Discipline's rule against "Borrowing without a probability of paying," and resulting in more trouble and broken

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[113]Page 39.

[114]Page 53, 54.

vows to keep the organization going. Third, that life subscriptions to the FB were received from FMC members with the understanding that the money would be spent according to their satisfaction. When doubts arose, Hanley changed the agreement so that no members of the FB Association need be members of the FMC, meeting only the qualifications set forth by the Association, and could be good or bad, depending on the make-up of the Association, "thus violating the plainest and most explicit stipulations which can subsist between contracting parties." Fourth, that Hanley teaches that all one needs to enter a special work is the call of the Spirit in the form of an inward impression. This call is believed in despite all evidence that "the contrary unprejudiced minds can see." Fifth, that his vows of the last conference on social purity were taken back, and he says he feels free to speak out on the question. Finally, sixth, he is too absorbed in the work of the paper and home that he can not meet discipline requirements for a conference preacher.

Five resolutions are also provided. Such business transactions are disapproved. "We see no means for Brother Hanley to keep the principles of business and we believe that unless he does this, he should be dealt with by the proper authority." He should be warned of the danger of accepting a seemingly divine call based sole on an inward impression, and that he stop teaching this. It is "detrimental to the interests of harmony and Bible religion" to discuss social purity as he formerly did, and he should be required to stop. They advise the conference due to his other efforts to discontinue his traveling connection. Finally, he should be requested to stop his "independent course, which has brought division and dearth;" and if not, to quietly leave the FMC.

The next year (1894) a statement is given by a conference preacher, J. M. Reilly, stating that when he joined the "World's Missionary Association" he did not see it as inconsistent with being a conference preacher, but a few days later saw it was so, and broke off of the Association. By joining the Association he never intended to break off of the FMC. He admits to have made a

mistake in joining, and in participating in an Association meeting in Mt. Etna when the local pastor the meeting interfered with his regular work. He purposes to "walk more carefully and square my life by reason and grace." Reilly denies making any conflicting statement regarding his membership in the Association or church. Those grieved were asked to forgive him, and he declared himself in full agreement with "every principle, doctrine and usage of the church."[115] Here the tide had turned completely against Hanley, and to even association with his work was to court danger with the conference.

Chapter nine[116] tells of the events in 1894, the year when the Hanley's left the denomination, the World's Faith Missionary Association was organized, the Hanley's were ordained for ministry and the first missionaries were sent overseas. That year Charles attended meetings where the "old man" was strongly preached against. The preacher when finished asked Charles to exhort, but he refused, saying that the needed the deliverance being preached himself. The preacher than asked if any wished to come to the altar "and stay till you bleach your bones but what you will go through. You may come; but don't come here unless you mean business." Five or six came forward. Charles began to pray out loud, confessing his inner sin. He seemed to die to self, but experienced no "resurrection." Charles was quite dejected, but his wife encouraged him that just like with her, the vacuum created by the cleansing would be filled up by the Holy Spirit. The evangelist, presumably Free Methodist, told him that he could tell Charles in secret what he could not say publicly, that he was made clean three months before he was filled. Minnie was glad for this, as it matched her testimony regarding the tarrying process. People were taught to be justified, sanctified and then to backslide, as the emptiness of sanctification fed a cycle, where people got

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[115]Page 30.

[116]FB, Feb. 1902, 1.

rejustified and resanctified only to be empty again, and lose heart and their experience. When asked why he withheld the truth, the evangelist replied, "The doctrine of the church does not provide for it." For a while Charles tarried, but he heard a preacher use nature's abhorrence of a vacuum as an example of how one is instantly filled by the Spirit when cleansed, and Charles then opposed the concept of tarrying. He constantly struggled with "spirits" trying to "repossess him," now that he was "empty." He announced his belief in tarrying, and waited six weeks, and was filled.

An account follows of the breaking of the FMC. Nowhere in the entire set of stories (in later chapters it is indicated that this "book" is by Clara Lum, entitled The Living Gospel, or a Missionary Family, perhaps published before being printed in the paper) is the FMC mentioned by name. The church accused them; with their independent paper, school, and missionaries; of being a "wheel within a wheel." Minnie states that while she felt very strong ties to the church, she was called to the missionary work, and if it must be cut off from the church, so must she. They did not want the church to own their enterprises. Minnie asked the presiding elder of the conference if they didn't want their members to engage in legitimate business, or if it was wrong to run a religious business. The elder held that a legitimate secular business and a religious business were different, and that the Discipline did not provide for the latter. She asked whether the Discipline should not be enlarged to allow for what the Bible provides for, but he replied that as the "frame of the church" it could not be changed "to suit individual ideas." She referred to the Discipline's question of members, "Will you keep yourself free to follow the will of the Lord in all things." Her response was that she would, and that this included now the World's Faith Missionary Association. They felt it better to leave the church, and did so January 30, 1894, and they were given letters of good standing. They note that the VG and PBs withdrew at about the same time. The World's Faith Missionary Association was formally organized on

February 30. A little later they began building a larger building, with no money in hand. The first people that gave did so under the assumption that they had means to do so, since they had already started.

3. Fully independent of the FMC. The tenth chapter[117] tells of Minnie going blind, and her subsequent healing. The pressure of the old debts, then seven years old, is described as the occasion for accusations of dishonesty and the reason they could get no more money in. Through one person they were provided with $6,600 and their old debts were gone and they were ready to go forward. Chapter eleven[118] tells of sending missionaries, and provides the stories of several. Chapter twelve[119] relates various stories of prison visitation, as well as cases of demon possession, which they regard as a healing of "insanity in its worst form." Two cases are given in great detail. The final chapter, number thirteen, is given in the June, 1902 issue. In this issue the masthead is changed, adding on one side the scripture verse Mat. 3:11-12 regarding the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and fire, and Acts 2:3, 4 on the other side, concerning Pentecost and the filling of the spirit and speaking in tongues. Various stories of deliverance are told and the spiritual power of the work are told. The story is also told of the many manifestations given to Minnie, such as holding up her arm for an hour and twenty minutes, that were demonstrations of the spirit and not possible on her own. This was used to lead people to God, but was eventually replaced by her preaching that God called her to, God no longer giving her these kinds of demonstrations.

Hogue has a brief but extremely negative account of Hanley. He mentions T. H. Allen and J. H. Wilson as guiding the Conference

through a period of stress and strain occasioned by the

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[117]FB, Mar. 1902, 1

[118]FB, Apr. 1902, 1.

[119]FB, May 1902, 1.

> rise and development of a type of schismatic fanaticism known as "The Firebrand Movement," and the Church owes them an everlasting debt of gratitude for the wisdom and firmness with which they exercised their office to restrain and control the wild and rabid elements until they were naturally, and without any harmful violence, sloughed off from a running sore when the healing process is consummated. Mr. Allen was especially involved in the conflict against this inveterate evil; it ever found in him a foeman worthy of steel.[120]

IV. Shaw and the Michigan State Holiness Association

A footnote in The Divine Church[121] tells something of S. B. Shaw's story. Brooks believed that no groups other than the Methodists taught holiness, and that all sects of holiness were in reality opposed to it except for two (apparently the FMC and the Wesleyan Methodist Church), who used holiness only to build up their sect. He uses Shaw as an example, who, he avers, left the Wesleyans because he would not have freedom as a holiness evangelist and joined the FMC. He hoped to have liberty here "on account of the high professions of devotion to the holiness work put forth by that sect." While in the denomination he became president of the Michigan State Holiness Association, but the church became dissatisfied because not all of his energies were directed toward the interest of the FMC. The conference resolved that any member of the conference would violate its obligation to the conference by associating with any other group supporting holiness. This caused Shaw to leave. Shaw noted that since the association was formed in 1881 there had been a great deal of opposition by the Weslyans and FMC. They claimed the association ought not to exist because it brought confusion and division. General Superintendent Hart stated that it was against the Discipline to be a member of both the Association and the Church. The Association urged all its members to belong to a church. Many desire this, but apparently are not welcome.

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[120]Hogue, Vol. 2, 13.

[121]John P. Brooks, The Divine Church, (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1984), 281-282.

S. B. Shaw published Touching Incidents and Remarkable Answers to Prayer, including material from Wesley, George Muller, William Carvosso, Knox, Luther, Moody, Finney, Spurgeon, etc. Such a book was sure to be viewed positively by all factions in the FMC.

The MHR lists the rates for several periodicals on page 60 of the January, 1885 edition. The list includes the FM, the VG, and the Guide to Holiness. Another list is provided in October, which adds several papers, including the EC.[122] All of these papers could be ordered in conjunction with the MHR at a reduced price.

The February, 1885 issue provides a sort of constitution for the State Holiness Association. It states that a meeting was held to establish a convention in December, 1881, and the first meeting of the convention was the next April, with thirty or forty people. Both these meetings were powerful revivalistic meetings. The next April the meeting was twice as large. This was when the MHR was made the paper of the organization. In September, 1884 the school of one Lura Mains in Coldwater was made the school of the Association. This apparently was an orphanage based on the "faith principle."[123] In those three years "thousands have been saved and sanctified, through the instrumentality of our work."[124]

In the statement on doctrine they discuss the doctrines of depravity (corruption of our moral nature inherited by everyone because of Adam's disobedience), repentance (which includes "fruits meet for repentance," such as forgiveness and restitution), justification ("the forgiveness of actual sins . . . and while continuing in this regenerated state, we do not commit sin.") and entire sanctification (the depravity is "removed from the heart;" is not the repression of inner sin or imputed righteousness; can be received "at any moment" by faith when the believer makes a full consecration; does not include deliverance from temptations,

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[122]MHR, Oct. 1885, 47.

[123]Ibid., 1885, 3.

[124]MHR, Feb. 1885, 83.

infirmity, errors of judgement, or the possibility of sinning; and leave no further need of cleansing but a continued growth). Note that here Shaw uses the popular idea of total commitment as a required step toward entire sanctification, rather than as an integral part of justification. The mission's object is clearly stated as not being to set up a denomination, but is inter-denominational, with no desire to control the churches. It is compared to missionary, Bible and temperance societies. The mission is "to save the lost and spread scriptural holiness." This "lifts the people above sectarian wall . . . where there is no distinction as to color, race, sex, high or low, rich or poor." "Perfect Christians cannot be hampered by any dogma, sect or creed, but they go forth as heralds of the truth regardless of opposition from whatever source it may come." Opposition is discussed, as well as the determination to go on in spite of it.

Under, "Reception of Members," the negative effect of the inconsistent lives of many claiming the experience of holiness. Twelve questions are asked, having to do with the Association's Constitution, various strict prohibitions (tobacco use, secret societies, jewelry, "church fairs, festivals, socials, Christmas trees and like entertainments, also boat races, horse races, county fairs and all worldly amusements"), the witness of the Spirit, membership in a Church (asking whether they favor church organization, likely prohibiting any who did not), complete consecration (especially to holiness work), and testimony to entire sanctification (as received by faith after conversion).

Two rules are established for organizing and maintaining the auxiliary county associations. County conventions can be called by the president or his representative to form the auxiliary or meet with it once it has formed. The person calling the convention together shall serve as president of the auxiliary until some one is elected.[125]

In the June, 1885 edition another doctrinal statement is

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[125]Ibid., 84.

provided, expanding what was in the constitution.[126] Entire sanctification is defined as "the entire extinction of the carnal mind, the total eradication of the birth place of sin." Regarding church fellowship it is stated that "every saved individual should be connected with the organic Church. . . But if an oppressive hand be laid upon them in any case by church authority, solely for professing holiness, or being identified with the cause of holiness, depriving them of the privileges of Christian communion they should then adjust themselves to circumstances as may be required in order to have the continued enjoyment of the ordinances of our holy religion." A statement is made regarding "unsectarian aspects," that state that the experience and doctrine of holiness do not belong to just any one group, so it is important to organize nondenominational groups to band together holiness people of different groups.

The same edition mentions that Shaw met Sherman at the General Holiness Assembly that May, mentioning that he is the author of the VG. There were one hundred fifty people present.[127]

The December, 1885 issue mentions working with the PBs in Kalamazoo. He mentions Dake, and that he had five bands in the field, with "glorious results." God's blessing is wished on them and he declares them "heartily in sympathy with all measures that are used of God in saving the lost."[128] The next issue had an extended report from a Sister Mary Primmer on PB work. A song from the PBs is written.

> We are after our thousands for Jesus,
> Our glorious, all-conquering king;
> We will snatch them as brands from the burning,
> Then thousands shall victory sing.
>
> We are Pentecost workers; and onward
> We will press with our conquering band,

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[126]Page 10.

[127]Ibid., 11.

[128]Page 60.

'Till thousands are won for the master;
Then rest in that grand "Sabbath Land."[129]

Roberts wrote to the paper, "I am glad to hear how God is blessing and using you. I give a most cordial welcome, and i hope that God will make you a great blessing to us and we to you." In the same issue a supportive note is also given by Sherman.[130]

Three months later a letter to the Wesleyan Methodist is reprinted. It is a defense of working undenominationally, as holiness is for everyone, nondenominational work is less threatening to reach people in other churches, new holiness people sometimes ought to stay in their old church, at least for a time, and finally, undenominational work allows holiness people to be organized in preparation for becoming local congregations of denominations.[131]

Dake provides a lengthy report of the PBs in the August, 1886 paper, reporting on all six bands. Only two of these bands were composed of men. He also reports on Harris, and mentions that money for him could be sent to the VG office. Here is a connection seen between four strands of the radicals; the PBs, Harris, the VG, and the MHR.[132] The same issue has a report on Harris, along with a promotional clip from the VG and the picture of Harris and Tappa. Immediately following this is a brief article by Dake on "Powerless Preachers."[133]

The next issue contained a report on the General Conference, including a resolution that unanimously passed,

> WHEREAS, Entire sanctification gives to the children of God the unity of the faith regardless of denomination preference; and,
> WHEREAS, God has greatly owned and blessed the

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[129]Ibid., 66.

[130]MHR, Mar., 1886, 76.

[131]MHR, June, 1886, 11.

[132]Page 27.

[133]Ibid., 43.

> holiness movement both in and out of the F. M. church; therefore,
>
> Resolved, That we extend heart fellowship and co-operation to all churches, associations, and other agencies for the promotion of holiness that are in harmony with the Word of God in teaching and practice.[134]

A report of Harris at conference, ordained Deacon and Elder and sent out, is also given. Also, on Brother Sherman's support of Harris. "God bless him and his paper. Amen."[135] Two reprinted reports of Harris are given in a few months later, one from Sherman, and another from the Christian Standard.[136]

In this same issue a writer tells of a camp meeting he was at where a man had a vision of hell. "His eyes looked like fire balls more than anything else one could think, saying awful! awful! . . . The image of the damned was permitted to be reflected on him. His hands clenched and clawing, and gnashing his teeth. . . So terrible was the sight that some fled from the grounds." He also tells that this man had been healed of consumption the previous year.[137]

Two months later an interesting letter of support is provided by Anna Abrams of the VG. She notes that undenominational work is needed, because many of the people that need the message are already in other churches. She states that this is how the work spread in central Illinois, and afterwards most of them entered the FMC.[138]

The next issue reports the death of Eunice Knapp, with a lengthy letter written by Jennifer Torrence.[139] On the same

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[134]MHR, Sep. 1886, 52.

[135]Ibid., 53.

[136]MHR, Jan. 1887, 67.

[137]Ibid., 53.

[138]MHR, Mar. 1887, 86.

[139]MHR, Apr. 1887, 90-91.

pages two dramatic cases of healing are reported, breast cancer and a withered arm. With the cancer, when they prayed, the pain instantly left and the cancer gradually healed without any medicine, "but by trusting God alone."

The June, 1887 edition has a lengthy letter regarding "comeoutism." The question is not whether any church is completely right. All gospel work needs Christian council of some kind, so how can it be sinful to be part of a church. Certainly there is only one church, but that is spiritual. "Literally and temporally" there may be many churches, all the people in which may be in harmony and close communion together, joined by the heart rather than the head. He answers the contention that the beast's number, 666, is the number of churches in the world, he asks how this can accurately be counted and because it is constantly changing. Evils will always creep into the church, it did even with the apostles, but this need not prevent organization.[140]

Shaw recommends the FB as "one of the latest additiens [sic] to the rapidly growing list of Holiness papers. We bid it a hearty welcome, and a loving God speed. The first copy which has reached us is full of promise and future usefulness. . . Send for it."[141]

In its May 22, 1889 edition, the FM published an article on the Association entitled, "A New Church." The MHR responded in its August issue. He had seen it as reprinted in the July 17 Wesleyan Methodist. The article in the FM was written by Roberts and further editorialized by Wardner. It stated that it was had on the "best authority" that Shaw was going to organize a new church. Shaw thoroughly denies this. The 1887 North Michigan conference did resolve that they opposed their members belonging to any other organization designed for spreading holiness. The North Michigan Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church offered a similar

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[140]Pages 1-2.

[141]MHR, July, 1887, 20.

resolution in 1888. These resolutions, felt Shaw, were neither "Scriptural or Christ-like." Since organizing in 1881 there had been a "flood of opposition" from these two denominations, who denied that such associations had a right to exist, but God "owned the work," and hundreds were saved and sanctified. Many in the Association want a home in a holiness denomination, but do not want to stay where they "are not welcome to worship God according to our best light and convictions." Now something had to be done. The very ones so opposed to the Association because they believed they were forming another church, have forced them to do just that.

> They will neither consent to our having a home with them, or making one for ourselves after they have driven us out; and if we should continue outside of all organizations they would doubtless call us come-outers and heretics. Can it be possible that these brethren think it their duty to oppose and suppress everybody that feels called of God to cast out devils but does not feel called to follow them?[142]

Shaw also clarifies that contrary to the article, he was not converted among the Free Methodists, but in an undenominational meeting, comprised of members of different churches, but none from the FMC. Shaw does admit that he has been a member of three denominations, but the Wesleyans were less conformed to the world than the MEC, and the FMC even less than that. He recalls that Roberts bid them God-speed whether they chose to join the church or not, but this seems to have been forgotten. Roberts even stated that some of the most judicious FMC preachers felt that he had no love for the church, but was only a member to get patronage for his paper and members for his bands. Shaw agrees that some think this, but regards them more as "strongly sectarian and bigoted" rather than "judicious." He believes that every FMC preacher in Michigan should be aware that great care was taken not to conflict with any work of the church, and have only organized bands were there has been no FMC. This policy has led to the band work being greatly

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[142]MHR, Aug. 1889, 13.

neglected. Further issues are thoroughly discussed.[143]

A letter in the November and December issue has a letter of support in opposition to the editorial in the FM. The article was viewed as harsh. The author of the letter was the editor and founder of the Law and Gospel.[144]

The February, 1890 issue has "A Second Reply" to the article in the form of a letter to the FM. He notes that the FM refused to print his reply published in his own paper in September, but written the day he first read the article, July 17. Roberts had told Shaw that his evidence of intent to organize was a letter from Dake, who thought that Shaw was going to organize a church and wrote Shaw a letter about it. Shaw made it clear to him that this was not so, explaining the Association's approach to denominational involvement and inviting him to attend a state convention.[145] That same issue, starting on the first page, is the Discipline of the Primitive Holiness Mission. Interestingly, it states that near the end of 1888 some felt that steps need to be taken, and in a prayer meeting in February they prayed over organizing "an independent movement." It was felt by all that sooner or later this must be done. The August Association meeting occasioned another meeting, and all agreed to hold a convention for the purpose, and the Primitive Holiness Mission was organized in September. This would seem to contradict all the contentions Shaw makes in answering the FM that the Association had no plans to become a denomination, although it is possible that this "Primitive Holiness Mission" was viewed as an extension of the Association and not a separate denomination.

Earlier that year S. B. Shaw had withdrawn from the FMC. He requested this in May and started the Primitive Holiness

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[143]Ibid., 13-14.

[144]Page 22. The November and December issue of the MHR in 1887 was combined.

[145]MHR, Feb., 1890, 37.

Mission, which ran on a congregational model. His interdenominational holiness work had rankled Free Methodist leaders. He continued putting out the Michigan Holiness Record and became more and more prominent in unifying efforts in the holiness movement, especially at the 1901 General Holiness Convention.[146]

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[146]Ingersol, 96.

CHAPTER 8: RADICALS REMAINING IN THE FMC: DAKE AND SHELHAMER

I. Vivian Dake

A. Early Life and the Forming of the Bands

Vivian Dake was born on February 9, 1854, the son of a FMC preacher, J. W. Dake in Illinois (later to go to Iowa). Vivian was a special interest of the Roberts' family. He was used as an example, because once when Roberts was raising money for the school at North Chili, New York (later to become Roberts Wesleyan College) a young boy came up, very poor and having outgrown his clothes. Shaking, he put a dime in Roberts hand. This greatly inspired Roberts, and he used it to inspire others. Three years later, Mrs. Roberts persuaded someone to pay Dake's way to the school he had donated to. Presumably at approximately the same time (his biographer Nelson is vague here), Dake began to seek forgiveness for his sins, and with the intensity that was to mark his whole life. Kneeling, he stated, "I'll stay here till I bleach my bones, or find pardon." When he reached the school, Roberts praised him, using him as a model of zeal, going from house to house praying and exhorting. He went to Rochester University, but after only three terms he was too eager to go into ministry, which at age twenty-two he did in the FMC in Iowa (the Minnesota and Northern Iowa conference, which in short time made him chairman of three districts).[1]

Mention of his Bands have been made in the previous chapter. The first was created in Ottumna, Iowa in August 1882, Dake feeling that the idea, and even the name came from God. After a short time this Band went defunct, but the Bands were started on a more permanent basis in Parma, Michigan in 1885. Nelson quotes a letter from Roberts,

> My Dear Son in the Gospel:
> Organize your bands. Push out. Be as aggressive as the Salvation Army, but more holy, more serious and have no nonsense about it. Let the Holy Spirit take the place

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[1]Thomas Nelson, Life and Labors of Rev. Vivian A. Dake, Organizer and Leader of Pentecost Bands; Embracing an Account of his Travels in America, Europe and Africa with Selections from his Sketches, Poems and Songs (Chicago: T. B. Arnold, 1894), 17-20.

> of tambourines to draw people. . . We must not let the Free Methodist church become a feeble imitation of the M. E. Church.[2]

Bundy indicates that Dake make significant additions to Taylor's mission theory, involving the structure of ministry and asceticism. Regarding structure, as noted above, he divided missionaries into Bands, usually of four persons either all the same sex or of married couples. These would establish churches or other ministries and then give control over to the local FMC presence (such as a conference). Their work predominated in the Midwest and South of the United States, and in India, Africa and Western Europe. Interestingly, no difference was made in approach between domestic and foreign ministries. This mission remained the same no matter where you were. Personally, Band members where to be experiencing and strongly committed to promoting entire sanctification. They were to live ascetically in regard to possessions, food and sexuality. Marital purity was expected.[3]

In the back of the 1883 AC (no page numbers) there are a series of advertisements. An add for "This stirring song as sung by the Pentecost Bands in their revival meetings." This would seem to be the first band established by Dake, which ceased operating before he started the bands in earnest not much later. The song, to the tune of "Nelly Grey," was seven stanzas, one of which, with the chorus is included in the advertisement. Here is that portion of "this soul-stirring" song.

> They often try to stop me, and invite me to go in,
> And enjoy their pleasure by the way;
> But my time is very precious and I'm not inclined to sin,
> Or for any of their trifles to stay,

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[2]Ibid., 73, 80.

[3]Bundy, 8-9. Note especially the bibliographic comments in no. 7, p. 7. E. E. Shelhamer told his daughter that when in the Bands they did not eat cake or any sweets, and that the purpose for this was so that none of the destitute people they ministered to would feel ashamed to invite them home, nor would feel that they need anything but the simplest of foods to give them. Taped interview with Esther James, May 17, 1993, Wilmore, Ky.

CHORUS
Oh! in that blessed mansion, where he's gone to make me room.
I shall never have sorrow any more.
I am waiting, waiting, waiting, till the Lord shall call me home:
Then with joy I shall leave this weary shore.

This gives an idea of how their whole identity seem caught up in rescuing people from damnation.

A list of rules of the Parma Pentecost Bands, presumably those of the first band when Dake started them up again, was transcribed by Joseph Culumber in 1977, a copy of which is in the Free Methodist World Ministries Center in Indianapolis. There were seven rules, providing the object ("to furnish an organized plan of cooperation for those interested in the success of our Pentecostal work"), that members can be from any evangelical church, that Bands shall be named by their location, that there shall be a leader and an assistant leader nominated by the Commander and Divisional Commander and elected by the Band by acclamation (with the Commander or Divisional Commander having the authority to change the leaders at any time), that the leader will carefully look after the spiritual interest of the Band members (which involves praying, instructing, reproving, and promoting holiness) and to set up meetings that "do not interfere with the regular church . . . and shall report the names of any that he has taken into the local band," that the assistant leader shall assist the leader in performing the leader's duties (or in the leader's place if the leader is unable to), and that the Band shall have a monthly praise meeting. At this meeting a free will offering will be made by each member (minimum of six cents, but more if they are able) for the work, and will answer the following questions by the Commander, Divisional Commander or leader,

1st Have you the witness of sins forgiven?

2nd Have you experienced that Death to the carnal mind which by faith results in heart purity, if not, will you earnestly seek until you find.

3rd Do you believe in the doctrines and precepts taught by the Pentecost Bands? and will you live by them?

them?

4th Do you love Pentecost Band work and will you with your influence,
your time and money aid in pushing it forward?

Snyder mentions that an article in the 1891 edition of the Encyclopedia of Missions (probably by Dake) indicates that the Bands work had produced eight societies in Michigan and twenty-five in Illinois, with Bands working in Canada, Norway, Germany and Africa. This article also describes the Bands. Their work involved street-meetings, visitations, services "in church, tent, or hall," and to "throw" all else aside to rescue souls. "They are earnest, enthusiastic, and noisy. Their methods may be called shortcuts to win souls."[4]

Bands very much expected persecution, and received it often. They especially had conflicts in Midwestern and Western towns with high concentrations of Catholic immigrants and their immediate descendants. Nelson has account after account of jailings of Band members. A story was related to Donald Joy, Professor of Human Development at Asbury Theological Seminary and grandson of a Band member, about his grandfather by someone connected with him. Apparently he was preaching in the streets of Dodge City, Kansas, when some "rowdies" came, pulling out their guns and trying to disrupt his street meeting. A particularly formidable cowboy pulled out both of his six shooters and instructed the crowd, including the rowdies, that the man would preach undisturbed. He did so, and when he was finished the cowboy passed a hat and collected an offering, keeping one of his guns out. This story is difficult to verify as it was not told by an eye-witness, but the mere fact that it is not far-fetched for the Bands says much about

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[4]Howard Snyder, "Radical Holiness: Vivian Dake and the Pentecost Bands," an unpublished paper presented at the Wesleyan/Holiness Church Leaders' Conference at Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, KY, February 1-3, 1990, pages 7, 8, no. 28. His paper is significant, among other reasons, for its bibliographic information.

the milieu in which they operated.[5] Joy has also graciously provided the author with copied pages from the fly-leaf of his grandfather's Bible, which is filled with quotations Kansas and Missouri State laws that ensured his right to hold religious meetings in the street, which is what most Band members were jailed for, often in direct contradiction to State laws.

B. Conflicts Between the Bands and the FMC

1. Growing Tensions. One tension with the denomination centered around autonomy. The only official connection of the Bands to the FMC was through Dake, although Dake was at first strongly encouraged by leaders in the denomination. Cooperation was practiced between the Bands and the conferences, districts and congregations. Some workers, such as Nelson and Shelhamer, were members of conferences and thus exercised some leadership (they were two of the three division leaders at Dake's death). Important decisions, however, were made by Dake. Free Methodists became increasingly concerned as the number of workers grew, reaching about 125 by 1892.[6]

As noted in the previous chapter the ties between the radicals were quite close, especially between Sherman, the Hanleys and Dake and the members of their organizations. An issue of contention with the Bands as well as well as the VG and FB movements, as noted above, was marital purity. Snyder mentions Auntie Coon as being particularly significant in the promotion of this doctrine, as she was often used by the Bands. Snyder quotes Dake, "Auntie Coon's faithful prayers and dealings were of great help to me in this critical hour," referring to his seeking of entire sanctification. In a footnote, Snyder observes, "Her experience, including her virtually forced marriage at a young age, makes an illuminating psychological and spiritual study regarding the 'marital purity

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[5]Personal conversations with Donald Joy.

[6]Snyder, 9, 7.

question.'"[7] She went in 1902 to live with the Shelhamers, where, apparently, she was greatly enjoyed but her detailed questioning and advising of Shelhamer's second wife Julia was found to be in some measure intrusive and annoying.[8]

One thing the radicals were consistently criticized for was their promotion of the "death-route" to sanctification. Nelson takes an entire chapter to devote to Dake's doctrine. As in chapter four, to understands his approach to sanctification, his approach to justification needs to be understood. Like Roberts, Dake very clearly viewed justification as an experience that results in the convert ceasing from all acts of sin, and to commit a sin is to need to be restored. Conversion involved a "hearty renunciation of all sin and a perfect surrender of the will to God He believed that this experience would enable man to overcome all the corrupt tendencies of his nature, and live without committing actual sin." Sin was defined as any refusal "to obey any of the requirements of God." The level of consecration must be intense "because no demands of His can be refused and justification retained." A common mistake made is to urge those not fully "walking in the light" to completely consecrate as a condition of sanctification. When this is done, of course, they receive a great blessing, and mistake it for holiness. This was "filling the land with a great deal of spurious holiness."[9]

This led Dake to promote confession over consecration. While some needed to go through a strenuous time of consecration previous to sanctification, Dake contends that this is merely to bring a troubled justification experience up to date. Then the real work

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[7]Ibid., 14, 15, no. 52. Many details are provided by Coon in her biography related by her to Shelhamer regarding the unpleasantness of her sexual experience and the philanderings of her husband.

[8]Taped interview with Esther James, Julia's daughter, May 17, 1993, Wilmore, Ky.

[9]Nelson, 90, 91.

of confessing depravity begins.[10] Note how Dake's distressing of consecration makes explicit the difference of the original FMC approach of equating consecration with justification rather than entire sanctification. However, the element of confession, in the form Dake stressed, is largely new.

Snyder mentions an article in the June 5, 1895 FM that contains an article by A. F. Curry against "The Death Route." Curry wishes to place death concepts with conversion. Holiness is life, not death. He even states that we are not to attempt to die to "carnal or animal appetites and passions," as this had tried and led to fanaticism, no doubt referring to marital purity, as Snyder observes.[11] It may also be observed that a common distinction made in the Wesleyan movement is not being observed by Curry, that is, the dying to, or renunciation of, passions as opposed to the actual destruction of the passions. Certainly the Bands approved of an understanding of holiness closer to the latter than Curry was comfortably with, but when it came to basic desires, such as the sexual, the goal was strict control, not annihilation.

2. Actions taken by Annual and General Conference. The 1889 Michigan report on Ministerial Relations stated, "We believe that the work which Brother Dake has organized and controls, called 'Pentecost Bands,' has a tendency to divide and to bring discord into the church."[12]

1890 General Conference considered the Bands, not to obstruct them, says Hogue, but to make "adequate provision for them in the economy of the Church," and to provide "some degree of general supervision over them." They passed that District Chairmen and Evangelists may form Bands, but members must be recommended by their society. The rules for such bands must be passed by the Annual Conference where the Leader belongs. No Band or Evangelist

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[10]Ibid., 94, 95.

[11]Snyder, 14, no. 51.

[12]Page 91

may hold meetings that conflict with the regular work of any appointed preacher. After one year Band workers may be licensed yearly by the Quarterly Conference.[13]

The first report is on Band Rules by an Annual Conference is in the minutes for the Illinois Conference in 1891.

> I.
> All Bands operating under the auspices of chairmen or evangelists of the Illinois conference shall be denominated "Free Methodist Bands."
> II.
> Any chairman or evangelist organizing a Band or Bands shall be the leader thereof, and may appoint an under-leader to take charge in his absence.
> III.
> A Band shall be composed of either all sisters or all brethren--excepting in cases of man and wife.
> IV.
> The leaders shall report to their respective quarterly conferences the work done by the Band or Bands under them during the quarter; also totals of money received and expended in and for the work.
> V.
> The members of each Band, together with the leader, shall determine among themselves how the money raised by them over and above their current expenses, shall be used.
> VI.
> Each Band shall be requested to distribute sample copies and solicit subscriptions for the FREE METHODIST paper.
> VII.
> All regular Band workers shall be examined in the course of study laid down in Section II. of our Discipline for local preachers, with the exception of Hogg's Homiletics.
> VIII.
> All moneys raised within the bounds of the Illinois conference for the transportation of Bands or Band workers to foreign fields shall be paid over to the treasurer of the General Missionary Board.[14]

Their second report was on Ministerial Relations, on the case of Vivian Dake. They find that "Dake utterly repudiates the General Missionary Board." In response to the contention that his missionary efforts caused friction and disrupted, he stated that he

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[13]Hogue, 194-195.

[14]Page 54. Note the emphasis on the FM and the Discipline, as well as on reporting to the Quarterly Conferences.

was aware of it but couldn't help it. "I must obey God and save my soul." He said that he had not sent any missionaries, but they sent themselves; he just raised money for their travel. He also admitted that the missionaries were members of the Bands, which he supervised. They pointed out that now according to the Discipline money for missions must go through the missions board (P. 82, Pars. 203, 204, 206). He felt he had not violated the Discipline, as this refers to those having circuits, not evangelists. He felt that superintendents broke the discipline "by the vote of conference in ordaining," (unknown as to what this refers to) and that all preachers he knew broke the rules for minister's conduct regarding fasting, visiting, employment of time, and so on. They pointed out that he broke the Disciplines regarding membership covenant (p. 24, no. 6) and being received into the conference (p. 50, nos. 8, 9) and in receiving deacons order (p. 122, first question), to which he replied that no preachers in the conferences kept this covenant. What he meant by this was the advice to ministers taken from Wesley and included in the Discipline (for example, to rise at four whenever possible, or to fast as often as health permitted) was not followed consistently by anyone in the conference.

When asked if he would continue his work in regards to missions he stated, "I purpose to obey God and get to Heaven." Dake showed no indication that he was willing to make any concessions or take any steps to reconciliation. Recommend that Dake not be given an appointment, and in response to what he had written in the FM, "We further affectionately request Brother Dake to desist from those methods and practices that he knows are producing division in the church."[15]

That year Canada developed a set of Band rules passed on conference floor (not out of committee) using the same words as

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[15]Pages 54-55.

Illinois.[16] Kansas, however, strongly encouraged the formation of Bands. They also developed rules for Bands, including supports of the Discipline's rules, and that all money raised by a Band shall go only to support that Band.[17] The next year four conferences publish band rules, West Iowa, Nebraska, Susquehanna, and Pittsburgh.[18]

Offering what was for them a strong note of reconciliation, the Illinois Conference stated that the Bands in their annual gathering declared that they had used "unwise and independent methods," which had caused strife, and that the Illinois Conference was glad of such an admission. Illinois admitted that the Bands had taken action regretting the strife and had expressed a desire to be closer to the church and to seek consultation on how to do so. Illinois further resolved that if the "bands have been unnecessarily aggrieved by anyone to any extent, that we regret the fact." that at least fifteen of the eighty to ninety band members have membership in this conference but are scattered across the country. They recognize that the committee cannot set down terms for a relationship between the church and bands, suggest that the next General Conference support the Bands as an "evangelistic movement which in the judgment of this conference should be tenderly cared for and which is in our judgment can only be utilized properly and with greatest and best results by its being brought into a closer relation with the church." Finally, Illinois recommend that the General Conference adopt general rules for the bands, and that Nelson be given the leadership of the bands for four years, reporting annually to the Executive Committee and his Annual Conference.[19]

Pittsburgh, in its 1894 State of the Work report was not so

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[16]Page 145.

[17]Page 161.

[18]Pages 39, 73, 159, and 197 respectively.

[19]Pages 76-77.

conciliatory. In section three, they list four possible dangers, the first of which is division, with two possible causes, the first being the "organized bands of Pentecost workers." Their independent separate leadership and their not working under or being accountable to the conference makes division inevitable. This makes no statement on the workers piety. "It is simply a question of the inexorable law of association. Two bodies moving closely to each other, but moving independently, necessarily will, sooner or later, cause friction, if not serious breakage." To avoid the danger, do not repel these "consecrated workers," but they "should be saved, husbanded, and utilized for the work of God." They hope that "wisdom, piety and good judgment which should characterize all truly sanctified laborers who are working for God's glory, will speedily find some way to dispel the cloud of division that threatens us."[20] This is a fundamentally different philosophy than the Kansas conference, which may well indicates how the frontier mindset had moved from Illinois in the 1850's to Kansas in the 1890's.

C. Women and the Ministry

The 1886 General Conference changed the Discipline to admit women evangelists to quarterly conferences, to which they were to be amenable. William Gould strenuously objected, as this admitted women to a ruling function in the church. He resigned his position as delegate, and Joseph Travis, the reserve delegate, took his place.[21]

The 1887 New York Conference passed a resolution asking the General Conference to re-examine its ruling on women, having it voted on not only by the conferences but by the individual churches as well. William Gould withdrew from the conference business activities as a matter of conscience regarding female delegates. This action by Gould is approved by the conference because he

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[20]Page 167.

[21]Hogue, 186.

regarded the conference action as unscriptural, and that he had entered the church believing it to be opposed to it. They ask Gould to maintain his relation to conference until General Conference can resolve the issue.[22]

At the 1890 General Conference, Roberts made this motion,

> That the Gospel of Jesus Christ, in the provision which it makes, and the agencies it employs for the salvation of mankind, knows no distinction of nationality, condition, or sex; therefore no person who is called of God, and who is duly qualified, should be refused ordination on account of sex, or race, or condition.

A resolution was passed requiring a majority vote on the issue in the Annual Conferences as well as the General Conference. This passed 38 to 32. Roberts was presiding, and ruled that since prohibition of women from ministry is possible by a bare majority vote of conference, the above resolution was unconstitutional. Hart appealed the chairs decision to the conference, which sustained his appeal 48 to 28.[23]

The next session, Hart took the chair and Roberts added to his resolution that it would not take effect until passed by a majority in the Annual Conferences. Hart took the chair for this session. Hogue remarks, "Few questions, if any, have ever evoked greater interest and called out so fully the debating talent of a General Conference among Free Methodists, as did this. Feeling was decidedly intense at times, severely testing the law of 'perfect love.'" The resolution failed 37 to 41. During the discussion Roberts appeared at times near a physical collapse, and had to be led out of the room. "It was a pathetic sight to witness this veteran of many battles was led from the scene of debate looking as though in imminent danger of an apoplectic stroke." He re-entered conference the following morning.[24]

Hogue made a motion to put the question, "Do you favor the

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[22]Pages 86-87.

[23]Ibid., 190, 191.

[24]Ibid., 192.

ordination of women, on the same conditions as those on which we ordain men?" to the conferences. This passed by only 38 to 32 votes. A resolution, "That we, the General Conference of 1890, disapprove of the ordination of women" was put forward. Someone facetiously moved that the resolution be amended, "when called of God and duly qualified," but this amendment failed and the main motion passed 35 to 29.[25]

The 1894 General Conference debate over ordaining women was extremely intense, lasting three and a half hours, "which was perhaps as animated as any discussion that ever was conducted in the General Conference during the entire history of the Church." Ministers, 17 to 34, lay, 18 to 31, total, 35 for, 65 against.[26]

D. Assessments of Dake by Official FMC Historians

In Roberts' biography, Roberts' son noticed that he saw the good in the Bands, but that their methods and plans were unwise, "and that their leaders were headstrong." He wanted to save the vitality and force for the church, but others wanted them out. He had, as much as others, been hurt and humbled by their leaders' actions, but he wished to lay that aside and work with them, but the opposing feeling had to be dealt with, as Band leaders had made very strong statements regarding the church and its leadership. Any disapproval of their methods was viewed as persecution, and they seemed to seek opposition. He was afraid that all they had gained would be lost by these "disintegrating forces." [27]

Hogue is rather positive about Dake, in sharp contrast to his statements on the FB movement.

> He deserves to be classified with the makers of Free Methodism in Minnesota. In respect of natural ability, educational equipment, power of oratory, burning zeal, self-sacrificing devotion, passionate love for the souls of men, and ability to win them in large numbers to Jesus Christ, he was second to none of the many who labored to

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[25]Ibid., 193.

[26]Ibid., 196.

[27]Benson Roberts, 556.

> build up the work of God in the Minnesota and Northern Iowa Conference.

He goes on to state that one point of his greatest service to the FMC was bringing the missionary G. Harry Agnew into the church.[28]

Hogue's assessment of the Bands is mixed, feeling that under Dake's leadership they began "to entertain more strained notions regarding Holiness than the rank and file of the Church could indorse [sic], particularly in what they denominated 'the death route' into the experience." When the authorities sought to regulate their work "somewhat," they showed a growing tendency toward independence, "and practically to become a Church within the Church."[29]

Remarking on Dake's death, Hogue states his belief that "the cause of God lost an able minister, and one of the most zealous laborers for the salvation of men to be found in any Church in any part of the world."[30]

Marston notes that the FMC's treatment of the Bands was the closest the church ever came to "repeating Methodism's historic pattern of action against 'irregulars.'" More moderation might have kept for the church this movements zeal, which was so effective in bringing people into the church. Dake was skilled in using talent, particularly young talent, for evangelism. It was not for another generation that the church would have programs to channel the energies of their youth.[31]

Lamson, provides an amazing admission in his book on mission in a paragraph entitled, "Losing the 'First Love.'" He writes,

> The rate of church growth suffered a drastic moderation from this time. To the present day, Free Methodism does not have the early evangelistic drive, the sense of mission that characterized the founders of the movement

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[28]Hogue, 51-52.

[29]Ibid., 194.

[30]Ibid., 198.

[31]Marston, 435.

> and that was incarnate in Vivian Dake. In correcting errors and regulating the fiery zeal of youthful Band workers, the church itself seemed to somehow lose its "first love" for the lost world. It is possible to be theologically and organizationally correct and at the same time to lose the fires of Pentecost essential to effective witnessing "in Jerusalem and Judea" to say nothing about the "uttermost parts of the earth."[32]

His assessment seems to be borne out by the evidence, but it was more than just the struggle with Dake. The whole milieu of squelching the radicals in the interest of order (and its success) brought about a drastic change in the atmosphere of the young church, although the situation with Dake was clearly the most decisive, as his movement had the best chance for acceptance.

II. E. E. Shelhamer

Nelson was seen as zealous and able, and the obvious pick for replacing Dake, but it was agreed that he was not the leader that Dake was, not being as sound a theologian and "decidedly more visionary and impetuous." This made regulation more important. The 1894 General Conference ruled,

> It is with no small degree of satisfaction that we notice the disposition of and effort on the part of the Pentecost Bands to come into perfect harmony with the Church in their operations. We look upon them as honest, earnest brethren, and most sincerely hope the differences which have agitated us as a Church in the past may be completely destroyed. However, we do not believe that this can be obtained by legislation. We see no way of adopting 'rules' which will more amply provide for their operations than those which we have. It is our earnest request that our brethren throughout the Church, Chairmen of districts, pastors and members, extend their arms of Christian fellowship to these earnest workers, and that the Bands observe the rules on 'Bands' in our book of Discipline. This being done, we are confident all differences will adjust themselves, and peace and harmony will be restored to the Church.

This was unacceptable to Nelson, who decided to withdraw from the FMC.[33]

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[32]Lamson, 135, no. 17.

[33]Hogue, 198-199.

Lamson tells of Nelson dissatisfaction with the 1894 General Conference statement. He had wanted more than "pious hope." He wished to be completely vindicated. He accepted "the role of martyr" and he and the other leaders of the movement withdrew. "This action was perhaps the only one that could be taken under the circumstances. Unfortunately, a vigorous B. T. Roberts was not alive in 1894 to encourage this spiritual life movement and conserve its work to the church." [34]

What is particularly interesting is Shelhamer's apparently vehement objection to Nelson assuming leadership. The only account of this known to the author is what he told his family, related to the author by his daughter Esther. According to Shelhamer, Nelson had ambition for power, and desired to be leader of the Bands when Dake died. Shelhamer insisted that no one of them could ever match Dake, and thus the Divisional Commanders should assume the leadership together as a type of governing council. Nelson disagreed and had sufficient support to get his way. Shelhamer felt it his duty to make very clear to Nelson that this came from nothing but "carnality." This was a serious charge, as it denied Nelson's state of entire sanctification, an essential for any Band worker and especially the leader of the Bands. Shelhamer then went his own way.[35]

Shelhamer connected with the Pittsburgh conference in 1894, having probationed already for two years, and was ordained Deacon. Due to poor health and what was felt to be a divine call, the conference released him to be evangelist in the South, with his wife licensed as an evangelist, and started a mission in Jacksonville, Florida. The next fall they opened a mission in Atlanta, and two years later started a Free Methodist class. He received fierce opposition, including occasional arrests and jailings. The Southern holiness movement offered fierce resistance

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[34]Lamson, 135.

[35]Taped interview with Esther James.

as well. He eventually held annual Holiness conventions in Atlanta, and occasional ones in Florida. There came to be seven circuits in Georgia, five in Florida and two in Alabama. In 1900 his work became a district, and in 1913 a conference.[36]

There are three biographies of Shelhamer. The first, of these, published by Repairer in Atlanta in 1915, was The Ups and Downs of a Pioneer Preacher, Also Some of my Mistakes and What They Taught Me. One of the most interesting features of this volume was its second part, described in the title. A revised edition was published following his death by his wife through the denomination's Light and Life Press in Winona Lake in 1951. Most of the material from the first volume are retained, but the mistakes are left out. In 1969 God's Bible School in Cincinnati, a school with a strong radical holiness self-identity, where the Shelhamer's spent the latter part of their ministry, published Sixty Years of Thorns and Roses. The mistakes were replaced in this volume.

Shelhamer was first married to Minnie Baldwin, a fervent Band worker. They practiced marital purity, and by Shelhamer's testimony had intercourse only three times in their ten years of marriage. One reason given by Shelhamer's second wife Julia, as she told her daughter Esther shortly before she died, was that intercourse was very painful for her. After several years of marriage they decided to try to have a child, claiming the promise of those being full of faith, love and self-control would be saved in child birth. Apparently there was some fear that the birth would kill Minnie. They felt that this verse was surely for them, especially in regard to self-control! However, both mother and child died in childbirth. Shelhamer was devastated and had the most difficult faith crisis of his life.[37]

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[36]Hogue, 120-121.

[37]In my interview with Esther there seemed some confusion regarding whether Shelhamer believed in and taught marital purity with Julia. While Julia denied it to her daughter Esther, it would

Shelhamer retained his radical identity in other ways, starting and independent paper and orphanage with his wife Julia and her sister. This apparently was no problem to the denomination, but this was probably because there was no broader network, there was no pursuit of funds in Free Methodist churches, and his work was located far away from all other FMC work. Without Shelhamer the amount of Free Methodist churches in the South would have been sparse indeed!

Shelhamer was an extremely prolific writer, writing over forty books. One of the more important of his books indicates his stance with other radicals in his approach to entire sanctification. In 1915 he published Popular and Radical Holiness Contrasted from the Repairer (his periodical) office in Atlanta. His three chapters on regeneration (chapters four through six) make very clear that the justification state involves ceasing from all acts of sin, and always successfully preventing one's depravity from having its way. Chapter ten lists five different classes of holiness seekers, 1) those never converted who get an sham experience that leads to a dry profession, 2) those converted but not fully committed to Christ at the moment (and thus no longer truly in a justification state) and whose experience of holiness is actually the restoration of justification, 3) those with clear experiences told to seek the blessing by consecration but not to have the "old man" crucified (thus leading to a false experience that would be difficult to shake), 4) those who followed this last experience but realized it was false and ceased to profess it (or once had the experience and lost it) but by thorough and deep confessions allow God to crucify

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seem that it was practiced at one time. When asked by someone whether her husband practiced what he preached, Julia responded that when he came back from a long trip he sometimes "fell." Also, Shelhamer's book Heart Talks to Boys seems to stringently warn not only against masturbation, but against any kind of regular sex as extremely dangerous in every way. Shelhamer wrote this book making use of a text by a doctor in the social purity movement. This text explicitly teaches the "dangers" of sexual intercourse.

their carnality, and finally, such people who have also added the absolutely certain testimony of the Holy Spirit.

The connection with Roberts but especially with Dake's approach is clear from the above. This was far from popular in Atlanta, but he did have people come from miles around, including Methodist ministers, to come and get "cleaned out" through a lengthy and harrowing experience.[38]

As Palmer in the 1840's made sanctification seemingly simpler and easier, by just requiring complete consecration and naked faith, (heartily embraced by Redfield) the continually developing Holiness Movement at large increasingly had elements that made sanctification just as easy, if not even more so, and without the understanding of justification as always by necessity involving complete commitment and freedom from acts of sin. The FMC radicals followed more in the line of Oberlin, and, arguably, with older Methodist (and FMC) traditions. Part of the conflict was between the relatively bourgeoisie Palmers, who avoided reform issues, even spending the Civil War touring in Europe, and the radical Methodists, the Free Methodists, and especially the radical Free Methodists. These latter were often well-educated people, especially in the FMC's first generation (who were generally better educated than the more middle-class Regency), but had values and sympathies more connected to the lower classes. The FMC struggled to retain this identity, causing perhaps some over-compensation on the parts of some.

Just as the leadership of the FMC eventually had a different paradigm than that of the radical circle, so this circle had a paradigm different from the "come-outers," other Proto-pentecostals, and later the Pentecostals. True, the difference is not always obvious, but neither is it always obvious between the FMC leadership and the radicals in the second generation. In his

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[38]Taped interview with Esther James.

book, False Doctrines and Fanaticism Exposed,[39] Shelhamer devotes a section to the "Come-outers," as well as to the "Tongues Movement." His reaction to the former is very strong and detailed. His reaction to Pentecostals (although evidence indicates that many Pentecostals either were Come-outers or had strong Come-outer tendencies) is less strong, but he disagrees with them, and notes that most members fall into the categories of "shallow people," "emotional people" or "sore-heads." Some sincere people may be in the movement, but there are very few if any authenticated cases of miraculous intelligible tongues. He also indicated that he preached for them in various places in the United States and in India, China and Japan.[40] It is interesting to note that he maintained even more positive relations with the VG, as seen in his "rescue" of it discussed in chapter seven, and in quoting an article on fanaticism by Anna Abrams.[41]

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[39]published in Titusville, PA: Allegheny Wesleyan Methodist Connection, 1973).

[40]Ibid., 107-111. See also his unpublished pamphlet, "5 Reasons Why I do not Seek the Gift of Tongues," a copy of which is in the B. L. Fisher Library at Asbury Theological Seminary in Wilmore, Ky.

[41]Ibid., 98.

CONCLUSION: EARLY FREE METHODISM AND THE FMC TODAY

I. Reforms

When viewed in its social and religious context, it has been shown that early Free Methodism was a highly complex and dynamic movement. Having been formed during that great divider of American history, the Civil War, the first generation of Free Methodism lives somewhere in between the Antebellum Era and the Guilded Age. In some ways this generation was far ahead of its times, such as its stands on such reforms as free pews, civil rights and affirmative action (although they might not have recognized these last two terms). Some traditional reforms were faithfully maintained, such as anti-masonry, soon once again to be a rallying cry for religious conservatives in the late eighteen hundreds. Their stand against alcohol, tobacco and finally narcotics is an excellent example of the integrity with which they applied reform principles in a consistent manner over a period of decades of increasingly rapid societal change. Occassionally their principles would lead them to a painful balance, such as opposition to secrecy and later communism, yet also opposing intemperance and capitalistic oppression.

However, some of their stands are clear examples of how their culture was not sufficiently distinguished from their principles, how forms and were confused with functions. Dress and music communicated different things outside of the Yankee Methodist strongholds of Western New York and frontiers populated by these people. Dress different from theirs did not have to mean worldliness and oppression of the poor, and instrumental music could be an aid to spiritual worship rather than a step to formality. Also, the early Free Methodists seemed somewhat succeptable to conspiracy thinking, linking the secret societies, Catholic Church, European immigrants, alcohol industry, and the Republican and Democratic parties as an organized assault against the church to dechristianize and destroy America. While it is true that these forces had a clear secularizing influence compared to the pervasive revivalistic culture of the Yankee holiness people, and that most Free Methodists did not get nearly as carried away

with conspiracy ideas as some did in that era, the line was often blindly crossed from Christian integrity and charity to prejudice or even the beginning stages of paranoia. It is a tribute to present Free Methodism that conscious prejudices against Catholics and immigrants have largely disappeared, and that the even more strongly entrenched prejudices against people who do not have similar lifestyles to us yet profess Christ is beginning to wane.

II. Doctrine and Conduct

A. Doctine

Methodist doctrine has been a highly complicated issue in American culture. If it could be established, as the author believes it can but is unable to do so due to the scope of this paper, that Wesley and the early British Methodists equated a cessation from sinful acts and the receiving/fullness/Baptism of the Spirit with the conversion experience, and that entire sanctification dealt with motives, motivations, and emotions rather than with the will or commitment, then Roberts truly was a highly accurate transmittor of the Wesleyan tradition, at least far more so than the later Holiness Movement. Less material on Redfield's position is available, but he seemed to apply the Amercan concepts of "instantaneous" and "power" more readily than Roberts.

It has been shown that the second generation, in the milieu of the growing holiness movement, was becoming more diverse in its teaching of entire sanctification. The use of pneumatic and volitional language to describe the experience became increasingly common. While the radicals clearly rejected volitional language to describe the experience, they commonly used pneumatic language, even more so than others, allowing them to eventually become quite similar to the Pentecostals (whom they adamantly opposed), except for the use of tongues, and some other practices and issues. In addition of the radicals was the increasing stress on confession, making the entrance into the experience more lengthy and arduous than previously had been the case. The situation could be sumarized in this way:

	Pneumatic Language	Volitional Language	Stress Confession
Redfield	rarely	rarely	rarely
Roberts	never	never	some
Second Generation	often	some	rarely
Radicals	often	never	often
Holiness Movement	often	often	rarely
Present FMC	often	often	some

It is interesting to note that currently the official position of the FMC in its 1989 Discipline is to equate entire sanctification with being filled with the Spirit, to the point of no longer asking members upon reception whether they have been made perfect in love, or entirely sanctified, but whether they have been filled with the Spirit. The experience is described almost solely in pneumatic and volitional terms, and very rarely are such concepts as inbred sin, the bent to sinning, perfect love, although they still appear in the twelth Article of Religion. Indeed, this experience is hardly discussed at all in the denomination, suffering from what Dr. George Turner, professor emeritus at Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore Kentucky calls a "benign neglect."

This decline in interest in entire sanctification makes an interesting comparison with an article by Phelps in the EC in its second year.[1] He provides four points on the mission of the FMC, the last of which was the church's "peculiar" mission "to spread scriptural holiness over these lands." This is one of the issues that "called her into being," and it would be inconsistent not to maintain interest. The motto for members must be the living experience of this doctrine. They must "exalt the standard. Exhort the people to rally around it." All preaching, singing and meeting should be done with the partially sanctified as well as

[1]A. A. Phelps, "Mission of the Free Methodist Church," EC, Vol. 2, no. 2, 48, 49.

sinner in mind.

> Roberts, of course, felt strongly on this line as well.
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> All our preachers should preach holiness clearly and definitely. It is not enough to preach it in a general way. Whole sermons should be devoted to the subject. Every person in the congregation should be made to see his obligation to ge holy. It should be presented doctrinally, experimentally, and practically, in all its scriptural aspects.[2]

An exmination of the biographies of early Free Methodists illustrates the decline of interest in entire sanctification. In the early biographies, Redfield, Roberts, Kendall (in the pages of the EC), La Due, and Cooke, the authors explicitly tell in the course of at least a page or two of their sanctification (Redfield takes an entire chapter) and when samples of their writing or preaching are included, some of the material is about holiness. The later biographies, such as Beers, Jones, Trevor and Zahnser contain only a paragraph at most telling of their entire sanctification and usually have no writings on holiness among their samples. A notable exception to this trend is Dake and Damon, who as seen in chapters five and seven about almost fits the category of second-generation radical.[3]

The decline of interest in entire sanctification is also witnessed to in the denominations hymnology. While in Roberts 1879 hymnal[4] songs on holiness comprise only 4.8% of the whole, the

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[2]PT, 125, 126.

[3]see John La Due, The Life of Rev. Thomas Scott La Due (Chicago: Free Methodist Publishing House, 1898), Adelaide Lionne Beers, The Romance of a Consecrated Life (Chicago: The Free Methodist Publishing House, n.d.), Robert Trevor, Life and Labors of Rev. Robert Trevor (St. Louis: J. H. Flower, 1905), Lefa E. Snyder and Bernice E. Weidman, Servant of God: Life Story and Selected Articles of Bishop Arthur D. Zahniser (Winona Lake: Light and Life Press, 1940).

[4]B. T. Roberts, Spiritual Songs and Hymns for Pilgrims (Rochester: B. T. Roberts, 1879).

1910 hymnal[5], the denomination's first official hymnal, has 7.3% of its songs on holiness. The section preceding is on consecration, and has an additional 3.1%. The 1957 hymnal[6] has 5.1% songs on holiness, and 5.6% of the songs on consecration (and service)! To be crassly mathmatical, in the two generations between these hymnals the church had changed to the point of having proportionately 30% fewer songs on entire sanctification and 77% more songs on consecration! The 1974 hymnal[7] has three sections listed under "Christian Holiness." These divisions are quite significant in light of the categories discussed above. They are, "Consecration," (3.4%) "Inward Cleansing," (2.3%) and "The Spirit-Filled Life." (1.7%) For the first time, the term "entire sanctification" is not used in the table of contents in the hymnal. One fifth of the songs in the section "Inward Cleansing" are not traditionally holiness songs, and are quite general in their import. Thus the corpus of songs about entire sanctification, but not primarily in terms of consecration or the baptism/fullness of the Spirit has shrunk from fifty-four in 1910 to twelve in 1974.

A still more dramatic symbol of change is the newest hymnal.[8] A committe was set up by General Conference to create a hymnal that would be Free Methodist, rather than a hymnal shared with the Wesleyans, as the last two had been. The committee felt that the Word Hymnal was a better collection than they could devise, so they received permission from the publisher to add a Free Methodist "addendum" of the rituals and thirty-eight additional songs for a special printing for the denomination. That our church does not

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[5]Free Methodist Hymnal (Winona Lake: The Free Methodist Publishing House, 1910).

[6]Hymns of Faith and Life (Winona Lake: Light and Life Press and the Wesley Press, 1976).

[7]Hymns of the Living Faith (Winona Lake: Light and Life Press, 1951).

[8]The Hymnal for Worship and Celebration (Irving: Word Music, 1986, 1989 [Free Methodist Section]).

even bother to publish its own complete hymnal anywhere but adds some material to the hymnal produced by an organization almost synonymous with music in the mainstream American Evangelical culture is a powerful statement.

In his dissertation, Reinhard attempts to establish that the differences between the Nazarites and Regency were largely personal and sociological. While the information in this thesis is to some extent contradictory to this concept, Reinhard does accurately reflect at the end of his thesis that the FMC today does not have the distinctive ethos of its beginnings. He notes,

> The concept of holiness is presently being adjusted to the "obseved order" of life. Denomination leaders are following the pattern used recently by a Free Methodist pastor who counselled his congregation of requisites of real Christian fellowship: "One must . . . have an up-to-date sense of being forgiven, a clear awareness that he has failed a thousand times to measure up to God's glorious ideal, but God has been gracious. This kind of person is reflexively tenderhearted and forgiving and thus pleasant to be around. He has perceived the grace of God and so can reflect graciousness." Free Methodism is apparently moving toward defining holiness as a "glorious ideal" rather than an "actualized state of grace."[9]

What is perhaps an even more fundamental problem in the present church is that the understanding of justification has changed. It is commonly thought that we have the same concept of conversion as any other evangelical group, be it Pentecostal, Baptist or any other. We just add the concept of entire sanctification "on top of it," as it were. This was hardly true with B. T. Roberts. Wesley and his cohorts, as well as Roberts and his cohorts, made it abundantly clear that conversion meant a ceasing from the acts of sin, a total commitment of all we know to Christ. Today volitional language is fading not because it is being associated once again with conversion, but because Free Methodists are loathe to require complete commitment, even from

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[9]James Arnold Reinhard, "Personal and Sociological Factors in the Formation of the Free Mehtodist Church: 1852-1860" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, May, 1971), 192.

those professing entire sanctification! More stress is made on the Discipline's comment that we are not made perfect in performance (1989, A:306) than the church would have been comfortable with a century ago.

B. Conduct

Robert Wall has written a seminal article on "The Embourgeoisement of the Free Methodist Ethos" for the WTJ.[10] He comments on the 1989 General Conference of the FMC at Seattle. Many delegates felt that because of the denomination's history with legalism the Conference should remove the code of conduct from the Discipline. Wall, quite accurately, sees such a solution not only as extremely superficial, but a betrayal of "the theological consensus which founded" the FMC. The theological context for the Discipline is not understood by such delagates. Self-denial and social dissent are the personal and public evidences of "God's sanctifying grace." Self-renunciation is the basic concept behind the personal codes in the original Discipline. These rules "document the believer's consecration and measure the extent to which God's sanctifying grace has empowered the believer for witness and service. Whatever is worldly threatens to contaminate the self." This is a distinctly "sectarian" perspective. Sectarian groups either disengage from or engage against society. The FMC clearly falls in the latter group. Wall believes that the FMC has to some extent "compromised its sectarian moral vision for a denominational one." The personal codes are currently much more sectarian than its social codes, eroded by a process of embourgeoisement. His conclusion is quite direct.

The D[iscipline] reflects the growing bifurcation of private and public worlds within [the] FM[C]. . . Such bifurcation is evidence of embourgeoisement--i.e., the movement of a prophetic community, which stood on society's margins with its poor and powerless, toward society's mainstream. This movement demands at least public conformity to the political and economic agendas of its middle

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[10]Vol. 25, no. 1 (Spring 1990), 117-129.

class. In this sense, [the] FM[C] has become the very kind of denomination against which it once reacted and which it sought to revive. . .

. . . any reform of the tradition will take us back to the orthodoxy of God's sanctifying grace, which we must continue to teach with even greater clarity and conviction. Then, within these theological boundaries, we might be better able to transmit to our children the vision of self-denial and abolition as the hard but requisite responses of Christian community to its various private and public worlds.[11]

While the church leadership might feel that the church is quite committed to certain public issues, such as abstinance from alcohol or tobacco products, sexual immorality, homosexuality and abortion. However, as Wall indicates, these now either serve as private codes of conduct rather than as a social agenda. Currently the FMC reflects middle class values rather than seeking the abolition of systemic evil.

III. Power Struggles and Free Methodist History

A. Reactions to Radicals

The issue of discipline originates clearly with Wesley himself, and has continued to be exercised, sometimes ruthlessly, in Methodism and Free Methodism up to today. However, it is clear that American Methodists stressed strict discipline and control more than Wesley did. Wesley's "Olive Branch to Roman Catholics" demonstrates a spirit that Asbury, the Genesee Conference of the MEC, and the second gernation of the FMC were unwilling to show to their fellow church members. While Asbury has some significance in shaping such an approach, it seemed also to fit well with the Yankee culture of Western New York in the late Antebellum Era. This tendency to control at times even in contradiction to dearly held principles (albeit, usually in complete ignorance that such a contradiction exists) was shown repeatedly by this culture in both the MEC and FMC. The Yankees were not very comfortable to change,

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[11]Ibid., 118, 120, 121, 127, 128.

and occassionally over-reacted rather than adapt their principles to a changing setting.

How both the MEC and the second generation of the FMC did this type of control, leading to censure and often excommunication of "radicals" has been discussed at length above. Has the FMC learned its lesson? Clearly the church, while consisting almost entirely of whites, is more diverse than the Yankee stronghold it was last century. Whether its approach to radicals has changed can be demonstrated by examining three movements which have impacted significant numbers of the present church; the church growth movement (espousing viewpoints similar to those of Fuller Theological Seminary's School of World Missions), the evangelical social left (such as Evangelicals for Social Action), and the charismatics.

Regarding church growth, the hierarchy has become not only favorably disposed, but openly and vigorously supportive and promoting of church growth, so much so that church growth people can not even be considered radicals at this point.

While the evangelical social left was clearly marginalized twenty years ago, this is hardly the case today. Operation CUE (Continental Urban Exchange) is pushed by the hierarchy (even being held at the World Ministry Center in 1992), and a social justice agenda coming from one of these yearly meetings has been adopted by the church. However, this did not happen until the "left" and the church growth element combined. Three denominational appointees take different thirds of the country and are responsible not only for social and urban issues, but to promote church growth and church planting.

The charismatic element has received the least sanction, and at one time was rigorously opposed by the entire hierarchy of the church. Many church splits were caused by these issues. There are still those today, in decreasing number, who would like to see tongues absolutely prohibited by the Discipline, much as the Wesleyans have done. There are also fewer Free Methodist charismatics who are willing to press the issue to breaking point.

However, there clearly are more Free Methodist charismatics, with charismatic prayer groups and charismatic revivals happening occassionally on all our college campuses. Probably at least a third of Free Methodist students at Asbury Theological Seminary, by far the most common seminary for FMC ministerial training, have had charismatic experiences.

The Discipline is confusing, even contradictory on this issue. The sixteenth Article of Religion (A:122) has been altered to apply to speaking in tongues, originally taken from the Anglican Church as a statement against using Latin in church services. The addition includes "Paul placed the strongest emphasis upon rational and intelligible utterance in worship. We cannot endorse practices which plainly violate these scriptural principles." Speaking in tongues is not mentioned here, but clearly the purpose is to forbid tongues for "public worship and prayer and the administration of the sacraments." The statement on The Gifts of the Spirit (A:308) has three sentences that seem to prohibit tongues. After stating that everything in public worship is to be done in order, it reads, "Speaking or teaching to speak with unintelligle sounds is not consistent with such order. The language of worship is to be the language of the people. All communication in worship is to be experienced with understanding (1 Corinthians 14:6-12)." Tongues in private, or perhaps in private groups, is never prohibited. To lead worship in tongues is clearly prohibited. To speak in tongues (audibly) at all in FMC services seems to be prohibited. It is intriguing that the Canadian church, when it became its own General Conference, eliminated these three sentances from their discipline.

While in some ways the FMC attempts to be accommodating to charismatics, it intends at this point to keep tongues out of its public services. In 1979 the Study Commission on Doctrine was given this issue to study by General Conference, to see whether the Discipline should be changed. At the 1985 Conference the Commission was not finished with its study, and requested to be given until next conference. In 1989 the Commission, after examining a number of lengthy papers and positions on the subject

offered the simple resolution to keep the Discipline the way it was. On the floor of General Conference a delegate from Mexico (where eighty percent of Protestants are Pentecostal, and most of the rest charismatic) proposed another resolution, to keep the Discipline the way it was (as the commission had recommended), but to agree as a conference that speaking in tongues was a gift of the Holy Spirit. This would have sharpened the apparent contradiction in the Discipline's statement on tongues (A:308), which also states, "The Holy Spirit distributes, as He wills, gifts of speech and service to the common good and the building of the church. . . Every gift of the Spirit is to be exercised with the love and compassion of Christ." Amazingly, the conference voted down his resolution, but did accept the resolution of the commission. This was astonishing to Free Methodist charismatics, such as the author, who could not see how any honest exegesis could deny that speaking in tongues is a gift of the Spirit, and that the church was not to simply prohibit speaking in tongues, as this directly contradicted 1 Corinthians 14:39.

It is the author's contention, upon the above examples, that the FMC has exchanged its Yankee culture for the shared culture of modern American Evangelicalism, particularly moderate Evangelicals. American Evangelical culture is fundamentally middle-class, or bourgeoise, as described by Wall in his article. This culture has a common approach to salvation, and to being filled with the Spirit. The approach on dress and music issues is also held in common. Church growth is extremely popular. However, there is some discomfort regarding charismaticism. Evangelicals are so pervaded by them now that opposition is much less, but there is a definite desire for people wanting tongues in public worship to be relegated to specifically Pentecostal and charismatic churches. Similar to the MEC and the early FMC, present Evangelicalism, including the FMC, seems to reason only within its cultural milieu. There is still confusion made between form and function, culture and principle. This was made quite clear to the author when he asked a Bishop what decision was made at General Conference (1989)

regarding tongues. He stated, "Well, we're not Pentecostals." This is a cultural defense, not an exegetical one.

B. Tensions Between Hierarchy and Laity

The tension between the East and the West has been discussed at length above. It is the author's contention that this has been translated over the century to a tension between hierarchy and laity. The East was always more comfortable with the concept of hierarchy and more directive leadership, but the Western leaders followed suit. This did not happen, however, until it appeared necessary to deal with the radicals. The result was that all leaders took a stronger hand. While evidence of the continuance of this dynamic has not been provided, it is clear that there is increasing antagonism between the laity and the leadership in the FMC today. This can be seen not only by the occassion Fundamentalist (or near Fundamentalist) backlashes seen in the last decades by certain students, parents and constituents against various leaders in our colleges (or even at Asbury Theological Seminary), but in the apathy and sometimes antipathy of the people regarding headquarters. Far fewer churches order Light and Life, the denominational magazine. Many pastors have come from other denominations and openly express apathy concerning headquarters. However, the sharpest issue has been that of the move of headquarters from Winonal Lake, Indiana, to Indianapolis.

The move was passed by the 1989 General Conference, but only after a difficult struggle on the floor. Many in the denomination were opposed, and many of these felt they were a majority, a neglected majority. Once the move was accomplished, the deal to sell the old headquarters fell through, and the church found itself three million dollars in debt. Since then (1990) many rumors, some quite slanderous, have circulated widely against the leadership of the church, such as the treasurer resigning for refusing to publish a report he felt was not honest, or that the vote required for the move was two thirds, but there was not a two thirds majority vote, thus the move was done illegally. These rumors are generally untrue (the author knows the last to be untrue, and very much

doubts the other), but there are many of them. Some have been told by Superintendents and other important leaders. Unfortunately, some actually may be true.

This state of affairs shows that while the leadership of the FMC deals better with radical movements than it once did, it has less raport with the laity than ever. Again, this may be do to being absorbed by Evangelicalism. These kind of conflicts, unfortunately also very common at Annual Conference level (with certain conferences) and with our schools, seem just as common with most other Evangelical denominations. However, it may be that such conflicts are common to nearly all movements in the church over all of church history. The author certainly hopes that this is not the case.

Finally, the author would like to observe that the leadership of the church has committed itself "to become a movement again, not just a denomination," and to undo the mistakes of the 1890 General Conference that refused ordination to women, decided to focus less on growth and more on developing churches already existing, and that alienated the Pentecost Bands. Women are now ordained, and the hierarcy continues to promote their involvement in pastoral ministry. It is difficult to perceive the leadership could be any more committed to growth than they already are. While the charismatic issue still needs resolving[12], the treatment of radical groups has greatly improved. The treatment of laity by the leadership, however, has not. A time of sincere and intense re-evaluation and metanoia (repentance) would bring much healing, and more scriptural servant leadership, although there are many leaders

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[12]The author suggests that churches wishing to allow tongues and prophecy to allow messages only if the congregations sets up a group of "elders" experienced in the gifts through small groups. Anyone with a message would go to these "elders" during a service, and go to another room so they could hear and evaluate the message, and present it to the congregation if they feel it is from God. Also, allow congregations that have times where people praise God out loud at once to allow people to praise in tongues as well, provided that those speaking in tongues not be noticably louder than the others.

in the church who have just such a leadership. In conclusion, the church needs to take a realistic look at how the FMC functions within its cultural identity as American Evangelicals and ask the painful question, do we really have any reason to exist as a separate denomination? Provided that in the near future our heritage is not better examined and restored to our present situation by appropriate application to our culture, the author believes that the answer is a resounding, "No!"

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