

The Twentieth Century Church in America

The Early Years

It would be difficult to find a more confusing time in the history of the Church than the Twentieth Century Church in America. Protestantism, Catholicism, Evangelicalism, Pentecostalism, Restorationists, Neo-Orthodoxy, major and minor sects espousing doctrines never before displayed, major segments rejecting the Scriptures as authority... all of these elements and a host of others became a part of the story of the American Church during the Twentieth Century.

Eschatological views became strong motivating factors. Postmillennialism became the eschatology of the most influential groups. Postmillennialism declared that the millennium is not a literal thousand-year period, but rather a figure used to describe a golden era in which Christian ethics prosper. This golden age will come about as a result of the Church's transforming society into conformity with the teachings of Christ. Governments, economic systems, social structures – everything about society will be changed over the centuries to bring about this golden age. Interestingly, both liberals and conservatives were found among Postmillennials. One Postmillennial view that grew among conservatives was Reconstructionism¹ and later, Dominion Theology.²

Premillennialism of some form became popular among many groups outside of the mainstream. It was rare for a Postmillennial group to make an eschatology a test of fellowship, but such was not the case with some premillennials, especially some Pentecostals. The “rapture” of the Church dominated premillennial eschatology. Whether one taught a mid-trib rapture, a pre-trib rapture, a post-trib rapture or some other view of the rapture became a test of fellowship with some groups.

Early in the century, the “modernist”³ view of Scripture became a huge influence on the churches. For most of the centuries prior to the 20th, Scripture had been viewed as Divine inspired and authoritative for the Church. Even Roman Catholicism, which places tradition and its interpretation of Scripture as a higher authority, Scripture carried apostolic authority. However, humanistic philosophy began to dominate the halls of learning and one flower of this philosophy was the rejection of the veracity of Scripture, as well as its Divine authorship.

We will approach our study by following the story of each of the emerging streams.

¹ A fundamentalist Calvinist theonomic movement, founded by Rousas John Rushdoony. Christian Reconstructionism had a major influence on the political right in America during the mid-to late 20th Century. The home-schooling movement also was influenced by Rushdoony. Among other things, CR advocates a decentralized government and unrestricted capitalism.

² Dominion Theology, also called, Kingdom Now, advocates a society ruled by Christians or at least governed by conservative Christian values. One expression of Dominion Theology is The New Apostolic Reformation, led by C. Peter Wagner, of Fuller Theological Seminary. NAR is a growing influence among Charismatics

³ The term, “liberal,” was not used early on. Modernist was the preferred term.

The Birth and Development of Mainline Churches

As the Twentieth Century dawned, Americans were optimistic about the future. Some declared that the 20th Century would be the *American Century*. Indeed, that is the century in which America became the dominant world power and the model for much of the Western world.

Many Christian leaders predicted that the new century would be the *Christian Century*. A number of things produced this optimism, but in summary it can be said that this optimistic view was the child of the Progressive Movement that dominated both secular culture and most Christian institutions. A journal, *The Christian Century*, edited by Charles Clayton Morrison, became the voice of mainline Christianity (the origin of the term, *mainline*, will be explained below).

Progressivism was the response to the explosion of knowledge in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. Darwin's evolutionary hypothesis greatly advanced the cause of Progressivism.

Progressivism anticipated man's solving all of man's problems as knowledge and education increased. Church leaders and Christian thinkers assumed that Christian morals and ethics would become the character of western society. Progressives assumed that in the years following this transformation, the western civilizations would transform the rest of the world. As a result, humanity would become a unified race, and the Kingdom of Heaven on earth would become a reality.⁴

Progressivism produced what became mainline, liberal/modern, Christianity. We will begin our study of the *Twentieth-Century Church in America* by surveying some of the influences that gave birth to this unprecedented modern form of the Church.

Influences and Movements That Produced Mainline Christianity

1. The Enlightenment

The Enlightenment, also known as *The Age of Rationalism*, began in the late Seventeenth Century and continued through the early Nineteenth Century. Even though the movement, as a movement, ended in the early Nineteenth Century,⁵ it created a confidence in the human intellect on the one hand and on the other hand, skepticism concerning anything that could not be explained, rationally. In his 1784 essay, *What is Enlightenment?* The German philosopher,

⁴ *Post-Millenniumism* became the dominant eschatological view among most denominations.

⁵ 1815 is the arbitrary date set as the conclusion of the Late Enlightenment

Immanuel Kant summarized the movement's motto, "Dare to know! Have the courage to use your own reason."⁶

Notable among early American Enlightenment/Rationalists were the patriots Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine.⁷ Both emphasized the human origin of the Scriptures and rejected claims of supernatural intervention in history as superstition.

⁶ *Answering the Question: What Is Enlightenment?* (German: *Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?*) is a 1784 essay by the philosopher Immanuel Kant. In the December 1784 publication of the *Berlinische Monatsschrift* (*Berlin Monthly*), edited by Friedrich Gedike and Johann Erich Biester, Kant replied to the question posed a year earlier by the Reverend Johann Friedrich Zöllner, who was also an official in the Prussian government. Zöllner's question was addressed to a broad intellectual public, in reply to Biester's essay entitled: "Proposal, not to engage the clergy any longer when marriages are conducted" (April 1783) and a number of leading intellectuals replied with essays, of which Kant's is the most famous and has had the most impact. Kant's opening paragraph of the essay is a much-cited definition of a lack of Enlightenment as people's inability to think for themselves due not to their lack of intellect, but lack of courage.

⁷ Thomas Paine wrote his anti-church text, *The Age of Reason; Being an Investigation of True and Fabulous Theology* challenging institutionalized religion and the legitimacy of the Bible. Published in three parts in 1794, 1795, and 1807, it was a best-seller in the United States, where it caused a short-lived deistic revival. Paine advocated reason in the place of revelation, leading him to reject miracles and to view the Bible as an ordinary piece of literature rather than as a divinely inspired text. His text promotes natural religion and argues for the existence of a disinterested creator-God.

Thomas Jefferson created *The Jefferson Bible, or The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth* as it is formally titled, by cutting and pasting with a razor and glue numerous sections from the New Testament. Jefferson's condensed composition excluded all miracles and most mentions of the supernatural, including sections of the four gospels which contain the Resurrection and passages indicating Jesus was divine. In an October 12, 1813, letter to John Adams, Jefferson wrote, "In extracting the pure principles which he [Jesus] taught, we should have to strip off the artificial vestments in which they have been muffled by priests, who have travestied them into various forms, as instruments of riches and power to them. . . . We must reduce our volume to the simple evangelists, select, even from them, the very words only of Jesus, paring off the Amphibologisms into which they have been led by forgetting often, or not understanding, what had fallen from him, by giving their own misconceptions as his dicta, and expressing unintelligibly for others what they had not understood themselves. There will be found remaining the most sublime and benevolent code of morals which has ever been offered to man. I have performed this operation for my own use, by cutting verse by verse out of the printed book, and arranging, the matter which is evidently his, and which is as easily distinguishable as diamonds in a dunghill. The result is an 8vo. [octavo] of 46. pages of pure and unsophisticated doctrines, such as were professed and acted on by the unlettered apostles, the Apostolic fathers, and the Christians of the 1st. century."

Enlightenment thinkers, assumed that these superstitions would be replaced by rational explanation as the human race rushed forward in the discovery of, and the resultant understanding of, natural phenomena – including how and why humans function as they do.

2. Charles Darwin

Alfred Russell Wallace and Charles Darwin were greatly influenced by the writings of Thomas Robert Malthus.⁸ Simultaneously and independently, Wallace and Darwin arrived at the theory of the survival of the fittest and natural selection. They jointly released some early papers, but Darwin received the most publicity because of his 1859 publication, *The Origin of the Species*. Wallace and Darwin contended that humanity had evolved from primal forms and that with the passing of each millennium the human race was evolving upward. The theory of evolution effected almost every intellectual discipline, especially in the studies of humanity, psychology, sociology, and, in the university setting, even theology.

3. Sigmund Freud

The Austrian neurologist, Sigmund Freud, was the father of psychoanalysis. Freud came from a very devout Jewish home, but by the time he was a man, he had become an atheist with an antipathy to all religion. He sought to explain most mental and psychological problems (other than those caused by physical abnormalities) as manifestations of subconscious memories. Two of the most influential followers of Freud, Alfred Adler and Carl Jung, took the new concept in directions that differed from those of Freud, but the new discipline of psychiatry had been born. Novels and stage plays were written around the theme of the subconscious and its effects on the lives of the protagonists.

Among the intellectuals of the new century, the human subconscious was a realm to be explored and therein to find the explanation of human behavior – including the naturalistic explanation of religious feelings and superstition. One of the most influential 20th Century psychiatrists, Theodor Reik, published a psychoanalysis of Moses, based on the Sinai episode recorded in Exodus.⁹

4. Economic Georgism

The economic philosophy of Georgism attracted many of the social reformers of the 20th Century. Georgism derives its name from economist and reformer, Henry George. Simply stated, Georgism considers anything made by an individual to be the property of the creator, but

⁸ Malthus (1766-1834) was an English cleric and scholar who wrote extensively on political economy and demography. He contended that the dangers of population growth would prevent the development of a Utopian society and that famine and disease were necessary to prevent overpopulation. A form of natural selection would determine who survived the Malthusian Catastrophe.

⁹ Theodor Reik, *Mystery on the Mountain: the Mystery of the Sinai Revelation* (New York, Harper & Brothers) 1959

natural resources are the property of all. Therefore, those who occupy land should pay “rent” to the state.¹⁰ The state would not own the land – individuals still could hold title to real estate, build buildings upon it and determine its use, but since they did not create the land, it was the “common property” of the community. If that rent were high enough, this “single tax” system then would remove the need for a sales tax, income tax, and other taxes on the general population. Thus, it was a progressive tax – i.e., those who were able to own land paid taxes, others did not. Many of the Progressives of the early 20th Century became “single taxers.” Two US Presidents, Rutherford B. Hayes and Woodrow Wilson were advocates of Georgism, as well as British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill.

Political parties that were formed, basing their philosophy on Georgism, include the Commonwealth Land Party, the Just Party of Denmark, the Henry George Justice Party, and the Single Tax League. Some of these had a very short life, but their influence was more abiding.

The single tax concept of Georgism was advocated by many (perhaps most) of the 20th Century church leaders who espoused the Social Gospel (to be explained below).

5. John Dewey’s Educational Theories

John Dewey was an American philosopher, psychologist, and educational reformer. Dewey was one of the strongest voices promoting Georgism. He was an atheist and a secular humanist. Dewey was one of the primary developers of the philosophy of pragmatism and functional psychology. He was a major proponent of progressive education and social liberalism. Dewey was a prolific writer; in addition to articles about education, he also wrote about other topics, including epistemology, metaphysics, aesthetics, art, logic, social theory, and ethics.

Dewey contended that when American society was rural and agrarian, the one-room school house where students of all ages learned the “three R’s” was sufficient. It was sufficient because life was lived on the farm and in the farm house. Cooking, weaving, iron work, planting, harvesting, spinning (the routines of rural life on the Vermont farm where Dewey spent his childhood), taught self-reliance, an inclination toward work, and how to function in life. The child came into contact with the scenes of nature, and was familiarized with the care of domestic animals, the cultivation of the soil, and the raising of crops.

The urbanization and industrialization of society deprived the child of these developmental experiences. Thus, a new philosophy of education needed to be developed. Dewey’s philosophy of education was child-centered rather than content centered. One thing that motivated Dewey was the desire to see a truly democratic society populated by those who respected each individual and who understood the democratic process. Thus:

- Children were to get from the public school the missing elements that are essential for their balanced development as members of a democratic country.

¹⁰ Under the Georgism scheme, one would not pay taxes on buildings that had been erected on the land, but only the “rent” of the land.

- He urged that in the primary curriculum, manual training, science, nature-study, art, and similar subjects be given precedence over reading, writing and arithmetic (the traditional three R's). Dewey believed that this approach would lead naturally into the child's desire to learn the more abstract, intellectual branches of knowledge.
- Dewey argued that socially desirable qualities could not be brought forth in the child by pouring a ready-made curriculum into a passive vessel. They could be most easily and most fully developed by guiding the normal motor activities, irrepressible inquisitiveness, and outgoing energies of the child along the lines of their greatest interest. Dewey argued that internally driven interest, not outside pressure, mobilizes the maximum effort in acquiring knowledge as well as in performing work.
- The authoritarian teacher, the cut-and-dried curriculum, the structured procession from one grade to the next, and the traditional fixed seats and desks laid out in rows within the isolated and self-contained classroom, were all impediments to enlightened education.
- According to Dewey, the teacher should not be one to stand at the front of the room doling out bits of information to be absorbed by passive students. Instead, the teacher's role should be that of facilitator and guide.
- Dewey advocated the separation of children into age-related grades, beginning with kindergarten. Thus, each age would receive age-appropriate learning. Dewey considered the one-room schoolhouse approach to be obsolete in urban culture.

A number of the leading mainline clergy were students of Dewey, having studied under him at the newly founded University of Chicago, where he was the very innovative professor in the Philosophy Department (1894-1904), and later at Columbia University (1904-1930).

6. Scientific Discoveries and Practical Inventions

Discoveries were being made in every branch of physical sciences, especially physics, astronomy, and chemistry. The birth of the telephone, the new use of electricity, telegraphy, the birth of radio, experiments in heavier than air flight, the network of continent-wide railroads – all of these were indicators of the exploding knowledge of the western world.

The traditional rhythm of life was changed dramatically by the invention of machines and equipment that enabled both farmers and industrialists to produce more with less physical labor. Archeological discoveries shed light on the past. Medical knowledge reached new heights and there was the hope (in some cases, the assumption) of solving all of the problems of human ailment.

Indeed, life in the Twentieth Century promised to be far different from than anything that had gone before. The assumption of many was that this was the expected result of man's upward evolutionary progress.

7. Discoveries of Ancient Documents, Including Scripture Manuscripts

Many important ancient documents were discovered in the closing years of the Nineteenth Century. Of special import was the discovery of many early Scripture manuscripts. Some of these, older than any that previously had been known to exist, were at variance with the manuscripts that had been the basis for the 1611 edition of the King James Version.

A new discipline, called *Higher Criticism*, was born. The underlying assumption of the practitioners of this discipline was that Scripture was a human product – the belief in Divine Inspiration was assumed to be a superstition. The widely accepted Graff/Wellhausen Documentary Hypothesis theory had great influence. This hypothesis declared that Moses had no part in writing the Pentateuch, but that it was the product of various individuals' coalescing independent oral traditions. The predictive prophecy portions of the Old Testament were declared to have been written after the prophesied events had taken place, not before – thus, they were deemed to be deceptions.

The New Testament received the same treatment. The “Two Source Theory” was born in the early Twentieth Century. This theory contends that there were two sources that produced the Synoptic Gospels (oral traditions, written documents, etc.) Then, a few years later, radical scholars began to advocate “Form Criticism,” which dissected the Gospels into various “forms.” According to the proponents of Form Criticism, someone (or someones) had combined these forms into the Synoptics.¹¹

Concerning these theories, the man considered to be the dean of biblical archaeologists, William Foxwell Albright wrote,

“Only modern scholars who lack both historical method and perspective can spin such a web of speculation as that with which form-critics have surrounded the Gospel tradition... The leading exponents of the school disagree completely in their theories as to the relation of the principal categories of form-criticism to the life of the early church and vicious circles are evident throughout their work.”¹²

C. S. Lewis remarked, sarcastically, that “the entire range of human speculation concerning the historical documents is covered by the critics, with the exception of the one proposition that these documents might be precisely what they claim to be – faithful first-hand history of actual events recorded by eyewitnesses or by men who had immediate access to the eyewitnesses.”¹³

NOTE:

In addition to these 20th Century radical attacks on the inspiration of Scripture and the veracity of their history, the discovery of so many manuscripts and texts of the New Testament produced the discipline of *Textual Criticism*. This discipline involves a study of the various manuscripts in an effort to seek to determine what the original author wrote. *Textual Criticism* should not be

¹¹ Each proponent of Form Criticism presented his own version of the “Forms.” For example, Thiessen, has six: The Passion Story, Paradigms, Tales, Six ‘Forms’, Legends, Sayings, Mythological Interpretation Imputing Diety of Christ. K Grobel has five: Paradigm, Novelle, Legends, Paranesis, Mythological Interpretaions. R. C. Foster, *Studies in the Life of Christ* (Joplin, MO, College Press Publishing Co.) 1985

¹² William F. Albright, *From Stone Age to Christianity* (Garden City, NY Doubleday Anchor) 1940, pp. 298, 293f

¹³ Foster, page 89

confused with *Form Criticism* or *Higher Criticism*, both of which assume Scripture to be a human product.

8. The University Seminary and its Influence upon 20th Century Clergy

Many denominations had birthed colleges. These were the schools where young ministers were educated and trained for ministry.¹⁴ Some of these colleges began to add “departments” to their curriculum and in time, became universities – an institution that previously had not been known in the United States.¹⁵ The German research university became the envy of American educators. As a part of the university system, graduate Divinity Departments were created which gave birth to Seminaries. In time, many of the older denominations began to encourage their ministerial students to attend a seminary, rather than one of the existing colleges. Most of the seminary faculties espoused the theories that challenged the inspiration of Scripture.

It became a popular saying, “Young men go to the seminary to lose their faith.” Indeed, that is what happened as young men who were full of faith and eager to embark on ministry entered the seminary with a strong faith in Scripture. When they left, a few years later, they had a different opinion of Scripture, which, among other things, separated them from their congregations. This enhanced the historic separation between clergy and laity.

The elite intellectualism of the university produced a sense of elite intellectualism in the university seminary. Graduates of these institutions often viewed those in the pew, or those who were merely college graduates, as uninformed and not their equal in intellect or knowledge.

By the early years of the Twentieth Century there was an unofficial club, the members of which were seminary and other university graduates (It was not necessary for all members of the club to have attended the same university). The people who occupied the pews were not in the club and often not on the same page as their ministers – who were in the club. These individuals became intellectual companions who spent their leisure time together and had the same perspective on

¹⁴ The “big three” all began as colleges:

- Princeton was chartered in 1746 as the College of New Jersey. In 1896, the College of New Jersey expanded its programs and was renamed, Princeton University.
- Harvard College was founded in 1636, with the purpose of providing a learned ministry to the colonies. Through the years, Harvard added both undergraduate and graduate programs (the first graduate program was in medical studies [1782], followed by law [1816] and divinity [1817]).
- Yale College was founded in 1701, “wherein youth may be instructed in the Ars and Sciences [and] through the blessing of the Almighty God may be fitted for Publick employment both in Church and the Civil State.” In the Nineteenth Century, Yale College added a number of professional graduate schools and by the end of the century had become a “university.”

¹⁵ The “research universities” of Germany were admired as the pinnacle of intellectual and rational achievement.

culture of which religion was a subset. Favorite vacation sites for those who were members of this establishment were:

- Estes Park, Colorado
- Mount Desert Island, Maine
- Camp Diamond, New Hampshire
- Silver Bay, Chautauqua, NY

All members of the “club” were theological liberals, social liberals, and ecumenical.

9. Walter Rauschenbusch and the Social Gospel

Although most present-day Christians have never heard of him, no one had a greater impact on mainline Christianity of the early 20th Century than that of Walter Rauschenbusch.

Rauschenbusch is the father of the Social Gospel, which became the underlying theology/philosophy of the early 20th Century mainline churches. Because of the important radical redefinition of the role of the Church and the mainline churches accepting that redefinition, we need to be acquainted with the path that led Rauschenbusch to his conclusions.

Walter’s father, August Rauschenbusch, was a very formidable man – a rare combination of intellect, fervor, and energy. Born in Germany in 1816, August came from a prominent Westphalian family. He was the sixth in an unbroken line of esteemed university-trained Lutheran pastors. In 1846, August came to America as a Lutheran missionary, serving the Germans in the Missouri frontier. He was a very conservative, orthodox Lutheran Pietist who had rejected the Documentary Hypothesis and other liberal views of Scripture that had become vogue among many of his fellow university trained Lutheran clergy.

After a time, the American Tract Society appointed him the head of their German tract division, which necessitated his moving to New York City. He roomed in the home of a German Baptist couple.

Being a Lutheran pastor, he always had accepted infant sprinkling as the path to salvation and church membership. His Baptist hosts had a different view – they insisted on immersion, and that only for believers. August and his hosts had serious discussions of this difference between Baptists and Lutherans. In order to sustain his position and to arm himself with facts that would enable him to defeat the arguments of the Baptists, he began a serious study of the New Testament and the writings of the early church. As a result of his studies, August came to realize that he could not defend infant sprinkling and that the Baptists were correct in their view. Upon further pondering, he concluded that not only was Infant sprinkling wrong, but that its practice by both Catholics and Protestants had obscured the true meaning of church membership and had fostered worldliness in the church. In later years, even though he maintained unusually friendly relations with Christians of various traditions, he never tired of arguing that pedobaptists had wandered far from the faith.

To the chagrin of his Lutheran family in Germany, August Rauschenbusch was convinced that as a regenerated Christian he must be immersed, according to the New Testament model. That

event took place in May, 1850, in the Mississippi River. This trait of seeking the truth and when it has been found, to obey that truth regardless of the cost, was a trait that August imparted to his son, Walter.

In 1858, August became the director of the German Department of the Rochester Theological Seminary, wherein he prepared young German Baptists to become preachers of the Gospel. From that time forward, August Rauschenbusch was one of the most dominant leaders of the German Baptist Church – in the view of some, *the* most dominant leader.

On October 4, 1861, Caroline Rauschenbusch gave birth to a son.¹⁶ Overjoyed over the birth of a son, August prayed over the boy, *Walt' Herr, uber diesem Kinde* (Rule, Lord, over this child). When he decided to name the boy, he found the child's name in that prayer - *Walther*. Although most of the world came to know him as *Walter*, until his early forties, Walter Rauschenbusch preferred his German name, *Walther*.

When he was seventeen, following a lengthy season of teen-age rebellion, Walter had a conversion experience and was immersed at the First German Baptist Church in Rochester on March 16, 1879. He was a changed man. He wrote, in retrospect, "Very soon the idea came to me that I ought to be a preacher, and help to save souls. I wanted to go out as a foreign missionary – I wanted to do hard work for God."

Walter Rauschenbusch followed his father's academic footsteps. He was educated in American private schools, private German academies, and German universities. At seventeen years of age, not long after his conversion, he left the U.S. to attend the Evangelische Gymnasium zu Gutersloh in Germany¹⁷. In every academic endeavor, both in America and Germany, even in the most advanced areas of study, he always excelled. He usually was the head of his class.

Unlike his father, Walter came to accept the Documentary Hypothesis advocated by his university professors. He viewed the Old Testament as the work of various human authors.¹⁸ He did not discuss these things with his father because it would have caused his father great pain.

Early in his studies, Walter began to treasure the Gospels because they presented the life and teachings of Jesus. He was enamored with Jesus. At the gymnasium he learned that the central teaching of Jesus had been *the Kingdom of God*. This soon became his life's theme. When he heard and prayed the Lord's Prayer, "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done," he understood that to be a mandate for the Church to produce the Kingdom of God in this world.

¹⁶ August was elated – three years earlier his only son, Winifred, had died and there was no one left to carry on the name and family traditions in America.

¹⁷ The German, *gymnasium*, was and is a secondary school, which in Rauschenbusch's era admitted only those academically qualified to attend. The curriculum was and is very stringent and demanding.

¹⁸ Minus, page 39

When he returned to America, Walter attended the Rochester seminary. One of his favorite professors at the seminary was Harrison E. Webster. Webster urged his students to question “customary certainties.” Among these was the traditional view that the main focus of the Church should concern itself with the salvation of souls. Another was the theory of evolution, which Webster considered to be fact – he considered himself to be a “Christian evolutionist.”¹⁹ Rauschenbusch was greatly influenced by Webster and began to question seriously the traditional certainties that had governed his life.

William Arnold Stevens was another professor that Walter greatly admired. Stevens was a literary scholar who brought to his New Testament studies the same methods of analysis that he had used in his critical work on Greek literary documents. Stevens said that the Bible is not revelation, but “the record of a revelation.” He stated that the Bible should not be viewed as being “composed of infallible or errorless documents, or as being or expressive of absolute truth.”²⁰

Rauschenbusch found Stevens’ approach to Scripture convincing and in his private studies he came to see what he considered to be discrepancies in the Synoptics (Matthew, Mark, and Luke). He wrote, “My inherited ideas about the inerrancy of the Bible became untenable. I determined to follow the facts as divine, and let my man made theories go if they conflicted.” The result was he became aligned with the growing band of liberal religious thinkers who came to be labeled by their opponents as proponents of the “New Theology.”

Even though Walter Rauschenbusch turned away from the traditional orthodox view of Scripture, he never ceased being a devout disciple of Jesus Christ. He wrote to a friend in 1855, “I tell you I am just beginning to believe in the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, not exactly in the shape in which the average person proclaims it as the infallible truth of the Most High, but in a shape that suits my needs, that I have gradually constructed for myself in studying the person and teachings of Christ and which is still in rapid progress of construction.”²¹

The hallmark of his new position was the importance of living like Christ, but not believing any prescribed doctrine about Christ.

When he completed his studies at Rochester Seminary, two invitations to pastorates were extended to him. The first invitation was from the First German Baptist Church in Springfield, Illinois. This was a well situated and stable church.

The second invitation came from the Second German Baptist Church on New York City’s West Side. To German Baptists, New York was a modern day Nineveh. The church building was on the northern edge of Hell’s Kitchen, where gangs of hoodlums roamed without restraint, and just

¹⁹ Minus, page 37

²⁰ Minus, page 39

²¹ Minus, page 46

a few blocks west was the Tenderloin – the area where prostitutes and gamblers prospered. The church building was old and ugly, and was surrounded by tenements and factories.

On June 1, 1886, Rauschenbusch accepted the role of pastor of the Second German Baptist Church of New York City, because it offered him the opportunity to act upon his deepest convictions. He would live in near-poverty, deny himself, and minister like Christ to the poor and the abused.

Walter Rauschenbusch worried about the enticements of “worldliness,” but he feared more the terrible chains of poverty. Day after day he moved among people whose lives were buffeted and drained by conditions over which they had no control. The tenements in which his congregation lived were crowded, dimly lit, foul-smelling, and especially brutal to children. In this section 68 percent of the deaths that occurred in a given year were children under age five. To his cousin, Maria Doring, Rauschenbusch wrote, “Oh the children’s funerals! They gripped my heart – that was one of the things I always went away think about – why did these children have to die?” For him there was no theological sense in the answer that most pious people gave – that the children died because God willed it.²²

He further wrote to Maria, “The world is hard and without feeling. Here I see so much of this that my heart bleeds for the victims.”²³

His leadership and caring ministry brought numerical and financial growth to Second Baptist. The success of his work brought Walter to the attention of the Baptist world, resulting in invitations for important positions in the denomination. He turned down many invitations, because of his concern and love for his flock in New York.

In time he did become a professor at Rochester Seminary, a well-known author, and a founder of the movement that became the Social Gospel. The underlying premise of his life was that society was moving toward becoming the Kingdom of God and that the Church’s role was to work toward that change.

After detailed study of economic systems, Rauschenbusch became a harsh critic of capitalism.²⁴ He concluded that socialism was the best societal and economic expression of Christianity – it had the greatest promise of producing the sort of society that Rauschenbusch considered to be the Kingdom of God.

In 1889, when Rauschenbusch attended Baptist meetings in Boston, he encountered the Society of Christian Socialists. The SCS had been established only a month before Rauschenbusch’s visit. The group’s stated aim was “to show that the aim of socialism is embraced in the aim of Christianity” and “to awaken members of Christian churches to the fact that the teachings of

²² Minus, page 60

²³ *ibid*

²⁴ One of the curiosities of Rauschenbusch’s position is that he was one of John D. Rockefeller’s closest friends and Rockefeller was the very epitome of a capitalist.

Jesus Christ lead directly to some specific form of socialism.” Rauschenbusch was convinced that the group took seriously the plight of workers and he was ready to join them.²⁵

He refused to join the Socialist Political Party, because some in that movement advocated violent change. He believed that ideas were more powerful than dynamite and that persuasion and persistence at the ballot box were more effective.

Walter was a prolific writer. He wrote articles for magazines, a book of prayers that reflected his convictions, as well as very influential books.²⁶ He and other Christian Socialists published a paper, *For the Right*, espousing their views and even advocating specific societal changes such as, an eight-hour work day, the single tax, municipal ownership of all utilities, a city-owned underground rapid transit system, ballot reform, and socialization of the railroads.²⁷

Rauschenbusch argued that God acted through human instrumentalities and that the Church should participate in reforms that are advocated by non-religious groups if their implementation forwarded the cause of the Kingdom of God.

Even though Rauschenbusch rejected the orthodox doctrines concerning Jesus Christ, he always emphasized the individual’s need for a deep relationship with Jesus Christ. Many church leaders who followed Rauschenbusch’s lead departed from that emphasis.²⁸

Thus, simply stated, the Social Gospel that was born as a result of Rauschenbusch’s work, declared that the focus and purpose of the Church should be the creation of the Kingdom of God in this present world. This was to be accomplished through restructuring society, rather than the conversion of individuals. Although this redefinition of Christianity was attacked vigorously in many quarters, the Social Gospel became the understanding of most mainline churches.

²⁵ Minus, page 65

²⁶ His three most influential books, all published by Macmillan, were *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907), *For God and People: Prayers of the Social Awakening* (1910), *Unto Me* (1912), *Dare We Be Christians?* (1914), *Christianizing the Social Order* (1912), *A Theology of the Social Gospel* (1917)

²⁷ Minus, page 66-67

²⁸ Rauschenbusch’s writings show that two fundamental convictions dominated his thinking: (1) that the Creator has made every person a being of divine worth, so that whatever denies the worth of even the lowest person is sinful and thus unacceptable; (2) the Creator has linked all people in a single web of humanity, so that whatever pits one against another is sinful and unacceptable. (see page 169)

The Social Gospel's success can be attributed to many things that were a part of the cultural atmosphere of the early 20th Century. Two of the most important factors are religious on the one hand and secular on the other.

- Those who rejected the divine inspiration of Scripture, had to find some redefinition of Christianity. The Social Gospel provided that redefinition.
- Another factor was the prevailing growth of secular Progressivism. The Social Gospel fit the view held by both religious and secular Progressives.

All of these factors, and others, were the seedbed that produced “Mainline Christianity.”

Origin of the Term, *Mainline*

The term, *mainline*, has its origin in the colloquial reference to the railroad leading to the elite northwestern suburbs of Philadelphia.²⁹ This district was populated by Pennsylvania Railroad executives and other prominent, wealthy Philadelphia families after the Civil War. In time, the term, “Mainliner,” had become synonymous with “upper crust,” “old family,” or “socialite.”³⁰ Thus, the term came to be used for upper-crust, old-family, establishment churches and denominations.

The Constituency of the Mainline Churches

The mainline churches were Protestant, white, and tended to be from northern states (especially from the Northeast). Seven denominations, colloquially known as, *The Seven Sisters*, formed the constituency of the mainline churches. The Seven Sisters were:

- Congregationalists³¹
- Episcopalians
- Northern Presbyterians³²
- White northern Baptists³³
- White northern Methodists³⁴
- Disciples of Christ³⁵
- United Lutherans³⁶

Mainline Goals in America

Because of the constitutional ban on a government sanctioned established religion in America, various religious leaders, throughout the history of the republic, had attempted to assume responsibility for the national soul. The Seven Sisters sought to create a Protestant

²⁹ Sociologist E. Digby Baltzell described this *main line* in his 1958 study, *Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class*. (Glencoe, IL, The Free Press) 1958, Revised and released as a paperback in 1989

³⁰ Coffman, Elisha j., *The Christian Century and the rise of the Protestant Mainline* (New York, Oxford University Press) 2013, pg. 4-6, 8, 213-217

³¹ Now a part of the United Church of Christ

³² Now the Presbyterian Church USA (most liberal positions are held by PCUSA)

³³ Now the American Baptist Churches in the USA

³⁴ Founding in 1784 as The Methodist Episcopal Church, the denomination split over the slavery issue in 1844, at which time the churches in the South became the Methodist Episcopal Church South, whereas the northern churches continued to continue to use the original name. In 1939, the two denominations reunited as, The Methodist Church. In 1968, the Evangelical United Brethren Church and The Methodist Church united as The United Methodist Church.

³⁵ The Disciples of Christ, Christian Churches, and Churches of Christ are heirs of the Restoration Movement of the Nineteenth Century. In the early years of the movement, these three labels were used interchangeably. Beginning in the early 20th Century, the more theologically liberal of these churches gradually formed the Disciples of Christ denomination.

³⁶ Present day, ELCA (Evangelical Lutheran Church in America)

establishment that set the direction for the spiritual and moral life of the nation. They were anti-Catholic and often displayed anti-Semitic tendencies. Because they were seeking a “Protestant Hegemony,” they favored restricting immigration from those countries which dominantly were Roman Catholic.³⁷

Charles Clayton Morrison and *The Christian Century*

The Christian Century magazine became the voice of the mainline establishment. The historian, Elisha J. Coffman, summarized the influence of the magazine and its editor, Charles Clayton Morrison.

“When Charles Clayton Morrison retired as editor in 1947, both *Newsweek* and *Time* recapped his career at the top of their religion sections. *Newsweek* ...’the most important organ of Protestant opinion in the world today.’ *Time* lauded the *Century* as ‘Protestantism’s most vigorous voice.’ The praise of numerous historians over the years has affirmed this assessment. In 1933, Ray H. Abrams called the *Century* the ‘most widely read religious journal in America’ among liberal Christians. In 1958, Robert Moats Miller ranked it, ‘Protestantism’s most influential periodical.’ In 1972, Sydney Ahlstrom touted it as ‘the chief organ of interdenominational liberalism.’ In later decades, Donald Meyer called the magazine ‘the leading voice of liberal Protestantism’; William R. Hutchison identified it as ‘the prime journalistic medium for liberal and modernist ideas’; and Martin E. Marty deemed its editors ‘the most plausible and responsible unofficial voices of what is today called mainline Protestantism.’”³⁸

Coffman wrote further,

“Through rhetoric and real influence, the *Century* helped establish the mainline tradition. The mainline constituency aligned with the *Century*’s readership. Mainline ideals aligned with the magazine’s editorial emphasis, including support for the newest biblical scholarship, the Social Gospel and the ecumenism of the Federal and National ‘councils of Churches. Additionally, the mainline and the magazine enjoyed similar social status. Their successes were measured in prestige rather than popularity, conferred by other cultural elites rather than by the masses.’”³⁹

The Christian Century, began in Iowa in 1884 as a small Disciples of Christ journal, the *Christian Oracle*. The magazine served to connect and inform Disciples of Christ ministers in Iowa. The paper carried theological articles and a great deal of news concerning of the local “brotherhood.” In 1892, the editors moved operations to Chicago, which at that time was the

³⁷ In contemporary parlance, they would be called WASPS – white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestants.

³⁸ Elisha J. Coffman, *The Christian Century and the Rise of the Protestant Mainline* (New York, Oxford University Press) 2013, pages 6-7

³⁹ Coffman, page 7

emerging hub of Midwestern life. In January 1900, bursting with enthusiasm, the editors renamed the paper, *The Christian Century*.

The Disciples of Christ were a part of the 19th Century Restoration Movement, which sought to unite Christians on the basis of returning to the New Testament Church. Initially, all expressions of this movement were conservative, traditional, biblical Christians. These Restorationists believed that if all denominations would discard the practices and teachings that had developed over the centuries and return to the New Testament patterns, doctrines, and practices, then all divisions would no longer exist.

In time, this movement split into two different streams with two different emphases:

- *The unity of all churches*; Most who had this emphasis became theological liberals, many of whom considered doctrine something to be discarded because it caused division.
- *The Lordship of Christ*, which meant that churches should seek to be the Church that Jesus established, not what the Church had become, with many denominations and their many different doctrines. These conservatives sought to discover the New Testament Church in its doctrines and practices – one of their mottoes being, “We are not the only Christians, but Christians only.

Until the 20th Century, those in this movement used three terms interchangeably to describe their churches: Disciples of Christ, Christian Churches, Churches of Christ. Beginning in the later years of the 19th Century and solidified in the 20th Century, those who were of liberal persuasion (the first group noted above) officially became Disciples of Christ. The Disciples became a denomination in the 1960’s with headquarters in Indianapolis, Indiana.

The biblically conservative churches (the second group listed above) remained independent and autonomous, using the labels, Christian Churches, or Churches of Christ, depending on geographical location.⁴⁰

Those who founded *The Christian Century* magazine were of the first group. An early editorial stated, “. . . must leave behind petty, internecine disputes and instead press for ethical reform, better theology, and a more rational biblical criticism, all while attending closely to the application of Christian principles to character and social problems.”⁴¹ In one editorial, Morrison urged that in controversy that separated churches, the focus should be on love, not dogma.⁴² The magazine was devoted to promoting ecumenism, as well as the Social Gospel.

⁴⁰ North of the Ohio River, the label, Churches of Christ, is used. South of the Ohio River, Christian Churches is the label for those who use musical instruments in their services, whereas, Churches of Christ is the label used for those who insist acapella singing in the Sunday service.

⁴¹ Coffman, page 12

⁴² Coffman, page 49

With the Disciples emphasis on unity and liberal theology, they and *The Christian Century* magazine were ideally suited for their primary leadership role in developing Mainline Christianity.

After moving to Chicago and trying to enlarge the influence of the magazine, the publishers found themselves in deep financial trouble. The number of subscriptions was not sufficient to cover the costs of the new offices and enlarged operation. By the fall of 1908 the unpaid mortgage of \$1,500.00 threatened to sink the ship. Four men came to the rescue: O. S. Bowman, the magazine's printer; J. C. Kilner, publisher of the venerable Chicago-based Congregationalist weekly, *The Advance*; Herbert L. Willett, a biblical scholar at the University of Chicago; and the Disciples of Christ minister, Charles Clayton Morrison. Morrison, even though he had limited journalistic experience, became the editor. Morrison had to borrow against his life insurance to come up with the \$1,500.00 to raise his share.

From 1908 onward, C. C. Morrison was the guiding force that set the tone for *The Christian Century*.

Morrison began his education at Drake University, a Disciples of Christ school at Des Moines, Iowa. In the fall of 1902, Morrison enrolled as a graduate student in the new University of Chicago and walked right into the thick of theological innovation. The University of Chicago was only ten-years old when Morrison enrolled. It was only the third American university modeled after the German research university (after Clark and John Hopkins). Originally linked with the Northern Baptist Church, and receiving significant funds from the devout Baptist, John D. Rockefeller, the University of Chicago soon broke ties with its denominational background. This chiefly was the result of its first ambitious president, William Rainey Harper, who wanted a school independent of any denominational influence. Another significant factor was the biblical studies faculty's support for the German-inspired higher criticism. This approach distanced the faculty from traditional believers but connected them to scholars in many fields, including literature, archaeology, and ancient languages. Surprisingly, John D. Rockefeller, the school's largest donor, welcomed this new scholarship and continued to fund the school generously.

At the University of Chicago Morrison met John Dewey, enrolled in all of Dewey's classes, and for many years, he considered Dewey to be one of his chief mentors.⁴³ Dewey's influence often was displayed in Morrison's editorials.

The Christian Century list of subscribers and contributors included just about everyone who was in a position of influence in establishment academics, establishment journals, and liberal politics.

Because liberal clergy, more often than not, held views that were not held by the congregation that they led, they often felt somewhat isolated and alone – especially if they were ministering in

⁴³ Morrison did break with Dewey after many years over what he considered to be the “Achilles heel” of Dewey's system – its unwarranted transference of trust from a personal God to the impersonal Universe. Coffman, page 24

more remote areas. One role that the magazine fulfilled was providing a means whereby such clergymen could feel connected with a community that shared their views.

Whether it be a newspaper, a magazine, a government agency, or some other societal entity that sought an opinion of the churches on an issue, the editors of *The Christian Century* were the go-to source – the editors of the magazine were the voice of the established Mainline Church in America. For that matter, it is doubtful that the Mainline establishment could have come about were it not for *The Christian Century* magazine.

One of the themes that occupied the *Century* was pacifism. In March 1925, at a meeting of the Federal Council of Churches, Morrison put forth a proposal to make army and navy chaplains independent of the military. He stated, “There is no place at the Church table for the monster of war to feed.” In 1927, Morrison wrote a book, *The Outlawry of War*. He declared, “if we are to abolish war, the first decisive thing to do is to outlaw it.”⁴⁴

Pacifism was an enduring theme, throughout the life of *The Christian Century*, and it also became a theme in the Federal Council of Churches.

The Federal Council of Churches

One of the outcomes of the push toward a single Protestant Church in America, was the formation of the Federal Council of Churches. *The Christian Century* magazine, of course, promoted the birth of this organization.

The FCC was founded in a convention that met at the Academy of Music in Philadelphia in May 1908. Shortly after its founding, thirty-two denominations had joined the organization. Although the thrust to create this organization had come from the Mainline establishment, many denominations that were outside of that stream joined the FCC, including African-American denominations.

The FCC’s central office was in New York City, but it also had offices in Washington, D.C. and in Chicago.

One characteristic of the FCC was the establishment of a number of Commissions which addressed various social issues of the day. Often these commissions were study groups rather than activists, but often they campaigned for certain causes. These included the Commission on the Church and Social Service which carried out research and education on industrial problems, the Commission on International Justice and Goodwill which stressed "Christian internationalism" and campaigned for the reduction of armaments and the Commission on Councils of Churches which worked on organizing local federations of churches in larger communities so they could be a more effective force in their neighborhoods. Other commissions included the Commission on Negro Churches and Race Relations, Commission on Evangelism, Commission on Education, Commission on Temperance, Commission on Relations with

⁴⁴ Coffman, page 82

Religious Bodies in Europe and the Commission on Community Relations, which was founded in May 1923, "gives attention neighborhood programme of local churches, the housing of the community work of open churches, the social service work of local federations of Churches and represents the Protestant group in conferences of national social agencies working in communities."⁴⁵

The Federal Council of Churches repeatedly emphasized two broad purposes:

- To manifest Protestant unity
- To reform American Society

The Council intended to create a united Protestant Church in America, but it did not fully achieve that. However, it did retain the loyalty of a substantial number of Protestant denominations – the Mainline. Because it was recognized by the government as being representative of American Christianity, the Council provided its members access to places of political and economic power. Council members also operated under the assumption that the Council should unite its members in evangelizing non-Protestants.

The Federal Council also quickly became “a sort of official keeper of the Social Gospel.”⁴⁶

One reason non-Mainline Churches joined the Council was because of it gave them access to the U.S. Government. World War I made the Council a vital national presence. Council bureaucracy and programming expanded greatly during the war and its prestige soared as it became the liaison between churches and the government. In 1917, General Secretary Macfarland, on his own initiative and authority, arranged with the armed services to have the Council’s new General Committee on Army and Navy Chaplains “investigate and nominate” all candidates from Protestant Churches.

Within a year, the Council had a monopoly on Protestant chaplains. As a result, non-Mainline churches, including African-American denominations (Black Baptists for example), joined the Council. The staunchly conservative Calvinists of the Christian Reformed Church⁴⁷ and the Southern Baptist Convention, and conservative Lutherans, joined the Council in order for their clergy to become chaplains.⁴⁸ (For a list of churches in the FCC in 1923, see ADDENDUM A)

⁴⁵Preuss, Arthur *A Dictionary of Secret and other Societies* St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1924; republished Detroit: Gale Reference Company 1966; p.124-125

⁴⁶ John A. Hutchison, *We Are Not Divided; A Critical and Historical Study of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America* (New York, Round Table Press) 1941, page 272

⁴⁷ The CRC withdrew from the Council in 1924.

⁴⁸ Robert A. Schneider, “The Voice of Many Waters: Church Federation in the Twentieth Century” in *Between the Times*, William R. Hutchison editor (New York, Cambridge University Press) 1989, page 109

The Prevailing Theologies of Mainstream Christian Clergy

Christian clergy in the mainline churches found themselves in challenging circumstances. Being a clergyman had become similar to being a practitioner of any other professional discipline. It had become a profession and the clergy were the professional leaders of the churches. As professionals, they had to demonstrate the same intellectual and educational expertise of other professionals. Of course, some – perhaps many – still saw their role as being in response to a calling... but a calling to what?

Having been robbed of their trust in Scripture, they had to face the question as to whether there were anything left of Christianity. Is there anything left to believe, and if so, what might that be.

Few doubted that historical figure named, “Jesus,” had existed, but how could one get past all of the accretions and superstitions displayed in Scripture? The first significant scholarly attempt to do this was undertaken by Albert Schweitzer in his 1906 book, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* (written the year before he began his studies for a medical degree).

Two concepts came to dominate the theology of mainstream churches.

- The first was the view that Jesus was a great teacher of ethics. According to this dictum, Jesus’ teaching affirming the worth of every individual and Jesus’ moral code summarized in the Golden Rule, was considered the core of all religion. Some years into the 20th Century, when the mainline leadership began to lose much of its Anti-Semitism, Frederick Kershner, Dean of the College of Religion at the Disciples’ Butler University, in Indianapolis, wrote, “The essence of the Christian message, as I understand it, is the ethical gospel of righteousness, goodwill and universal brotherhood...”⁴⁹

The Social Gospel was a perfect fit for this understanding of Christianity.

- The other concept focused on experience. Struggling for some core value that might sustain Christian faith – whatever that might be – mainline theologians turned to two 19th Century German theologian/philosophers: Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) and Albrecht Ritschl (1822-1889). Both of these men sought to present a defense of Christianity that would be viable in the age of rationalism. Schleiermacher, who taught at the newly established University of Berlin, was the pioneer. Ritschl, a generation later taught at Bonn and Gottingen.

Schleiermacher is generally recognized as the “father of modern theology.” Some have labeled him, “the father of modern liberalism.” Both Schleiermacher and Ritschl declared experience and feeling to be the heart of Christianity, rather than creeds. Thus,

⁴⁹ Letter of Frederick Kershner to Isidor Singer, September 28, 1929, in the Isidor Singer Papers, AJA;

all of the challenges of science and biblical criticism do not constitute a threat to Christianity. One “feels” the presence of God, whether or not he can defend God’s existence, objectively. Thus Schleiermacher shifted the center of Christianity from the Bible to the experience of the believer.

Schleiermacher was the product of a very pious Moravian home. He insisted that the debates over the proof of God, the authority of Scriptures, and the possibilities of miracles were on the fringe of religion. The heart of religion was and always had been feeling, not rational proofs. Religion, according to Schleiermacher, is based on intuition, or a feeling of dependence upon the universe. Whether recognized as such or not, this is an experience of God. Schleiermacher said that sin occurs when man tries to live by himself, isolated from the universe and his fellow man. He lives for his own selfish interest, but in so living he finds that he is miserable. This very misery is proof of his oneness with God.⁵⁰

C. W. Christian, summarizing Schleiermacher’s developing theology, which Schleiermacher outlined in a document which he called, *Speeches* (1799), writes the following:

“Schleiermacher argued that a fair consideration of religion as a living phenomenon will dispel the illusion that it is identical with its ideas (doctrine). Is it not evident to all that when a person is most deeply immersed in religious reality – when he is *being* most religious – he is least conscious of the ideas commonly thought to be its substance, for instance, God, freedom, and immortality? Furthermore, when a person is engaged in worship, is he learning new content? Conversion is scarcely a lecture on God. Indeed, if religion had to do with knowledge, then it could be imparted by instruction and the most learned man would be the most religious – and this is patently absurd.”⁵¹

Ritschl, greatly influenced by the writings of Schleiermacher, took a very similar tack. One difference was Ritschl’s emphasis on the Christian community, whereas Schleiermacher emphasized the individual. Although Ritschl recognized the role of the individual, he argued that the faith experience of the community was a primary validation of faith.

Ritschl argued that religion rests on the values of men, not upon the truth of science. Science tells us the facts, things as they are; but religion weighs the fact and counts some more valuable than others. The great fact about man is that he is a product of nature and

⁵⁰ Bruce L. Shelley, *Church History in Plain Language* (Waco Texas, Word Books) 1982, page 422

⁵¹ C. W. Christian, *Friedrich Schleiermacher*, in the series, *Makers of the Modern Theological Mind*, (Waco Texas, Word Books Publisher) 1979, pages 52-53

has a sense of values. We can explain this only when we recognize that the universe creates not only molecules and atoms, but also values. God is the necessary postulate to explain this sense of worth in man.⁵²

Thus, rather than proclaiming the need for recognizing one's sin, the atoning work of the Cross, and other orthodox views of Christianity, the message was, "admit your sense of the existence of another being – one that you cannot describe, and whose presence, other than your own sense of His Being, cannot be defended."

These two concepts gave to those who had rejected Scripture and traditional Christianity, something to believe in and to proclaim.

The Fundamentalists

As the modernist/liberal establishment seemed to be taking over denominations, a significant opposition movement, *Fundamentalism*, was born. The name came from a series of twelve small books published in the second decade of the century, but no group used the term to identify itself until a decade after the publication.

Lyman Stewart, a wealthy oilman in Southern California, became convinced that in the face of the growing influence of biblical criticism and liberal theology, something needed to be done to reaffirm the basic truths of Christianity.⁵³ He decided that the way to do this would be to publish a series of books that defended "the faith once delivered to the saints."⁵⁴

One of the most sought-after preachers of the early 20th Century (both in America and England) was Amzi Clarence Dixon.⁵⁵ Dixon was a fiery preacher whose constant theme was a defense of

⁵² Shelley, page 423

⁵³ Lyman Stewart was a member of the very conservative Immanuel Presbyterian Church of Los Angeles. He had been greatly influenced by Dispensational Teaching of J. N. Darby which had been presented at the Niagara-on -the Lake Bible Conference that he had attended in 1894. He was a very devout Christian and so respected by his employees that even the drillers and roustabouts in the oil field would not use foul language when he was in the field. He was one of the co-founders of The Bible Institute of Los Angeles (BIOLA)

⁵⁴ Jude 3

⁵⁵ Dixon pastured several small country churches prior to attending Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. After graduation from the seminary, he filled the pulpits of Immanuel Church, Baltimore (1883–90), the Hanson Place Baptist Church in Brooklyn (1890-1900), the Ruggles Street Church, Boston (1901–06), the Moody Church, Chicago (1906–11), and the Metropolitan Tabernacle, London (1911–19). Because of the popularity of his speaking, he often rented the Brooklyn Opera House for Sunday afternoon evangelistic services. While the pastor of Ruggles Street Baptist Church he also taught at the Gordon Bible and Missionary Training School, and turned his passion to writing, publishing *Old and New*, an attack on the liberal Social Gospel movement. While at Moody Church in Chicago, he became a syndicated columnist with his

orthodox Christian doctrine. In August 1909, while Dixon was pastor of the Chicago's Moody Church, Stewart heard Dixon preach one of his fiery sermons. Immediately thereafter, Stewart secured Dixon's help in carrying out the proposed publication. Lyman enlisted his brother Milton, also a wealthy oilman, to join him in financing the project.

The Stewarts anonymously provided the funds and Dixon provided the organization and the contacts. Dixon formed a committee to oversee the project, including the most famous preacher of the era, R.A. Torrey.

The Fundamentals: A Testimony To The Truth (generally referred to simply as *The Fundamentals*) is a set of 90 essays published from 1910 to 1915. *The Fundamentals* was first published as a 12-volume set, and later as a four-volume set retaining all 90 essays. The 90 essays were written by 64 different authors, representing most of the major Protestant Christian denominations. The American premillennial movement and the English Inner Life Keswick Conference were well represented. Other prominent conservatives also were among the contributors, including E. Y. Mullins of Southern Baptist Seminary and the highly esteemed Benjamin B. Warfield of Princeton Seminary (for a list of the topics and authors, see ADDENDUM B) .

The Fundamentals was sent free to ministers, missionaries, professors of theology, YMCA and YWCA secretaries, Sunday School superintendents, and other Protestant religious workers in every English-speaking country. Over three million volumes (250,000 sets) were sent out.

The conflict in Europe that resulted in World War I delayed the outbreak of the "modernist-fundamentalist" controversy, but shortly after the "doughboys" came home, conservatives in several denominations launched their war of words over the values and dangers of liberal theology in the churches and seminaries.

The Birth of Fundamentalism among Northern Baptists

In 1920, Curtis Lee Laws, the Baptist editor of the *Watchman-Examiner*,⁵⁶ invited all "fundamentalists" within the Northern Baptist Convention to join him in a conference to be held

writings appearing in newspapers such as the *Baltimore Sun*, *Boston Daily Herald* and *Chicago Daily News*.

While ministering at London's Metropolitan Tabernacle (the church formerly pastored by Charles Spurgeon and other notable preachers), he often spoke at great Bible conferences. He preached there until his retirement in 1919. He was called out of retirement in 1922 and became the first pastor of University Baptist Church in Baltimore, Maryland.

His preaching was often fiery and direct, confronting various forms of apostasy. He spoke against a wide range of things, from Roman Catholicism to Henry Ward Beecher's liberalism, Robert Ingersoll's agnosticism, Christian Science, Unitarianism and higher criticism of the Bible.

⁵⁶ The leading Baptist journal, that had resulted from the 1913 merger of two newspapers, *The Watchman*, and *The Examiner*

in Buffalo, New York. They labeled themselves, The Fundamentalist Fellowship. This was the first group to apply to itself the name, *fundamentalist*. Being Northern Baptists, which tended to be less conservative than other Baptists, these fundamentalists were moderate conservatives. Even so, they believed that the modernists were surrendering the “fundamentals” of the Gospel, which they described as:

- the sinful nature of man
- man’s inability to save himself apart from God’s grace
- the centrality of Jesus’ death for the regeneration of the individual and the renewal of society
- the authoritative revelation of the Bible.⁵⁷

Laws and his associates tried to get the Northern Baptists to adopt a confession of faith, but they failed in their efforts. Even so, their influence temporarily checked the inroads of liberalism in some of the Northern Baptist institutions.

Some more militant conservative Northern Baptists felt that Laws and his group had not pushed hard enough and so in 1932 they left the Northern Baptists and formed the fundamentalist, General Association of Regular Baptists.

The Birth of Fundamentalism among Presbyterians

The fundamentalist/modernist controversy was a major bitterly fought issue among Presbyterians. Presbyterians had split along the lines of Old School and New School in the Nineteenth Century. New School Presbyterians had established Union Theological Seminary. Charles Briggs, who had studied Higher Criticism in Germany was made the Professor of Hebrew at Union in 1876. Although modernism had begun to infect New School Presbyterians prior to Briggs’ coming to Union, his inaugural address was the first salvo of Higher Criticism launched within American Presbyterianism.

In 1891, Briggs was appointed as Union’s first-ever Professor of Biblical Theology. His inaugural address as he began this post was entitled, “The Authority of Holy Scripture.” The address was highly controversial. Higher Criticism, prior to Briggs’ address, had seemed a fairly technical, scholarly issue. Briggs, however, brought forth its full implications. In this address, he announced that Higher Criticism had now definitively proven

- that Moses did not write the Pentateuch;
- that Ezra did not write Ezra, Chronicles or Nehemiah;
- Jeremiah did not write the books of Kings or the Lamentations;
- David only wrote a few of the Psalms;
- Solomon did not write the Song of Solomon or Ecclesiastes and only a few Proverbs;
- Isaiah did not write half of the book of Isaiah;

⁵⁷ Shelley page 453-454

- The Old Testament was merely a historical record, and one which showed man in a lower state of moral development;
- Modern man has progressed morally far beyond Noah, Abraham, Jacob, Judah, David, and Solomon.
- The Scriptures as a whole are riddled with errors;
- The doctrine of Scriptural inerrancy taught at Princeton Theological Seminary "is a ghost of modern evangelicalism to frighten children."
- Not only is the Westminster Confession wrong, but the very foundation of the Confession, the Bible, could not be used to create theological absolutes.

Briggs then called on other Presbyterian rationalists to join him in sweeping away the dead orthodoxy of the past and work for the unity of the entire church.

The battle over these issues waged hot and heavy among Presbyterians with all sorts of political maneuvers by both sides.

In 1910, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the USA, already in hot water over other issues, declared that five doctrines are *necessary and essential* to the Christian faith:

- The inspiration of the Bible by the Holy Spirit and as a result of this, the inerrancy of Scripture;
- The virgin birth of Christ;
- The belief that Christ's death was an atonement for sin;
- The bodily resurrection of Christ;
- The historical reality of Christ's miracles.

These five propositions would become known to history as the "Five Fundamentals."

The most respected and probably the greatest champion of Presbyterian orthodoxy was Professor J. Gresham Machen of Princeton Theological Seminary. As Machen and a small retinue of distinguished professors at the school saw the liberal establishment taking over the school – and efforts to stop it failed – they withdrew from Princeton in protest and founded Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia.

Presbyterian missions became another battle ground.

In 1930, as a result of widespread second thoughts about missions in general, a group of Baptist laymen at the request of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. concluded that it was time for a serious re-evaluation of the effectiveness of foreign missions. With Rockefeller's financial backing, they convinced seven major denominations to participate in their "Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry." Two of these denominations were the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and the United Presbyterian Church of North America. They commissioned a study of missionaries in India, Burma, China, and Japan and launched a separate inquiry under the chairmanship of the philosopher and Harvard professor William Ernest Hocking. These two

inquiries led to the publication in 1932 of a one-volume summary of the findings of the Laymen's Inquiry entitled *Re-Thinking Missions: A Laymen's Inquiry after One Hundred Years*.

Re-Thinking Missions argued that in the face of emerging secularism, Christians should ally with other world religions, rather than struggle against them.

The respected Presbyterian missionary Pearl S. Buck, in a review published in *The Christian Century*, praised the report. She wrote that it should be read by every Christian in America. She mocked the biblical literalism of the fundamentalists, whom she characterized as those who would say, "I think this is the only book I have ever read that seems to me literally true in its every observation and right in its every conclusion."

In a November 1932 speech before a large audience at the Astor Hotel, later published in *Harper's*, Buck denounced the practice of measuring the success of missions by the numbers of new church members. Instead she advocated humanitarian efforts to improve the agricultural, educational, medical, and sanitary conditions of the community. In her speech, she described the typical missionary as "narrow, uncharitable, unappreciative, ignorant."

In the *Harpers* article along with another in *Cosmopolitan* published in May 1933, Buck rejected the doctrine of original sin, saying "I believe that most of us start out wanting to do right and to be good." She asserted that belief in the virgin birth or the divinity of Christ was not a prerequisite to being a Christian. She said that the only need is to acknowledge that one can't live without Christ and to reflect that in one's life.

When the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions refused to discipline Buck, J. Gresham Machen published a book arguing that the Board of Foreign Missions was insufficiently evangelical. He said that this was evidenced when the board's secretary, Robert E. Speer, had refused to require missionaries to subscribe to the Five Fundamentals. After several efforts to get the board to appoint a new slate of conservatives, J. Gresham Machen, along with H. McAllister Griffiths, announced that they were forming an Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions to promote biblically sound Presbyterian missions.

The 1934 General Assembly declared that the new Independent Board violated the Presbyterian constitution and ordered the Board to cease collecting funds within the church. The Assembly ordered all Presbyterian clergy and laity to sever their connections with the Independent Board or face disciplinary action. Machen refused to shut down the Independent Board. The regional presbytery brought charges against Machen including violation of his ordination vows and renouncing the authority of the church. A trial was held, and in March 1935, he was convicted and suspended from the ministry.

As a result of these actions, the conservatives in the denomination joined Machen in forming the Orthodox Presbyterian Church.

Later, in 1937, the more extreme fundamentalists left the Orthodox Presbyterian Church to form the Bible Presbyterian Church. Carl McIntire, who was the inspirational leader of this new

denomination, laid the basis for much of what was to come to be called the "Christian right" in American religion and politics.

Francis Schaeffer was the first minister to be ordained by the new organization.

Two main issues caused the split (for ease of distinction, we characterize these as the "orthodox" side and the "Bible side."):

- The first issue related to alcoholic beverages.
 - The "orthodox" side condemned drunkenness, but nevertheless did not agree that Scripture prescribed Christians to totally abstain from drinking alcoholic beverages.
 - The "Bible" side asserted that the Bible prohibited the consumption of alcohol entirely.
- The second issue was over faithfulness to Covenant Theology versus the toleration of Dispensationalism.
 - Those on the "Bible" side had come to favor and use the Scofield Reference Bible whose notes taught the theological system called, *Dispensationalism*, rather than the Covenant Theology historically held by many Reformed churches.
 - Scofield's notes were under considerable criticism by faculty members of Westminster Theological Seminary, (the "orthodox" faction). Historic premillennialism was tolerated within the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, yet the Dispensational form of premillennialism was considered to be serious error.
 - Those who came to call themselves "Bible Presbyterians" saw the serious criticisms against Scofield's notes as a swipe against premillennialism itself, rather than merely the Dispensational form of premillennialism, and wanted the freedom to use the Scofield Reference Bible.

The formal exodus of Bible Presbyterian churches came about in 1938, only two years after the forming of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church. The split was not acrimonious. The Bible Presbyterian Church has always maintained the unity of the covenant of grace (a decidedly non-dispensational position). In later years, surprisingly, the Bible Presbyterian Church passed resolutions against dispensationalism in its annual Synod meetings (for further history of the Bible Presbyterian Church and two splits in that denomination, see ADDENDA C)

Williams Jennings Bryan and the Scopes Trial

Thanks to television, Broadway, and the movie, *Inherit the Wind*, the mere mention of Bryan's name evokes the image of a packed courtroom in Dayton, Tennessee, on a hot day in July, 1925, in which Bryan and Clarence Darrow nearly came to blows over the Genesis account of creation.

William Jennings Bryan was a lawyer who had grown up in the Arminian Cumberland Presbyterian Church. He also was a Presbyterian ruling elder. Bryan, as a social progressive, was elected to congress in 1890 and then was the Democrat presidential candidate for three unsuccessful bids: 1896, 1900, and 1908. After his 1900 defeat, Bryan

experienced a time of questioning about his life and concluded that he had let his passion for politics obscure his calling as a Christian.

In 1900, he began lecturing on the Chautauqua Lecture Circuit, speaking on both religious and political issues. He was a very gifted speaker and became one of the most popular speakers on the circuit. He spoke before hundreds of thousands of people.

In 1905, Bryan, having concluded that Darwinism and Higher Criticism were allies in promoting modernism in the Church, he began speaking out about the dangers of this theory. He described Darwinism's theory of the survival of the fittest as "the operation of the law of hate – the merciless law by which the strong crowded out and killed off the weak." In Bryan's view, Darwinism would undermine the foundation of all morality.

Bryan, a pacifist, was Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of State. He sought to create treaties to avoid war. In 1915, when German U-Boats sank the RMS Lusitania (128 Americans were among the passengers who perished), and it became evident that America was going to enter the European war, Bryan resigned.

When America did enter the war in 1917, in a rather strange move, given his pacifist leanings, Bryan volunteered for the army, but he was not allowed to enlist. He argued that the reported German atrocities were the result of the influence of evolution – Darwinism justified the strong's dominating the weak and thus justified German militarism.

As a Presbyterian ruling elder, Bryan continually fought the growth of Higher Criticism and the acceptance of evolution among Presbyterian clergy. He also, in his speeches, urged states to pass laws banning the teaching of evolution in public schools. Several states, including Tennessee, passed such laws.⁵⁸

The ACLU was looking for a test case to challenge these laws. They found it in the trial of Dayton, Tennessee, teacher, John Scopes. Scopes was charged with violating the law by teaching evolution in the Dayton, Tennessee, public school. Tennessee law made it illegal for a public school teacher "to teach the theory which denies the story of divine creation of man as taught in the Bible and to teach instead that man has descended from a lower order of animals."

Baptist pastor, William Bell Riley, who was founder and president of the World Christian Fundamentals Association, persuaded Bryan to act as its counsel to the prosecution.

When news went out that Bryan would be attending the trial, renowned lawyer, Clarence Darrow, a committed agnostic, volunteered to serve on Scopes's defense team.

⁵⁸ The "establishment clause" of the First Amendment, was not ruled to apply to states until the Supreme Court's 1947 ruling in the *Everson v. Board of Education of the Township of Ewing*. Prior to that time, the clause was understood as applying to the U.S. Congress. In 1947, partly through an interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment, the court ruled that the First Amendment applies to state governments as well as the federal government.

Both Bran and Darrow knew that the trial was not about whether or not Scopes had violated Tennessee law. The focus of the trial was the credibility of the Bible. The Bible was on trial, not John Scopes. Bryan, glancing at Darrow, in the beginning of the proceedings, said, “My only purpose in coming to Dayton is to protect the Word of God against the greatest atheist or agnostic in the United States.”

Thus, on hot day in July, 1925, the stage was set for what became a media circus. Reporters from across the country descended on the little town of 1,900 people. The reporters were hostile to fundamentalism and to Bryan. Bryan’s loudest and most influential negative critic was H. L. Menken, who reported on the trial in his columns, and denounced fundamentalism as ignorant, irrational, backwards, and intolerant (Mencken is the one who dubbed the affair, “The Monkey Trial”).

In a dramatic move, Darrow called Bryan to the witness stand and cross-examined (“interrogated”) him. This portion of the trial gave fodder to the sarcastic press, who portrayed Bryan as a sweating, confused old man (For the court reporter’s transcript of Darrow’s questioning of Bryan, see ADDENDUM D)

Even though Bryan and his team won the trial in Dayton (Scopes was convicted), Darrow won the rest of the country. From this event onward, fundamentalism, in the minds of many, represented ignorant superstition and narrowness of mind.

In time the term came to represent not only those who hold to the fundamentals of the faith, but also those who adhere to the Scofield Reference Bible Dispensationalism – in one form or another.

Harry Emerson Fosdick⁵⁹

One of the most influential players in the Modernist/Fundamentalist controversy of the 1920’s and 1930’s was the popular New York preacher, Harry Emerson Fosdick.

Fosdick was born, May 24, 1878, in Buffalo, New York. He graduated from Colgate University⁶⁰ in 1900 and Union Theological Seminary⁶¹ in 1904. He was ordained as a

⁵⁹ Most of the material on Fosdick is found in, *131 Christians Everyone Should Know*, “Harry Emerson Fosdick, Theological Rebel” (Nashville, Christianity Today) page 104ff

⁶⁰ Colgate University, was founded in 1820 by Northern Baptists as the Baptist Education Society. The school was located in Hamilton, New York. In 1823, the Baptist Theological Seminary in New York City merged with the BES and the school became known as the Hamilton Literary and Theological Institute. One of the board members was the wealthy soap magnate, William Colgate. The school went through two more name changes, but because of the Colgate family’s substantial contributions to the school the name of the school was changed to Colgate University in 1890.

Northern Baptist minister in 1903, at the Madison Avenue Baptist Church (Madison and 31st Street, New York City).

Though "born again" at age 7 (1885), Harry Emerson Fosdick early on rejected the "born-again" Fundamentalist Movement. He also rejected Calvinism, which he believed produced "a God who is a devil." Instead of following these and other theologies, he relied on his own personal spiritual experiences. The Lord was to be found in living experience, he argued, not at the end of some creed. In time, he became, as one biographer put it, "the most influential interpreter of religion to his generation."

During his lifetime (he died October 5, 1969), he wrote fifty books and preached thousands of sermons and lectures, in all of these promoting the cause of liberal Christianity.

Theological rebel

In his high school and college years, Fosdick was already developing a reputation as "the Jesse James of the theological world" (later in life he boasted that he had never repeated the Apostles' Creed). At Colgate University, under the tutelage of liberal William Newton Clarke, he studied the divide between religious experiences and the intellectual and cultural forms in which they were expressed: "We must distinguish between abiding experiences and changing categories," he wrote. From there he went on to New York's Union Theological Seminary.

In 1903 he was ordained at the Madison Avenue Baptist Church, and in 1911, he joined the Union faculty while accepting the pastorate at First Baptist Church in Montclair, New Jersey. He soon became known as an outstanding preacher and was invited to preach in pulpits other than his own. However, the thing that brought him to the attention of the broader public was his writing. Six early devotional books (among others, *The Meaning of Faith* and *The Meaning of Prayer*) sold in the millions.

Fosdick rejected a Christianity that wallowed in sin or forecast doom. In spite of his experiences ministering in inner-city ghettos and French trenches (which he visited during World War I), he remained confident about the future of humanity.

Challenging the fundamentalists

Even though he was a Baptist, his pulpit talent was so impressive that the First Presbyterian Church of New York City (historically known as "Old First") called him to be the preaching pastor of that church. He filled that role from 1918 to 1925. In that role, his eloquence earned him a reputation among liberals and conservatives alike.

⁶¹ Union Theological Seminary was founded in 1836 by members of the Presbyterian Church in the USA, but in 1893 rescinded the right of the Presbyterian General Assembly to veto faculty appointments. Thus, it became fully independent. Union is world renowned as a center of liberal Christianity and neo-orthodoxy. It was the birthplace of Black Liberation Theology, Womanist Theology, and Mujerista Theology (Hispanic Feminist Movement).

A major event in the Modernist/Fundamentalist battle was Fosdick's May 1922 sermon, *Shall the Fundamentalists Win?* In the sermon, Fosdick replied to the question in the sermon title, by repudiating the core beliefs of the fundamentalist faith:

- belief in the virgin birth was unnecessary;
- the inerrancy of Scripture, untenable;
- and the doctrine of the Second Coming, absurd.

In the sermon he castigated fundamentalists as "bitterly intolerant."

Northern Baptist oil baron John D. Rockefeller, the wealthiest man in America, was enthusiastic about the sermon and he paid for 130,000 copies to be printed and distributed to every Protestant minister in the United States. Prior to this sermon, the controversy between Modernists and Fundamentalists had been but skirmishes, but that sermon and Rockefeller's promotion of it caused the fray to explode into an open and somewhat vitriolic war. (for the manuscript and text of the sermon, see ADDENDA E)

Fosdick's huge popularity threatened the conservatives among Presbyterians. J. Gresham Machen asked, "The question is not whether Mr. Fosdick is winning men, but whether the thing to which he is winning them is Christianity."

Presbyterian Elder William Jennings Bryan sought to expose to the New York Presbytery and to the denomination's General Assembly, Fosdick's "utter agnosticism" and have him dismissed from First Presbyterian. In the proceedings, Fosdick's defense council was Presbyterian Elder John Foster Dulles (future Secretary of State, under President Eisenhower), whose father was a prominent liberal Presbyterian seminary professor. Debate raged across the nation, with prominent periodicals taking sides. Although Fosdick tried to be conciliatory, he refused to budge theologically and he also refused to be ordained as a Presbyterian in order to retain his pulpit. By 1924 he felt compelled to resign.

In May of the following year, he became pastor of upscale Park Avenue Baptist Church in New York City. John D. Rockefeller was a member of Park Avenue. Rockefeller was so impressed by Fosdick that he decided to build Fosdick a new church building. He financed the erection of the very impressive Riverside Church, a modern Gothic cathedral seating over 2,300.⁶² From the first this was an ecumenical church, which later became a member of the American Baptist Church and the United Church of Christ (both liberal denominations). For the last 16 years of his active ministry, and for the following 28 of his retirement, Riverside was Fosdick's church home, where he practiced his liberal values (for example, offering worship in a variety of styles, from Quaker style to high church) and speaking out on key issues of the day (he was a champion of civil liberties, for instance, and invited blacks to preach from his pulpit).

⁶² Located in Manhattan's Morningside Heights, the building overlooks the Hudson River and nearby Columbia University.

In some ways, Fosdick was an enigma. For example, in 1935, he shocked his progressive colleagues with a sermon, *The Church Must Go Beyond Modernism*." In the sermon, he criticized liberalism's habit of changing beliefs to accommodate culture, of softening the reality of God and downplaying the themes of personal and social sin (seemingly contradictory to some of his earlier statements). In his preaching, he began to incorporate the emerging neo-orthodox themes of Karl Barth and Reinhold Niebhuur.

Pulpit psychologist

Fosdick was a pioneer in the field of pastoral counseling – which was a rather new idea at the time. His book, *On Being a Real Person*, influenced by Freud, Jung, and his own personal experiences (he'd had a nervous breakdown in seminary), was a pioneering book in that field.

Beginning in 1927 Fosdick's sermons were broadcast on the very popular, "National Vespers Hour," and more than 2 million listeners tuned in. For the most part, he concentrated on practical and experiential Christianity, defining preaching as "personal counseling on a group scale."

Excursus

Preaching in Mainline Churches

Homiletics classes in mainline seminaries instructed the future preachers to aim at delivering a sermon that was twenty minutes in length. The central point should be clear and precise so that the congregation would remember the point being made.

The content of the sermons increasingly tended to be on how to live, how to be happy, how to be successful, etc., rather than truths related to eternity and how to get to heaven. In keeping with the remarks made earlier concerning Fosdick's preaching, sermons began to resemble a counseling session. Many homiletics professors urged their students to avoid oratory and to deliver their sermons in a conversational style, as if preacher and congregation were sitting in a parlor having a discussion.

Some mainline preachers spent time explaining why a particular section of Scripture was not inspired, but still helpful. Others preached as if the text were inspired, even though they did not believe that it was so – because the congregation believed that the text was inspired.

The Role of the Church in Prohibition

For most of the history of the Church, Christians generally had not considered abstaining from alcohol as the mark of a Christian. In the early years of the American colonies, ministers sometimes were paid in whiskey and rum, rather than money. It also was the custom to have a

large amount of alcoholic beverages as a part of the celebration of a Congregationalist minister's ordination.⁶³

During the 19th Century, the consumption of alcoholic beverages became a hotly contested issue. A number of "temperance" organizations were formed (most, but not all, were women's organizations), and even momentary prohibition became law in local situations.⁶⁴

In the early 20th Century, prohibition became a hot issue among the churches and brought cooperation between denominations that previously had not worked together. It was supported by several "non-liturgical" Protestant denominations including Methodists, Northern Baptists, Southern Baptists, New School Presbyterians, Disciples of Christ, Congregationalists, Quakers, and Scandinavian Lutherans, but also surprisingly also included the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America. These religious groups identified saloons as places where corrupt politicians manipulated men. Most of the churches that favored prohibition had come to the conclusion that drinking is a personal sin. Other active organizations included the Women's Church Federation, the Women's Temperance Crusade, and the Department of Scientific Temperance Instruction.

Interestingly, for economic reasons, tea merchants and soda fountain manufacturers generally supported prohibition, believing a ban on alcohol would increase sales of their products.

Prohibition was opposed by most "liturgical" Protestants (for example, Episcopalians, German Lutherans, Old School Presbyterians, etc.) and Roman Catholics. Those who opposed prohibition did so for various reasons, but one often put forth was that the government had no right to define morality.

Among politicians, social Progressives in both the Democrat and Republican parties promoted the passage of national prohibition. Ministers who were Social Gospel advocates tended to be strong supporters of the passage of prohibition.

Social Progressives favored prohibition because they witnessed the tragedy of alcoholism and its consequences among the immigrant tenement inhabitants. The local saloon had become a place where men escaped the drudgery of the factory and unpleasant home life. Breweries financed many saloons. Such a saloon only sold beer from the sponsoring brewery. A free lunch, heavily salted, was offered to the customers – thus producing thirst which promoted sales. It was not unusual for a man to leave work with his paycheck in his pocket, visit the saloon on the way home, and by the time he arrived home, he didn't have a penny. Social Progressives, who

⁶³<http://www.reformedreader.org/puritans/sabbath.puritan.newengland/sabbath.puritan.newengland.chapter19.htm>

⁶⁴In 1851, Maine banned the manufacture and sale of liquor. However, the law was repealed in 1856.

avored management of culture, reasoned that by removing alcoholic beverages from society, the problems of alcoholism would be removed. Social Gospel advocates leaned in this direction.

Rural Protestants also tended to be “drys.” One thing that motivated rural Protestants was a prejudice against the Catholic immigrants that were flooding the Eastern cities. “Nativism” was a growing trend in some areas.

Anti-prohibitionists, on the other hand, criticized the alcohol ban as an intrusion of mainly rural Protestant ideals on a central aspect of urban, immigrant, and Catholic life.

The U.S. Senate proposed the Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution on December 18, 1917. Upon being approved by a 36th state on January 16, 1919, the amendment was ratified as a part of the Constitution. In keeping with the terms of the amendment, the country went dry one year later, on Jan. 17, 1920.

The Eighteenth Amendment prohibited the production, sale, and transport of “intoxicating liquors.” However, it did not define “intoxicating liquors” or specify what penalties would be imposed for violating the law. Consequently, another bill, the National Prohibition Act, was enacted to carry out the intent of the Eighteenth Amendment. The bill, colloquially known as the Volstead Act, was named for Andrew Volstead, Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, who managed the legislation.

President Woodrow Wilson vetoed the bill, because he objected to certain technicalities in the bill. On October 28, 1919, Congress overrode the President’s veto and the Volstead Act became law. The act established the legal definition of intoxicating liquors as well as penalties for producing them.

The Volstead Act stated that “no person shall manufacture, sell, barter, transport, import, export, deliver, or furnish any intoxicating liquor except as authorized by this act.” It did not specifically prohibit the use of intoxicating liquors. The act defined intoxicating liquor as any beverage containing more than 0.5% alcohol by volume and superseded all existing prohibition laws in effect in states that had such legislation. Even though private ownership and consumption of alcohol was not made illegal under federal law, in many areas local laws were stricter.

The Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead act allowed for limited exceptions. For example, religious uses of wine were allowed. Also, because whiskey often was prescribed by physicians as a treatment for certain ailments, limited amounts of alcohol could be prescribed by licensed physicians. The American Medical Association objected to the limitations put on a physician’s ability to prescribe whiskey for medical reasons. The AMA actively attacked Congress over this limitation, arguing that Congressmen were not competent to diagnose and prescribe medical treatment.

Before the Eighteenth Amendment went into effect in January 1920, many of the upper classes stockpiled alcohol for legal home consumption after Prohibition began. They bought the inventories of liquor retailers and wholesalers, emptying out their warehouses, saloons, and club storerooms. President Woodrow Wilson moved his own supply of alcoholic beverages out of the White House to his Washington residence after his term of office ended. His successor, Warren G. Harding, relocated his own large supply into the White House after inauguration.

In October 1930, just two weeks before the congressional midterm elections, bootlegger George Cassiday ("the man in the green hat") wrote five front-page articles for *The Washington Post* describing how for ten years he had been the congressional bootlegger. He estimated that eighty percent of congressmen and senators drank. The Democrats in the North were mostly wets, and in the 1932 election, they made major gains. As Prohibition became increasingly unpopular, especially in urban areas, its repeal was assumed.

Economic struggles caused many Americans to support appeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. Even some who had supported prohibition played no small part in accelerating the advocacy for repeal.

- Many farmers who originally had fought for prohibition changed their view and fought for repeal because of the negative effects prohibition had on their agriculture business.
- Prior to the 1920 implementation of the Volstead Act, approximately fourteen percent of federal, state, and local tax revenues were derived from alcohol commerce. When the Great Depression hit and tax revenues plunged, the governments needed this revenue stream. Millions could be made by taxing beer.

There was controversy on whether the repeal should be a state or nationwide decision.

One of the issues on which Franklin D. Roosevelt campaigned for the office of President was the repeal of prohibition. The first step toward repeal took place on March 22, 1933. On that date, President Franklin Roosevelt signed an amendment to the Volstead Act, known as the Cullen–Harrison Act. This amendment allowed the manufacture and sale of light wines and 3.2 beer (3.2 percent alcohol by weight, approximately 4 percent alcohol by volume – in contrast to the Volstead Act's 0.5 percent). Upon signing the Cullen–Harrison Act, Roosevelt made his famous remark: "I think this would be a good time for a beer."

Federal Prohibition ended on December 5, 1933, with the ratification of the Twenty-first Amendment, which repealed the Eighteenth Amendment. Some states passed laws continuing prohibition in those states.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Oklahoma was one of these. The sale of liquor by the bottle was approved in 1959, but liquor by the drink was not approved until 1984. Most Protestant churches fought these repeals of prohibition, but they could not muster enough votes to keep prohibition as a state law.

Neo-Orthodoxy: An Intellectual Reaction to Progressive Liberalism

Although theological liberals in the mainline churches tended to continue promoting Progressive philosophy, most serious thinkers rejected Progressivism following World War I. Prior to World War I, Germany was considered to be the most advanced nation of the world. It also was viewed as the intellectual capitol of the world. Religiously, it was the cradle of the reformation. Thus, Progressives tended to consider Germany to be the most advanced nation on the evolutionary scale. In many ways, Germany was the Progressive ideal.

Germany's role in initiating World War I made these assumptions unviable and Progressivism was discredited – except among liberal mainline theologians (especially in America).

Among European theologians, the situation called for an honest examination of the nature of Christianity and the Church. One such man was Karl Barth. Although some argue for other progenitors of the movement, Karl Barth generally is recognized as the father of Neo-Orthodoxy. (for a short biographical study of Karl Barth, see ADDENDA F).

In Europe the movement early-on was called, *Dialectical Theology*, and *Crisis Theology*.

- The term, *Crisis Theology*, referred to what was happening to theology and civilization and also what inevitably overtakes every man and the institutions which man creates when, confident in his own ability, he attempts to solve his problems and finds himself confounded by God.
- *Dialectical Theology* signifies that man, by his own reason, can never reach God. When he tries to do so, he sees contradiction in his results and can only say “yes” and “no” and wait for a direct word from God - a word which comes not because man deserves it, for this he does not and cannot do, but only through God's grace.⁶⁶
- The term, *Neo-Orthodoxy*, was given to the movement at later time by those who saw this theology as re-emphasizing the doctrines of Reformed Orthodoxy – original sin and grace.

Although the term, *Neo-Orthodoxy* was applied to the movement, there are important differences between this movement and traditional *Orthodoxy*. The chief difference lies in their differing views on Scripture and man's inherent sinful nature.

Concerning Scripture:

- Traditional Orthodoxy views the Bible as the Holy Spirit inspired Word of God and the original documents were without error or contradiction.
- Neo-Orthodoxy considers the Word of God to be Jesus. The Bible is simply man's interpretation of the Word's actions. The Bible is not an inspired document and various parts of it may not be literally true.
- Traditional Orthodoxy considers the Bible to be revelation.

⁶⁶ Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christianity* (New York, Harper & Brothers Publishers) 1953, pages 1382-1384

- Neo-Orthodoxy considers the Bible to be a *medium* of revelation – revelation itself depending upon the experience of each individual – truth being a mystical experience with Christ, who is the Word of God.

Thus, Neo-Orthodoxy does retain much of liberal/modernist Christianity in its view of Scripture.

Concerning the sinfulness of mankind:

- Modernist Progressive thinking that viewed man as essentially good and the institutions that he develops are capable of bringing about the Kingdom of God.
- Neo-Orthodoxy contends that man is essentially sinful and that his self-interest infects every institution that he creates – thus even the institutions are subject the manifestations of the well-intentioned but sinful individuals who created them.

The most influential proponent of Neo-Orthodoxy in the United States was Reinhold Niebuhr. Niebuhr began his ministerial career as a theological liberal and a social idealist. Throughout his life he constantly revised his beliefs, at one point even being influenced by Marxism. However, in mid-career he became an exponent of Neo-Orthodoxy, with some of his own refinements that would differ from the Christo-centric form propagated by Barth.

Niebuhr began his career as pastor of the Bethel Evangelical Church in Detroit (1915 to 1928). In 1928 he left the pastorate to be a professor at Union Theological Seminary, in New York City. From that post he became a great intellectual and personal force in American Christianity until his retirement in 1960.

The Role of Eschatology in the Early Twentieth-Century Church

Eschatology (end-times theology) had a significant role in the early 20th Century Church. One's eschatology usually defined the stream to which he belonged. The dominant eschatologies of this period focused on the Millennium.⁶⁷ In addition to the major eschatological systems, there were a number of subdivisions. The place of the Millennium in the end-time scheme usually defined a person's eschatology (for a chart illustrating the various Millennial views, see ADDENDUM H). Here are the three dominant views:

Post-millennialism: The belief that Jesus will return after the Millennium.

As noted in earlier sections of our study, the modernist mainline clergy of the early 20th Century believed in a version of Post-millennialism, in that their task was to create a society which reflected the standards of God – ultimately resulting in a golden age – and when this was accomplished, Christ would return and receive that glorious world that the Church had prepared for him. Thus, the Millennium either was defined as this present age or the golden age that would result from the efforts of the Church.

Pre-millennialism: The belief that Jesus will return prior to the Millennium.

We will give rather extensive attention to this eschatology in following pages.

⁶⁷ The term, *Millennium* (Latin: *mille* [thousand] + *annus* [year]), refers to the 1000 years mentioned six times in Revelation 20:1-10. This passage in Revelation is the only biblical mention of the Millennium.

Amillennialism:⁶⁸ The rejection of the belief that Jesus will have a literal, thousand-year-long, physical reign on the earth (similar to, but not identical to Post-millennialism).⁶⁹

The amillennial view states that the thousand years mentioned in Revelation 20 is a symbolic number, not a literal description. Most amillennialists consider the Millennium to have begun at Pentecost.⁷⁰ According to amillennialists, Christ will return in final judgment at the end of the Church age and establish a permanent reign in the new heaven and new earth. Thus, the following summarizes amillennialists' views:

- Jesus is presently reigning from heaven, seated at the right hand of God the Father,
- Jesus is and will remain with the church until the end of the world (Matthew 28:20) At Pentecost, the Millennium began, as is shown by Peter using the prophecies of Joel, about the coming of the kingdom, to explain what was happening,
- Therefore the Church is Christ's Kingdom and forever will be.

Excursus

Schools of Interpretation of the Book of Revelation⁷¹

NOTE: The interpretation of the Book of Revelation is not the same as a study of the Millennium, although they do relate to one another.

There are many interpretations of the Book of Revelation. Each one has its difficulties and require some straining to make the interpretation fit all aspects of the document. Four schools of thought are the most common:

- **Preterist:** The Preterist interpretation regards the book, for the most part, as being written for the Church of the First Century. In addition to clear correctives (the Seven Churches of Revelation in Chapters 1-3) most of Chapter Four onward refer to the struggle between the Church and the Roman Empire.
- **Historical:** The Historical interpretation considers the book (after the letters to the seven churches) to be a vast panorama of Church history from Pentecost onward.
- **Futurist:** The Futurist view considers the seven letters to the seven churches to refer to the seven periods of church history. After the final period (Laodicean lukewarm Church Revelation 3:14-22), the Church is raptured (Chapter 4) and the "future" begins.
- **Spiritualist (also known as the Idealist):** The imagery of the book contains no reference to any historical events – present or future. The book is a Pictorial Representation, in highly figurative language, of the Great Principles of Divine Government, applicable to all times.

⁶⁸ Greek: *a-* "no" + millennialism

⁶⁹ *Amillennial* was coined as a pejorative term by those who hold premillennial views. Some amillennialists prefer terms such as *nunc-millennialism* (Latin: *nuc* [now] i.e., now-millennialism) or *realized millennialism*.

⁷⁰ Some Protestant amillennialists with whom I have discussions in the past have argued that the Millennium began with Martin Luther's reformation. To use their language, "When the Bible was restored to the Church and the Bible, not Roman Catholic tradition, became the sole authority for the Church.

⁷¹ Henry Halley, *Halley's Bible Handbook*, 24th edition (Grand Rapids, Zondervan) 1965, page 684

Pre-millennium's Influence on Non-mainline Churches

Classic Premillennialism

Classic (also known as Historical) Premillennialism has been the eschatology taught by various church leaders for several centuries. In contrast to Dispensational Premillennialism, Classic Premillennialism has the following distinctives:

- There is a Great Tribulation
- Christians suffer during the Tribulation
- There is no “rapture” prior to the Second Coming
- Jesus returns physically after the Tribulation
- The Millennium follows after Christ's Second Coming
- The Modern State of Israel is not relevant to Revelation prophecies
- There are no special promises to Hebrews
- Most references to Israel in the Book of Revelation refer symbolically to the Church

Dispensational Premillennialism

One of the major influences in the non-mainline churches of the early Twentieth Century was Dispensational Premillennialism. In time, to many people, the terms, Fundamentalism and Dispensationalism, were synonyms. Many of the early Pentecostals were Dispensationalists.

Most of the early popular American radio preachers, such as Donald Grey Barnhouse, Charles E. Fuller, and M. R. DeHaan were dispensationalists.⁷²

John Nelson Darby is regarded as the father of dispensationalism. Darby's doctrine probably never would have had any impact on the church had it not been for Dwight L. Moody and Cyrus I. Scofield. Moody heard Darby speak at a prophecy conference and from that time onward was a Darby proponent. Scofield, influenced by Moody, began a correspondence school and in time produced the Scofield Reference Bible. Lewis Sperry Chafer was a Scofield disciple. Chafer founded Dallas Theological Seminary in 1924 (originally named Evangelical Theological College), which became and still is a major propagator of Dispensationalism.⁷³

⁷² Almost all of the modern televangelists have been dispensationalists (For example, Jerry Falwell, Jim Bakker, Paul Crouch, Pat Robertson, Jimmy Swaggart, Billy Graham). Leading dispensationalist writers include Charles Ryrie, Dwight Pentecost, John Walvoord, Eric Sauer, Charles Dyer, Tim LaHaye, Grant Jeffrey and Hal Lindsey. Notable political proponents include Jimmie Carter and Ronald Reagan. The most significant Christian organizations espousing dispensationalism have been the Moody Bible Institute, Dallas Theological Seminary, and the International Christian Embassy, Jerusalem.

⁷³ Chafers, eight volume, *Systematic Theology*, is a major scholarly presentation of Dispensational Theology (Dallas, Dallas Seminary Press) 1947

Modern dispensationalism had its beginning with the Plymouth Brethren movement, which became prominent around 1830. The group came to be known as a “Plymouth Brethren” because their publishing house was in Plymouth, England.

The Brethren boasted, from their very beginning that their teachings represented a wide departure from the doctrines of both their predecessors and their contemporaries. They contended that all of the prominent commentaries, all of the Church fathers, all of the Reformers, were deluded by man-made doctrines. Only they were fully submissive to the Word of God.

The movement began in 1825. Even though he did not found the movement, by 1830 Darby was in control of the movement and began to develop the Brethren’s dispensational eschatology. Darby was born in Ireland in 1800. He was an honor student in Westminster and Trinity College, where he studied law. He was a successful lawyer until the age of twenty-seven, when he gave up his law practice to become a curate in the Church of England. In 1827 he left the Church of England to become a part of the Brethren movement. Darby had a magnetic personality, was a great organizer, and had indefatigable energy.

Darby and the Brethren claimed to have been given many “rediscovered truths” which had been taught by the apostles then lost by the Church. In 1845, Darby had a strong doctrinal disagreement with some the Brethren leadership and so he left the group and started his own church. had a strong disagreement over doctrine. Not long after, he began to promulgate his dispensational teaching.

The foundation of the teaching is based upon the belief that God’s program is divided into seven “dispensations.” Each of these dispensations begins a new and distinct method of testing mankind and each dispensational testing ends in failure.

Here is Charles Ryrie’s chart displaying the seven dispensations (Darby did not consider the Garden of Eden to be a dispensation and so he listed only six):

Name	Scripture	Responsibilities	Judgment(s)
Innocency	Genesis 1:3-3:6	Keep Garden...	Curses...
Conscience	Genesis 3:7-8:14	Do Good	Flood
Civil Government	Genesis 8:15-11:9	Fill earth...	Forced scattering..
Patriarchal Rule	Genesis 11:10-Exodus 18:27	Stay in Promised Land	Egyptian bondage..
Mosaic Law	Exodus 19:1 -John 14:30	Keep the Law...	Captivities
Grace	Acts 2:1- Revelation 19:21	Believe in Christ...	Death...
Millennium	Revelation 20:1-15	Believe & Obey...	Death...

Different advocates of Dispensationalism use different terms for the various dispensations.

Dispensationalists teach that God has two distinct bodies of people with whom He is working: Israel and the Church. There is a separate plan for each of these. Israel is said to be his earthly

people and the Church his heavenly people. Israel's expectation is for an earthly kingdom, the Church's hope is eternal bliss in heaven.

Dispensationalists teach that the purpose of the Lord's first advent was not to die on the cross for the sins of the world, but that He came to establish an earthly kingdom. Christ would have ruled this earthly, political kingdom, as He occupied the restored throne of David and all of the Old Testament prophecies would be fulfilled (i.e., children would play with ferocious animals, lions would eat straw, oxen would eat lion's food) and Jesus would have ruled over all with a rod of iron. This kingdom would have been a perfect continuation of David's kingdom with David's greater Son, Jesus, ruling in David's place for 1000 years.

Why did Christ fail in His attempt to establish a kingdom? Dispensationalists say that it was because his success depended on the consent of the Jewish nation. Dispensationalist S. D. Gordon wrote, "Everything must be done through man's consent...God proposes, man disposes. God proposed a king...and a worldwide kingdom with great prosperity and peace. Man disposed of that plan, for the bit of time and space controlled by his will."⁷⁴

If the Jews had accepted Jesus and the kingdom would have been established, then there would have been no reason for the cross. People would be "saved" by keeping the Law.

"It can be said at once that His dying was not God's own plan. It was conceived somewhere else and yielded to by God. God has a plan of atonement by which men who were willing could be saved from sin and its effect.

That plan is given in the Old Hebrew code. To the tabernacle or temple, under prescribed regulations, a man could bring some animal which he owned. The man brought that which was his own. It represented him."⁷⁵

There is a necessary apocalyptic element to Dispensational Premillennialism.

"Crucial to the dispensationalist reading of biblical prophecy is the conviction that the period of tribulation is imminent along with the secret rapture of the Church and the rebuilding of the Jewish Temple in place of, or along side, the Dome of the Rock. This will signal the return of the Lord to restore the Kingdom to Israel centred on Jerusalem. This pivotal event is also seen as the trigger for the start of the war of Armageddon in which most of the world's population together with large numbers of Jews will suffer and die"⁷⁶

⁷⁴ S. D. Gordon, *Quiet Talks about Jesus*, (Chicago, Fleming H. Revell) 1906, page 131

⁷⁵ Gordon, page 114

⁷⁶ Rev. Steven Sizer, *Christian Zionism: Dispensationalism And The Roots Of Sectarian Theology: A History of Dispensational Approaches* (www.theinformationclearinghouse) December 2000

Dispensationalists make a distinction between the *Kingdom of Heaven* and the *Kingdom of God*.

- The Kingdom of Heaven is Messianic and Davidic. It refers to Jesus, as the son of David, ruling the earth. This is a future kingdom, which will be in place during the Millennium.
- The Kingdom of God is a present kingdom in the world, during the Church age.

So, God had a plan to establish a Kingdom of Heaven, when Jesus came. Since the Jews rejected Christ, God implemented a “plan B,” which was and is the crucifixion of Christ and the establishment of the Church. The Church age is a “parenthesis” in God’s plan. The Church was established by God in order to fill in the *parenthesis* between the time the kingdom was rejected by Israel and the time when it will be reinstated.

Before the tribulation, the church will be raptured. After the tribulation, Christ will return to the earth with the Church and for 1000 years He will rule. Christians will be present, during that time, but will be subordinate to Israel, who will be His subjects in the millennial Kingdom of Heaven.

“When we reflect that, after He has “caught up in the clouds” His Church saints, our Lord is coming back to this earthly people, Israel, and will establish them in their land with a glorious millennial temple and order of worship to which the Gentile nations must and will submit: then we see that the present time is altogether anomalous! It is a *parenthesis*, in which God is making a “visit” to the Gentiles, to ‘take out of them a people for His name’; after which, James tells us, our Lord “will Himself return, and build again the tabernacle of David, which is fallen” (Acts 15:16), on Mount Zion, in Jerusalem, where David lived.”⁷⁷

Dispensational Views of the Great Tribulation.

One of the main components of the Dispensational teaching is the *Great Tribulation*⁷⁸. Even among Dispensationalists there are various views concerning the precise events surrounding the Great Tribulation. what it will be and how it will be played out. The following is a discussion of the various views on the subject of the Tribulation and how it works into the Dispensational scheme.

The term first occurs in Matthew’s record of the Mt. Olivet Discourse.⁷⁹

“For then there will be a great tribulation, such as has not occurred since the beginning of the world until now, nor ever will. (Matthew 24:21 NAU)

⁷⁷ W. R. Newell, *Romans Verse By Verse* (Chicago, Moody Press) 1938, page 335

⁷⁸ In Matthew 24:21, 29, the Greek term is θλίψις μεγάλη (*thlipsis megale*) i.e., “great tribulation; In Revelation 7:14 the term is τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης, i.e. “the tribulation, the great one.”

⁷⁹ Matthew 24-25, Mark 13, and Luke 21

"But immediately after the tribulation of those days the sun will be darkened, and the moon will not give its light, and the stars will fall from the sky, and the powers of the heavens will be shaken. (Matthew 24:29 NAU)

The other occurrence of the term is in Revelation 7:14.

I said to him, "My lord, you know." And he said to me, "These are the ones who come out of the great tribulation, and they have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. (Revelation 7:14 NAU)

Futurists teach that the Tribulation will occur during the end times, immediately before the Second Coming of Jesus. Dispensational Futurists, following the teaching of J. N. Darby, state that that the Tribulation will last seven years, and that it is the last of the seventy weeks prophesied in Daniel 9:24-27.

"Seventy weeks have been decreed for your people and your holy city, to finish the transgression, to make an end of sin, to make atonement for iniquity, to bring in everlasting righteousness, to seal up vision and prophecy and to anoint the most holy place.

²⁵ *"So you are to know and discern that from the issuing of a decree to restore and rebuild Jerusalem until Messiah the Prince there will be seven weeks and sixty-two weeks; it will be built again, with plaza and moat, even in times of distress.*

²⁶ *"Then after the sixty-two weeks the Messiah will be cut off and have nothing, and the people of the prince who is to come will destroy the city and the sanctuary. And its end will come with a flood; even to the end there will be war; desolations are determined.*

²⁷ *"And he will make a firm covenant with the many for one week, but in the middle of the week he will put a stop to sacrifice and grain offering; and on the wing of abominations will come one who makes desolate, even until a complete destruction, one that is decreed, is poured out on the one who makes desolate." (Daniel 9:24-27 NAU)*

The following is the Dispensationalist explanation of these numbers and how they relate to the Tribulation.

First, is the belief that the term, *weeks*, represents seven years. This is not a stretch of the imagination because the Hebrew term rendered *weeks* in most English versions, simply means, *a unit of seven* or, *a period of seven*.

So, the question has to be asked, "seven of what?" Dispensationalists and many End-time teachers conclude that the term refers to years – thus Daniel prophesies seventy periods of seven years i.e. 490 years are prophesied in Daniel 9:24 as being the period in which the Jews and Jerusalem are granted a season of existence - *to finish the transgression, to make an end of sin, to*

make atonement for iniquity, to bring in everlasting righteousness, to seal up vision and prophecy and to anoint the most holy place.

In verse 25, Daniel reveals that the counting of the seventy “weeks” is to begin when the decree is given for the restore and rebuild Jerusalem.

Three such decrees were given by Persian rulers:

- 536 BC Proclamation of Cyrus, resulting in 50,000 Jews, led by Zerubbabel returning to Jerusalem. They laid the foundation of the Temple, but through the interference of opposition from surrounding nations, the construction was halted for 15 years. During the reign of Darius, who was friendly to the Jews, the construction was resumed and the temple completed (516 BC). The walls of the city were not completed and the reconstruction of Jerusalem was not completed.
- 457 BC Artaxerxes (Queen Esther’s step-son) decreed that Ezra and a retinue of priests, musicians, and others who would be involved in Temple worship go to Jerusalem. They were given great wealth in gold, silver, and other valuables, to beautify the Temple. Ezra’s main assignment was to restore the Temple service, and to teach the Law to the people.
- 444 BC Artaxerxes dispatches Nehemiah to Jerusalem to complete the rebuilding of the wall surrounding Jerusalem.

Dispensationalists, as well as other teachers, consider Artaxerxes decree of 457 BC to be the most significant of the three decrees.

In Daniel 9:25, the prophecy states that from the time of the decree until the time of the Messiah will be seven weeks and sixty-two weeks = 69 weeks.

Based on this reckoning ($69 \times 7 = 483$) 483 years will pass between the time of the decree until the time of the Messiah. If one uses the 457 BC decree as the starting point, 483 years means that the time of the Messiah will be in 26 AD.

$$\begin{array}{r} 483 \text{ years} \\ - 457 \text{ BC} \\ \hline 26 \text{ years} \end{array}$$

According to most scholars, 26 AD is the date that Jesus was baptized by John the Baptist and thus began his earthly ministry (the chronology determined by when Herod was King, when Quirinius was Governor of Syria, etc. places the birth of Jesus in 4 BC. He began his ministry when he was thirty-years of age⁸⁰ i.e. 26 AD).

⁸⁰ Luke 3:23

Since Daniel had prophesied seventy weeks, and only 69 have been accounted for, that leaves one week (seven years) to be accounted for.

Because the Jews did not receive Jesus as their King, time was suspended for many centuries, until the time of the Great Tribulation. Suddenly, Jesus returns for His people (the rapture), and the Great Tribulation begins – a seven-year period of great horror upon the earth.

Some divide the seven-year Tribulation into two periods of 3.5 years each. This done because of the *middle of the week* mentioned in Daniel 9:27

*"And he will make a firm covenant with the many for one week, **but in the middle of the week** he will put a stop to sacrifice and grain offering; and on the wing of abominations will come one who makes desolate, even until a complete destruction, one that is decreed, is poured out on the one who makes desolate."*

This calculation also is based on Daniel 7:25, Daniel 12:7, and Revelation 12:14 which speak of *time, times, and half a time* which those who hold this belief interpret as meaning *a year, two years, and half a year*.

*'He will speak out against the Most High and wear down the saints of the Highest One, and he will intend to make alterations in times and in law; and they will be given into his hand for a **time, times, and half a time**.* (Daniel 7:25)

*I heard the man dressed in linen, who was above the waters of the river, as he raised his right hand and his left toward heaven, and swore by Him who lives forever that it would be for a **time, times, and half a time**; and as soon as they finish shattering the power of the holy people, all these events will be completed.* (Daniel 12:7)

*But the two wings of the great eagle were given to the woman, so that she could fly into the wilderness to her place, where she was nourished **for a time and times and half a time**, from the presence of the serpent.* (Revelation 12:14)

Dispensationalists, assume a 30 day month as the standard for the calculations in these passages. Thus, three and a half years (42 months of 30 days each) calculates to 1260 days. This is in keeping with the passages that do speak of period of 1260 days.

*Then the woman fled into the wilderness where she had a place prepared by God, so that there she would be nourished for **one thousand two hundred and sixty days**.* (Revelation 12:6 NAU)

*"And I will grant authority to my two witnesses, and they will prophesy for **twelve hundred and sixty days**, clothed in sackcloth."* (Revelation 11:3 NAU)

*"From the time that the regular sacrifice is abolished and the abomination of desolation is set up, there will be **1,290 days**.* (Daniel 12:11 NAU)

NOTE: Some Dispensationalists explain the additional 30 days of Daniel 12:11 (1290 days as contrasted with 1260 days in the other cited passages) to be the result of either a simple “intercalary leap month adjustment,”⁸¹ or due to further calculations related to the prophecy, or due to an intermediate stage of time that is to prepare the world for the beginning of the millennial reign.⁸²

The Fate of Christians During the Great Tribulation

Among Dispensationalists, there are three views concerning the fate of Christians during the Tribulation:

- **Pretribulationists** believe that all Christians (dead and alive) will be taken bodily up to Heaven (called the Rapture) before the Tribulation begins. According to this belief, every true Christian that has ever existed throughout the course of the entire Christian era will be instantaneously transformed into a perfect resurrected body, and will thus escape the trials of the Tribulation. Those who become Christians after the rapture (individuals who are left on the earth during the Tribulation) will live through (or perish during) the Tribulation. After the Tribulation, Christ will return to establish His Millennial Kingdom.
- **Prewrath Tribulationists** believe the Rapture will occur during the tribulation, halfway through or after, but before the seven bowls of the wrath of God (Revelation 15:17; 16:1; 17:1; 21:9)
- **Midtribulationists** believe that the Rapture will occur exactly halfway through the Tribulation, but before the worst part of it occurs. Midtribulationists differ from the Prewrath Tribulationists in that the Midtribs believe that the seven-year period is divided strictly into halves—the "beginning of sorrows" and the "great tribulation," whereas the Prewrathers consider that timing to be uncertain.
- **Posttribulationists** believe that Christians will not be taken up into Heaven, but will be received or gathered by Christ into the Kingdom of God on earth at the end of the Tribulation. "Immediately after the tribulation ... then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man [Jesus] ... and he shall gather his elect" (Matthew 24:29–31; Mark 13:24–27; Luke 21:25–27). Posttribulationists argue that the seventh trumpet mentioned in Revelation is also the last trumpet mentioned in 1 Corinthians 15:52, and that there is a strong correlation between the events mentioned in Isaiah 27:13, Matthew 24:29-31, and 1

⁸¹ Intercalation is the insertion of a leap day, week or month into some calendar years to make the calendar follow the seasons or moon phases. Lunisolar calendars may require intercalations of both days and months. The solar year does not have a whole number of lunar months (it is about 12.37 cycles of the moon's phases), so a lunisolar calendar must have a variable number of months in a year. Regular years have 12 months, but embolismic years insert a 13th "intercalary" or "embolismic" month every second or third year). Whether to insert an intercalary month in a given year may be determined using regular cycles such as the 19-year Metonic cycle (For example how the Hebrew calendar controls the determination of the annual date of Easter) or using calculations of lunar phases.

⁸² Lahaye, Timothy and Ice, Thomas. *Charting the End Times: A Visual Guide to Understanding Bible Prophecy*. (Tim LaHaye Prophecy Library(TM)) Harvest House Publishers 2001 pp. 66–67.

Thessalonians 4:16—thus creating a strong parallel, proving that the rapture occurs *after* the tribulation. Therefore, Posttribulationists see the rapture happening during the seventh trumpet, which would only mean that the rapture can never happen before the tribulation—according to this view. Significantly, 1 Thessalonians 4:16 states "the dead in Christ shall rise first" (the first resurrection) and Revelation 20:4-5 (after chapters 6-19 and after Satan is bound) says, "They came to life, and reigned with Christ a thousand years. The rest of the dead did not come to life until the thousand years were ended. This is the first resurrection. Blessed and holy is he who shares in the first resurrection!" The idea of a post-tribulation rapture can also be read into 2 Peter 3:10-13 where Christ's return is equated with the "elements being melted" and "the earth also and the works therein shall be burned up."

- In pretribulationism and midtribulationism, the Rapture and the Second Coming⁸³ of Christ are separate events
- In post-tribulationism the two events are identical or simultaneous.
- Another feature of the pre- and mid-tribulation beliefs is the idea that after the Rapture, Christ will return for a third time (The incarnation being the first coming) to set up his kingdom on the earth.

Many Roman Catholic theologians (as well as some Protestants), do not believe in a "time of trouble" period as usually described by tribulationists. Instead, they interpret an end-time season in which there will be a near utopian period led by the Antichrist.

Preterist Views of the Tribulation

Preterists believe that the Tribulation took place when Roman legions destroyed Jerusalem and its temple in AD 70⁸⁴ during the First Jewish–Roman War. Thus, according to this view, the Tribulation only affected the Jewish people rather than all mankind.

Preterists believe that the Tribulation was a divine judgment visited upon the Jews for their sins, including rejection of Jesus as the promised Messiah. Those who hold this view focus on the prophetic passages in Matthew 24, Mark 13 and Luke 21, rather than on the Book of Revelation.

Revelation is seen as a group of code symbols that refer to Rome, the Caesars and Roman persecution of Christians, rather than referring to the Tribulation which was experienced by the Jews.

⁸³ Greek, *παρουσία* - *parousia*; this is the term used 24 times in the NT for the Second Coming of Christ. The underlying thought conveyed by the term is *presence*.

⁸⁴ The **First Jewish–Roman War** (66–73 CE), sometimes called **The Great Revolt** (Hebrew: המרד הגדול, *ha-Mered Ha-Gadol*, Latin: *Primum populi Romani bellum in Iudaeos*), was the first of three major rebellions by the Jews of Judea Province (Iudaea) against the Roman Empire. The second was the Kitos War in 115–117 which took place mainly in the diaspora, and the third was Bar Kokhba's revolt of 132–135.

Jesus' warning in Matthew 24:34 that *this generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled*, is tied back to his similar warning to the Scribes and the Pharisees that their judgment would *come upon this generation* (Matthew 23:36). Preterists take the term, *this generation*, to be a literal statement concerning the very generation that was alive at the time and that all of the cataclysmic events spoken of in Matthew 24 are referenced in the expression, *all these things* (i.e. during the first century rather than at a future time long after the Scribes and Pharisees had died). A generation generally is considered to refer to a 40 year period - the destruction of the Temple in 70 AD occurred within a 40-years of Jesus' giving that discourse.

Matthew's, *The abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet* (Matthew 24:15). Luke wrote to a Gentile audience that was unfamiliar with Daniel, and so he uses the term, *armies*, surrounding Jerusalem to cause its *desolation* (Luke 21:20).

Since Matthew 24 begins with Jesus visiting the Jerusalem Temple and pronouncing that *there shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down* (vs. 3), Preterists see nothing in Scripture to indicate that another Jewish temple will ever be built (as some Dispensationalists teach), but rather that the prophecies were all fulfilled when the then-existing temple was destroyed in 70 AD.

Historicist Views of the Tribulation

The Historicist view applies Tribulation to the period known as *persecution of the saints*, described in Daniel 7 and Revelation 13. Thus, instead of expecting a single Antichrist to rule the earth during a future Tribulation period, Martin Luther, John Calvin and the other Protestant Reformers saw the Antichrist as a present feature in the world of their time, fulfilled in the papacy.

Some present-day Historicists, in agreement with these Reformers, teach that the Tribulation began as the *falling away*, which produced the Roman Catholic Church. However, from 20/21 Century view point, and using the year-day principle, conclude that Roman Catholic dominance of the Church began in 538 and ended 1260 years later – in 1798. Thus, the Tribulation is not a future event, but now in the past. Considering Matthew 24:29 to be parallel to Revelation 6:12-13,⁸⁵ these Preterists argue that the Tribulation ended when the signs and wonders began to occur among Christians in the late 18th Century.

⁸⁵ **Matthew 24:29:** *but immediately after the tribulation of those days the sun will be darkened, and the moon will not give its light, and the stars will fall from the sky, and the powers of the heavens will be shaken.*

Revelation 6:12:13 *I looked when He broke the sixth seal, and there was a great earthquake; and the sun became black as sackcloth made of hair, and the whole moon became like blood;¹³ and the stars of the sky fell to the earth, as a fig tree casts its unripe figs when shaken by a great wind. (Revelation 6:12-13 NAU)*

Twentieth Century Pentecostalism

As noted earlier, in anticipation of the coming century, some had labeled the 20th Century, *The American Century*, and others, *The Christian Century*. More recently, many have labeled the 20th Century, *The Pentecostal Century*, or, *The Charismatic Century*.⁸⁶

One could argue, legitimately that the amazing birth of *Pentecostalism* and its 1960's child, the *Charismatic Movement*, had as great an impact on the Church (world-wide, as well as in America) as did Luther's Reformation. The movement and its many expressions came to be known as "Third Force Christianity," (Catholicism and Protestantism being the first and second).

Nineteenth Century Precursors⁸⁷ to Twentieth Century Pentecostalism

Several "Holy Spirit movements" or one sort of another were birthed in the Nineteenth Century. We will take a cursory look at some of these and give a more detailed report of others.

The Catholic Apostolic Church

Although rarely mentioned today, the Catholic Apostolic Church was manifesting the phenomena associated with Twentieth Century Pentecostalism decades before the birth of American Pentecostalism.

The Catholic Apostolic Church was born out of the ministry of the Scotsman, Edward Irving. The Catholic Apostolic Church, which came into existence in Scotland in the 1830's believed that the Holy Spirit had restored the Ephesians 4:11 ministry gifts to the Church (apostles, prophets, evangelists, and pastor teachers). Tongues and prophecy were distinguishing elements in the meetings. Eschatology also was important. J. Nelson Darby and the Plymouth Brethren first encountered the concept of Dispensationalism through prophetic conferences led by Irving and others. Thus, the Dispensationalism that has marked the Pentecostal movement, owes that characteristic to the Catholic Apostolic Church. (for a more complete account of the CAC and Edward Irving, see ADDENDUM I).

Wesleyan Holiness Movement

No precursor to Pentecostalism had greater influence than the Wesleyan Holiness Movement. John Wesley's teaching of sanctification as a "second work of grace" was greatly neglected among American Methodists until the late 1830's. This changed when Charles Finney and Asa Mahan at Oberlin College began espousing a Wesleyan doctrine of Christian perfection or, to use

⁸⁶ Jack W. Hayford and S. David Moore, *The Charismatic Century* (New York, Warner Faith Pub.) 2006

⁸⁷ We have chosen the term, *precursors*, rather than *roots*, because some of the events may not have been directly related to the birth of Pentecostalism, but they were contributors to the spiritual atmosphere in which Pentecostalism was born.

their term, a “second conversion.”⁸⁸ Most advocates of Holiness perfectionism used the term, “The Second Blessing” and it was understood to be a dramatic work of the Holy Spirit. Some advocates used the term, “baptism in the Holy Spirit,” but most did not.

In essence, the doctrine stated that with the event, one was sanctified, perfected, and lived a sinless life thereafter.

Impacted by this teaching, prominent Methodists, Walter and Phoebe Palmer in New York City, began to espouse the doctrine within the circle of their influence. Thus, was born the American Holiness Revival.

Phoebe Palmer, more than her husband, influenced the movement. Although the Palmers and Wesley both considered the sanctifying event to be a distinct event, they differed on its timing. Wesley viewed the event as something that would take place after a season of spiritual maturing. Mrs. Palmer however, tended to make the experience “the beginning of days” for the Christian.⁸⁹ She called upon every believer to recognize the biblical promise of the fullness of the Spirit and to receive the experience by consecration and faith – NOW. The result was that the American holiness revival came to emphasize crisis stages of salvation at the expense of an emphasis on growth in grace. Dramatic and even revolutionary experiences frequently became the hallmark of Christian life and witness. This distinctive revolutionary crisis experience eventually became a hallmark of Pentecostalism.⁹⁰

A controversy developed over the issue of the need to verify the authenticity of the crisis experience. The experience was seen as the touchstone of one’s standing before God. A person had to have a firm witness to the experience’s reality. Mrs. Palmer insisted on a public testimony be given to what God had done in the life of the person who had been sanctified by this Second Work of Grace. She taught that neglecting to do this would result in the possible loss of the newly gained relationship with God.⁹¹

The focus on experience led to the emphasis of a “feeling” as evidence of the Spirit’s presence. Emotional and physical evidences were important to those who were leading and participating in

⁸⁸ Melvin E. Dieter, “Weslyan-Holiness Aspects of Pentecostal Origins: As Mediated through the Nineteenth-Century Holiness Revival” in *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins*, Vincent Synan, Editor (Plainfield, NJ, Logos International) 1975, page 60

⁸⁹ Dieter page 62

⁹⁰ *ibid*

⁹¹ Some advocates of the Holiness Movement took issue with Mrs. Palmer. The esteemed Methodist leader, Nathan Bangs, argued that Mrs. Palmer promoted “easy believism.” He argued that the blessing should not be claimed publically it could be demonstrated that the Holy Spirit’s work in the soul was complete, rather than claiming the work to be done before evidence could be demonstrated. (Dieter, page 63)

the Holiness Revival Movement. The Holiness camp meetings did not experience the excesses of earlier frontier camp meetings, but still there was a Methodist enthusiasm for “getting blessed.” The holy shout, dance, jump, or trance under the power of the Spirit, were so common that unless one did not visibly “demonstrate,” his spirituality would be called into question.⁹²

One of the leading Holiness Movement advocates was Hannah Whitall Smith, the author of the Holiness classic, *The Christian's Secret*. In her autobiography, she wrote of the anguish of her soul over the lack of having some sort of experience, whereas her husband, Robert Pearsall Smith had received his experience in good Methodist style. She yearned for an experience that would “assure me that I had really received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit.” She never claimed to have found that experience.⁹³

The Holiness Revival Movement gave birth to the National Association for the Promotion of Holiness. Adam Wallace, reporting on the second National Camp Meeting of the Association, held in Manheim, Pennsylvania, described a prayer meeting in which two thousand were in attendance.

“All at once, as sudden as if a flash of lightning had fallen upon the people one... burst of agony and of glory was heard in all parts of the congregation...the sensation was as if a strong wind had moved from the stand over the congregation.”⁹⁴

These emphasis and experiences clearly were precursors to the Pentecostal Movement of the 20th Century.

There were a number of issues that divided the Holiness Movement. One of the most controversial was the question of healing – “was physical healing a part of the atonement?” Strong advocates on both sides of this issue caused serious rifts in some regions. Some leaders took a position, argued strongly for it, but later took the opposite view. For example, R. Kelso Carter, author of the well-known Gospel song, *Standing on the Promises*, in a book published in 1877, argued that healing was in the atonement. Twenty years later, in another publication, he retracted that position.⁹⁵

⁹² Dieter, page 64

⁹³ Ray Strachey and Rachel Cosstelo, eds. *Religious Fanaticism : Extracts from the Papers of Hannah Whitall Smith* (London: Faber and Gwyer) 1928, pages 166-177

⁹⁴ Dieter, page 66

⁹⁵ Russell Kelso Carter, *The Atonement for sin and sickness: or a Full Salvation for Soul and Body* (1884); *Faith Healing after Twenty Years* (1897 as cited by Dieter page 69

Another issue that caused division was the question of whether the work of the Spirit was for sanctification or for empowerment for ministry. This question plagued the early Pentecostal Movement as well.

The American Holiness Movement bore fruit in England when leaders of the American movement visited England and began to lead meetings there. The result was the Keswick Higher Life Movement, which differed from traditional Wesleyanism on specifics of sanctification. In a boomerang fashion, the Keswick Higher Life Movement had influence in the American Holiness Revival when leaders from both sides of the Atlantic traveled back and forth to preach at camp meetings.

Alexander Dowie and the Divine Healing Movement

Dowie began his ministry in Australia. When an epidemic hit the town in which he was ministering, and many died, he began to pray for his congregation. He believed that God had shown him that Divine Healing was a gift for the contemporary Church. After he began praying with this belief in mind, none of his congregation died. From that time onward, Dowie's message was that of a healing evangelist. Because of legal problems, he left Australia and established himself in San Francisco, California.

He became quite well known in California as a result of his wide-spread healing campaigns that he conducted in that state. Once again, because of legal problems he had to relocate. He moved to Chicago, where, after a few years, he developed a large healing ministry. Near the turn of the Twentieth Century, he established the city of Zion, Illinois, north of Chicago. Dowie's character flaws caused many problems, including frequent lawsuits and arrests for one thing or another.

In spite of the legal problems, thousands flocked to Zion to attend Dowie's healing meetings. The message of Divine Healing, proclaimed by Dowie, was a major topic among churches of every stripe. After two strokes, and being discredited even by his own appointed subordinates and his wife, he died a broken man, March 11, 1907.

Many of the early Pentecostal Movement leaders had been impacted by Dowie and most of the notable healing evangelists of the early to mid-Twentieth Century followed in his train (for a fuller presentation of Dowie and his work, see ADDENDUM J).

The Birth of Twentieth Century Pentecostalism

Historians who write about the birth of Pentecostalism disagree as to whether the title, "Father of the Movement," belongs to Parham or Seymour. We will not arbitrate that dispute, but will present the story in chronological order. Parham first, then Seymour.

Charles Fox Parham began his ministerial career in Linwood, Kansas, as a supply preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church. As a Methodist minister, he taught entire sanctification as a second work of grace in the life of the believer. During the last decade of the Nineteenth Century, Parham had come into contact with those in the Holiness Movement who taught that healing was in the atonement. He also attended some services of the Fire-Baptized Movement, associated with the teaching of Edward Irving. Although he rejected the emotionalism of these meetings, he did accept their teaching that there was a third experience for the believer – *baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire* (the first experience being conversion and the second being entire sanctification).

After 1895, “come-outism” became quite popular among Methodists and Parham was caught up in that movement. He left the Methodist Episcopal Church and professed an anti-denominational view for the rest of his life.

In 1898, Parham felt led to establish a “divine healing home” in Topeka where the sick could come for healing prayer. Accordingly, the Bethel Healing Home was established that year and Parham also began publishing a bi-monthly journal, *Apostolic Faith*. Two years later, he established a school in Topeka, Bethel Bible School. The school began in 1899 in a large stone mansion that the locals called, “Stone’s Folly,” because the builders had run out of money and never were able to finish the building. Forty students associated with the Holiness Movement gathered there for the only year that the school was to operate.

Parham’s theology had come from many sources. In addition to the influence of the Holiness Movement, he had traveled to Zion, Illinois, to hear Alexander Dowie. From there, he went to Nyack, New York, to listen to A. B. Simpson, of the Christian and Missionary Alliance. After that, he went to Shiloh, Maine, to examine Mr. Sandifer’s “Holy Ghost and Us” Church.⁹⁶

When he returned to Topeka, Parham was convinced that something beyond sanctification would be needed “to meet the challenge of the new century.”

By December, 1899, Parham had led his students through a study of the Holiness Movement, including the doctrine of sanctification and perfectionism. He next began leading them through a study of Acts. As they were beginning to look at Acts Chapter Two, he had to leave for three days to fulfill a speaking engagement. He instructed his students to unite together in a study of the Scriptures to see if there were any definitive evidence that one had received the baptism in the Holy Spirit. When he returned, he asked the students if they had reached any conclusion. To his astonishment, all of them said that they had concluded that the evidence of having been baptized in the Holy Spirit was the “evidence of speaking in tongues.” They said that they had

⁹⁶ The full name of the church was, *The Church of the Living God for the Evangelization of the World, Gathering of Israel, New Order of Things at the Close of the Gentile Age*

deduced this from their study of the four events in Acts that they understood to describe the baptism in the Holy Spirit and that tongues was one of the results of each of these episodes.

As the New Year approached, Parham and the students planned a Watch Night prayer meeting on December 31, 1899, that was to last into the next morning – the first day of the new century. During that service one of the students, Agnes M. Ozman, asked Parham to lay hands on her and pray for her to receive the baptism in the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues. Sometime after midnight, in the first hours of the New Century, that Miss Ozman began speaking “in the Chinese language” and a “halo seemed to surround her head and face.” For three days, according to the report, she was not able to speak in English and when she tried to write she wrote in Chinese characters. By most students of the movement, this event is considered to be the birth of the Twentieth Century Pentecostal Movement.

The rest of the students desired the same thing and shortly thereafter, they also received the same experience. Interestingly, Parham did not receive this manifestation until somewhat later. When he did receive it he began to proclaim this new doctrine in all of his services.

News of what was happening in Stone’s Folly quickly reached the Topeka press and from thence to Kansas City. Soon, reporters, government interpreters, and language experts converged on Topeka to investigate his phenomena. The newspaper, *The Topeka Capitol*, reported in headlines, “A Queer Faith, Strange Acts, . . .Believers Speak in Strange Languages.” The *Kansas City World*, wrote about the phenomena and soon all of the wire services were reporting the events. When Parham and a group of his students visited Galena, Kansas, the *Cincinnati Enquirer* reported that it was doubtful if anything had aroused interest and curiosity to the degree that the events in Galena had done.

A remarkable claim made during the Galena meetings was the students, all Americans, had spoken in twenty-one known languages, including French, German, Swedish, Bohemian, Chinese, Japanese, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Russian, Italian, Spanish, and Norwegian. In an interview with the *Kansas City Times*, Parham stated that none of his students had studied any of these languages and that native speakers, hearing the students, had confirmed the validity of the languages.

Parham began to teach that missionaries did not need to study foreign languages to go to the mission field. All that they needed was baptism in the Holy Ghost, which imparted to them the ability to speak the language of the field to which they were called.

Parham closed the school in 1901 and for the next four years conducted a whirlwind tour of revivals, mostly in Kansas and Missouri. In 1905, at the request of friends in Houston, Texas, he relocated to that city and established a school there, calling it simply, *The Bible Training School*.

The next significant figure in the early Pentecostal Movement was William Seymour. Seymour was a “Louisiana- born, Southern Negro, with little or no knowledge of religious history.”⁹⁷ Seymour was a short, stocky man, with only one eye. While quite young, he had left Louisiana and moved to Houston to be the minister of a Baptist Church in the Houston area. In Houston, he came in contact with the Holiness Movement and came to accept the Second Work of Grace Sanctification doctrine. When he heard of Parham’s school, he determined to try to attend to improve his education in religious matters.

There was a problem. Racial segregation in Houston dictated that Seymour could not attend Parham’s classes. His great thirst for knowledge and his passion for the things of God caused Parham to violate the cultural standards and he did allow Seymour to attend daytime classes.⁹⁸ From Parham, Seymour heard that the Holiness Movement had been wrong, that baptism in the Holy Spirit was not sanctification, but rather, a third experience, totally different from the “second blessing.” Seymour accepted Parham’s teaching without question.

Even though almost everyone who studied at Parham’s Houston school “received the baptism” and spoke in tongues, Seymour never had that experience. The *Houston Chronicle*, sent reporters to the school who wrote that Houstonians were witnessing miracles, as “students speak in all tongues known to man.” Some claimed that twenty Chinese dialects were spoken while others were able “to command the classics of a Homer or talk the jargon of the lowest savage of the African jungle.”⁹⁹

This publicity brought many visitors to the services and, as a result, many of the visitors received the Pentecostal experience as taught by Parham. One such visitor who received the “baptism” was a Los Angeles native, a Negro lady named, Neely Terry. Miss Neely’s family had been members of a Baptist Church in Los Angeles. However, when they accepted the Holiness doctrine of sanctification, they had been excommunicated. They, along with some others, formed a small Negro holiness mission, associated with the Church of the Nazarene (the Nazarene denomination, growing out of the ministry of Phineas Breese, was and is a perfectionist-sanctification denomination). The group had elected a Mrs. Hutchinson to be their pastor. When Miss Neely returned to Los Angeles, she suggested to the group that they invited William Seymour to become the pastor of their little church. Seymour accepted.

⁹⁷ Vinson Synon, *The Holiness Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Grand Rapids, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.) 1971, page 103

⁹⁸ Some have reported that Seymour sat in the hall, outside the classroom, listening to the lectures. However, it is difficult to verify that report.

⁹⁹ Synon, page 104

When Seymour preached his first sermon at the Nazarene Church on Santa Fe Street, he took as his text, Acts 2:4 and declared that speaking in tongues was the first evidence of having received the Holy Spirit. Interestingly, Seymour had not received that gift at the time.

Mrs. Hutchinson, upset because this was contrary to Nazarene doctrine, padlocked the door to the building to keep Seymour from preaching this aberrant doctrine to her flock. Seymour did not know what to do. One of the church members, Richard Asbury, who did not accept Seymour's doctrine, but felt sorry for the man, invited him to stay with him, temporarily. Seymour ignored his host's doubts about the doctrine and as a few members of the Nazarene Church came to meet with him in Asbury's living room, Seymour preached his doctrine. The address was 312 Bonnie Brae Street.

As Seymour continued to minister, prayer services of several hours length began to take place. On the night of April 9, 1906, Seymour and seven others fell on the floor in religious ecstasy, and began speaking tongues. Asbury's daughter who witnessed the event was so terrified by what she saw that she fled through the kitchen door. News of these events spread quickly through the neighborhood and crowds began gathering. The prayer meetings moved to the front porch. One night, Jennie Moore, the future Mrs. Seymour, began to play the piano and sing in what was thought to be Hebrew. Demonstrations of tongues became so frequent and loud that huge crowds, both black and white, began to fill the street outside of 312 Bonnie Brae. Seymour addressed the crowds from a makeshift pulpit on the front porch.

Seymour realized that a larger meeting place was needed. He found an abandoned Methodist Church building at 312 Azuza Street. The building was in a business district and had been used in recent years as a tenement house, and then as a livery stable. The building was in shambles, with windows and doors broken out with straw on the floor. Even so, the location was far from residential areas and so all night prayer meetings could be held without disturbing anyone. Also, the building would not intimidate the down and outers who might not want to attend a church building with stained glass windows and all of the religious paraphernalia.

Crowds followed Seymour to the Azuza Street location. Scores of people began to "fall under the power" and speak in tongues. It is not surprising that news of these events reached the *Los Angeles Times*. The *Times* article that followed was denigrating. However, one interesting element in this report: in the meeting a man had a vision in which he saw the people of Los Angeles "flocking in a mighty stream to perdition." He then prophesied "awful destruction to this city unless its citizens are brought to a belief in the tenets of this new faith." Awful destruction did come the next day, but to San Francisco, not Los Angeles. The April 18 California earthquake devastated San Francisco, Los Angeles sister city. This event stirred up the Azuza Street congregation.

The revival and its phenomena became known, not only throughout America, but throughout the world. Trainloads of visitors arrived in Los Angeles to witness the events and to seek the baptism in the Holy Spirit. All races were represented at this stage of the revival.

Several Los Angeles churches spun off the Azuza Street revival. All across the nation, churches and prayer meetings were born with the central focus being the Pentecostal baptism in the Holy Spirit.

Often, some critic would come to the meeting with the intention of being able to leave and report that the entire movement was folly, but left being convinced of its genuineness. An example of such was a foreign born reporter from the *Los Angeles Times*. He came to report on the “circus like” atmosphere of the meetings. While he was there, an ignorant woman rose to her feet, looked him straight in the eye and spoke in his native tongue, reciting details about his life that she could not have known. He left convinced of the authenticity of the tongues experience.

The first white man to receive the baptism was A. G. Carr, pastor of a holiness mission in Los Angeles. After having receive his “baptism,” he and his wife went to India to serve as missionaries. Because they had spoken in tongues, they expected to be able to preach to the natives in their own language. This turned out be a fiasco. They finally left India to become missionaries in China and to learn the Chinese language in the traditional manner...through study.

Parham visited Azuza Street in October 1906. He was appalled and offended by what he saw. He considered the “Holy Roller” aspects of the meetings to be “extreme fanaticism that has gone beyond the bounds of common sense and reason.” He had conflict with the leadership and the relationship between Seymour and Parham was severed, never to be repaired. For the rest of his life, Parham spoke evil of the Azuza Street meetings.

One thing that offended Parham was the interracial mingling of blacks and whites. Later, he told of his disgust as “Men and women, whites and blacks, knelt together or fell across one another; a white woman, perhaps of wealth and culture, could be seen thrown back in the arms of a big ‘buck nigger,’ and held tightly thus as she shivered and shook in freak imitation of Pentecost. Horrible, awful shame!”¹⁰⁰ Parham later became an ardent segregationist and in his later years offered praise to the Klu Klux Klan.¹⁰¹

This racial prejudice seems to be out of sync with Parham’s earlier years in Houston, when he ministered in black churches and, from time to time, went against the prejudicial culture of South Texas. He encouraged whites, blacks, and Mexicans to convene in evangelistic meetings,

¹⁰⁰ Hayford & Moore, page 86,

¹⁰¹ *ibid*

without any reference to race. In the 1906 Apostolic Faith Movement Camp meeting, held in Houston, Parham invited Sister Lucy Farrow, a black woman, to be one of the major speakers. So, one has to wonder about his racism and his attitudes toward blacks in his later years – was there always an underlying racism within him that he rejected – or was it something that developed in later years because of his resentment of the manner in which blacks were becoming as prominent (more prominent?) in the movement that he? That question cannot be answered, but the facts are what they are.

For most of his life after the Topeka events, Parham's home base was Baxter Springs, Kansas. He held annual Apostolic Faith Convocations at Baxter, which were attended by thousands of his followers. He died, January 29, 1929.

In time, white people stopped attending the Azuza Street meetings, and the revival was over by 1911 (some say by 1909). Azuza Street Mission continued as a black congregation for a number of years. Seymour left the church and traveled as an evangelist throughout the United States, establishing a number of churches in various states. He wrote and edited a book, *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Apostolic Faith Mission* to help those who had the responsibility of leading the churches he had helped to establish. He died, September 28, 1922.

Throughout his life, Seymour was a humble, non-assuming man of God. He did not seek a place of prominence, nor did he seek to reap any financial benefit from his role in the Azuza Street events. By 1911, the early Pentecostal movement had developed a life of its own and Seymour became a forgotten figure. In his last years, he was saddened by the manner in which whites had moved away from him. Although he always urged his small congregation to “love our white brothers,” there is no doubt of his disillusionment that his dream of racial harmony through the Holy Spirit went unrealized. Seymour saw himself as someone who had been rejected by the people whom God had called him to serve, and in his later years he was plagued with a sense of inadequacy.¹⁰²

Seymour died of a heart attack on September 28, 1922. His wife, Jennie, led the ministry until her health failed in 1929.

In 1931, The Azuza Street building was torn down. A prominent Pentecostal denomination turned down the opportunity to buy the building, stating, “We are not interested in owning relics.”¹⁰³

Pentecost Moves South

In order to track the growth of Pentecostalism we must revisit the Holiness controversy in the Methodist Church.

¹⁰² Hayford page 92

¹⁰³ Synan, page 116; Hayford page 92

As already noted, the core Methodist doctrine of perfection and sanctification as a second work of grace, was being neglected by Methodist Churches, both in America and Britain. Even though there had been a rebirth among some, resulting in the Holiness Movement, the doctrine experienced opposition among some of the Methodist denominational establishment.

Prior to the 1880's, the Methodist seminaries and colleges were advocates of the Second Work Grace doctrine (sinless perfection, as a second work of the Holy Spirit following conversion). After the 1880's, these denominational schools began to reject the doctrine. In 1884, Wilbur F. Tillett, a theologian from Vanderbilt University, openly challenged the doctrine of Second Grace Sanctification. He called all varieties of Holiness teaching, "semi-pelagian,"¹⁰⁴ and that the Holiness wing of the Methodist Church was trying "to convince Methodists that they could attain salvation through willing it."¹⁰⁵

In the Northern Methodist Church, theological liberalism and the Social Gospel had come to characterize the denomination to the point that the Holiness emphasis was seen as a relic of the past.

One reason for the opposition among Southern Methodists was the formation of various Holiness societies that were not constrained by denominational loyalty. As significant numbers of Methodist ministers began to warm toward the Holiness emphasis, the denominational establishment's opposition became quite pronounced.

Atticus Greene Haygood became the leading Southern Methodist Church spokesman for the anti-Second Blessing group. Haygood was a prominent Georgia minister who later became a leading Methodist bishop. In 1885, he was asked to speak at the Oxford District Conference on the subject of sanctification. In this address he denied the need for a "Second Blessing" of instantaneous holiness. He argued that sanctification was a lifetime process, rather than a crisis experience. For the next decade, Haygood led the opposition to the Holiness movement and under his leadership, the movement was discredited among Southern Methodists.

The great turning point took place in 1894 at the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Haygood was the presiding Bishop at this conference. Under his leadership the conference issued the following statement:

¹⁰⁴ Wesleyism teaches that man cannot respond to God unless God first extends to a person the grace to make that positive response ("Prevenient Grace"). In contradiction to the Methodist/Wesley view, semi-Pelagianism states that man can make the first move toward God out of his own free will, and that man can cooperate with God's grace even to the keeping of his faith through human effort.

¹⁰⁵ Synan, page 48

“But there has sprung up among us a party with holiness as a watchword; they have holiness associations, holiness meetings, holiness preachers, holiness evangelists, and holiness property. Religious experience is represented as if it consists of only two steps, the first step out of condemnation into peace and the next step into Christian perfection. The effect is to disparage the new birth, and all stages of spiritual growth from the blade to the full corn in the ear....We do not question the sincerity and zeal of these brethren; we desire the church to profit by their earnest preaching and godly example; but we deplore their teaching and methods in so far as they claim a monopoly of the experience, practice, and advocacy of holiness, and separate themselves from the body of ministers and disciples.”¹⁰⁶

To Holiness partisans, the 1894 statement meant that there was no hope of restoring Methodism to its former emphasis on holiness as a Second Work of Grace. Furthermore, with this statement, the denomination began a “war of extermination” of Holiness Movement advocates.¹⁰⁷ The 1894 statement gave impetus to the “come-out” movement among Methodist ministers who held the Second Work of Grace holiness doctrine.

The National Holiness Association had been holding great camp meetings for several years. The NHA would have been a ready vehicle for launching a new Holiness denomination. Some of the delegates to the Association leadership meetings urged that this be done. However, this never was done. On the other hand, the leadership consistently urged Holiness advocates to not become “come-outers” but to remain in the denomination and work toward bringing about denominational change.

The “come-outers” felt that they had tried to bring about change and that it was futile to continue to try to bring about change. In Georgia, Royston J. H. King, who later became the General Superintendent of the Pentecostal Holiness denomination, made the decision to leave the denomination in 1898, after being “almost forced to separate from the church I loved better than life.”¹⁰⁸

As a result, Twenty-three Holiness denominations were formed in the seven years between 1893 and 1900.

- In 1895, in Los Angeles, California, “come-outer” Methodists, Phineas Bresee and Dr. J. P. Widney formed the first congregation of the Church of the Nazarene. In time, this denomination became the largest Holiness denomination in the nation.
- Second in size to the Church of the Nazarene was the Pilgrim Holiness Church, born in 1897, in Cincinnati, Ohio, under the leadership of Methodist minister, Martin W. Knapp. Originally

¹⁰⁶ Synan, page 50

¹⁰⁷ Synan, page 51

¹⁰⁸ Synan, page 52

called the International Apostolic Holiness Union,” the church changed its name to the Pilgrim Holiness Church in 1922 as a result of mergers with several other small Holiness denominations.

The Fire Baptized Holiness Church

One of the most radical Holiness Churches that was born in this period was the “Fire Baptized Holiness Church.” From its birth, this church manifested traits that would characterize the future Pentecostal Movement,

The Fire Baptized Holiness Church was born through the ministry of Benjamin Hardin Irwin, of Lincoln, Nebraska. Irwin was born and reared in Missouri. His first profession was that of an attorney. When he was converted in a Baptist Church, he gave up his law practice and became a Baptist preacher in Lincoln, Nebraska. Lincoln was a part of the Iowa Baptist Association. Through some Baptist preachers from Iowa, Irwin heard Holiness teachings. Since they pointed back to Wesley, he began to study the writings of Wesley and Wesley’s associate, John Fletcher. He especially was taken with Fletcher, who wrote about a “baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire.” Having already “received sanctification” from the Iowa Holiness preachers, he began to seek the “baptism with fire.” Eventually, he received the experience which was accompanied by great ecstasy and demonstrations of joy. Afterward, he began to preach a third work of Grace, a fire-baptized experience in addition to sanctification. When individuals received the baptism with fire, there frequently were physical demonstrations of some sort, and occasionally tongues were manifested.

Irwin had become a frequent contributor to Holiness periodicals and so he began promoting this third experience in his writings. Among other things, he advertised his booklet, *Baptism of Fire* (2 cents per copy).

Many thousands attended Irwin’s mass meetings and claimed to have received the “baptism of fire,” but the greater part of the Holiness Movement rejected his message. Even so, the Fire-Baptized movement continued to grow in rural areas of the Middle West and the South. Irwin was able to purchase a publishing company and began a nationally distributed journal promoting his doctrines. Both black and white congregations originally constituted the movement, but after a few years blacks formed their own Fire Baptized denomination. Not surprisingly, most Fire-Baptized Holiness Churches early-on became Pentecostal Churches.

The Church of God in Christ

The most common name chosen by new-born Holiness Churches was *Church of God*. The first Church of God of any significance was formed by D. S. Warner, in Anderson, Indiana, in 1880.

One of the largest black denominations in America is the Church of God in Christ. Two Missionary Baptist preachers, C. H. Mason and C. P. Jones. In 1894, while in Lexington, Mississippi, they encountered the Holiness teaching of entire sanctification. They accepted the

doctrine and began to preach sanctification in Baptist churches. Soon, the Baptist Association expelled them.

After being expelled by the Baptists, in 1897 Mason and Jones began a series of revival meetings in a Lexington cotton gin. The result was the birth of a new denomination, the Church of God in Christ. The new denomination was chartered in Memphis, Tennessee in late 1897. This was the first Holiness denomination to be chartered south of the Mason-Dixon line. As a result, scores of white Holiness ministers sought and received licensing and ordination in the Church of God in Christ.¹⁰⁹ Such ordination granted to these ministers special clergy rates on the railroads, exemption from the draft, clergy discounts at some retail stores, and the ability to legally perform marriages.

In 1907, news of the Azusa Street events became known to Jones and Mason. Jones was cool to the idea of speaking in tongues. Mason, on the other hand felt drawn to investigate what was going on in Los Angeles. He persuaded two of his fellow ministers of the denomination, J. A. Jeter and D.J Young, to travel with him to California. When they arrived in Los Angeles, they immediately went to Azusa Street and found a meeting in progress, and to their delight, everything was being led by a fellow Negro, even though most who were attending the service were whites. They stayed five days, and all three men received the Pentecostal experience of speaking in tongues. They returned to Memphis as full-blown Pentecostals.

When they arrived in Memphis, they found that another Azusa Street pilgrim, a white man named, Glen A. Cook, had preceded them. Cook had been preaching the Pentecostal message among Church of God in Christ members and had made many converts. Jones became offended by the Pentecostal preaching of Mason and Cook. The controversy became so heated that in a General Assembly of the church, held in Jackson, Mississippi in August 1907, Jones was able to get the assembly to disfellowship Mason and Cook.

Many members of the congregation what had received the Pentecostal experience followed Mason and Cook. These soon formed another denomination. The two groups vied for the original name, and an acrimonious legal battle ensued. Finally, in 1907, the courts of Shelby County, Tennessee, awarded the victory to Mason and his Pentecostal party.¹¹⁰ From that time forward, this group has been, The Church of God in Christ. This new denomination kept the Holiness teaching of sanctification as a second work of grace (thus keeping it in the Holiness tradition), but added the Pentecostal experience as a third work.

Jones changed the name of his denomination by adding a parenthesis to the end of the name: the Church of God in Christ (Holiness).

¹⁰⁹ Synan, page 89

¹¹⁰ Vincent Synan, *The Twentieth-Century Pentecostal Explosion* (Altamonte Springs, Florida, Creation House) 1987, Page 79

Mason outlived all of the other founders of the denomination and his followers came to call him, “Greater than the Apostle Paul.” The Church of God in Christ, under the leadership of Bishop C. H. Mason became the world’s largest Pentecostal denomination.

Church of God Cleveland Tennessee

Another group was formed when in 1896 three evangelists held a revival in Schearer Schoolhouse in Cherokee County, North Carolina. One unusual aspect of this revival was the fact that several of those who received sanctification spoke in other tongues as they “prayed through.” This caused great excitement among the mountain folk of both Baptist and Methodist denominations. The denomination that formed from this series of meetings became the Church of God of Cleveland, Tennessee – which became a major Pentecostal denomination.

Pentecostal Churches of God

Another denomination, The Pentecostal Churches of God, was born out of the preaching of R. G. Spurling Sr., R. G. Spurling Jr., W. F. Bryant, and A. J. Tomlinson. This group tried to study the New Testament Church and see what practices had been neglected or altered by contemporary denominations. One of their conclusions was that foot-washing was a necessary component to observing the Lord’s Supper. Foot-washing continued as an abiding characteristic of the Pentecostal Churches of God.

The Finished Work Controversy

A problem began to develop in the early Pentecostal Movement when large numbers of people began to enter the movement from backgrounds that had no connection to Wesley nor to Keswick. Most of these came from some sort of Baptist background. To these, sanctification was a life-time process, not a crisis experience.

The man who most vigorously and most effectively promoted this view was William H. Durham. Durham was originally from Kentucky and his first religious affiliation was in the Baptist church, which he joined in 1891, but was not converted to Christ until seven years later while in Minnesota, where he experienced a vision of the crucified Christ. After this life-changing experience Durham immediately devoted the rest of his life to full-time ministry. He became pastor of Chicago’s North Avenue Mission in 1901. The North Avenue Mission was located in an area of the city populated by recently arrived immigrants to the United States.

When news of the Pentecostal outpouring and manifestations of spiritual gifts reached Chicago, Durham initially responded positively. In time, he began to question the doctrine that tongues was/is the initial evidence of the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Because he knew a considerable number of people who testified that they had spoken in tongues he spent extended time of prayer and study of the subject. He concluded that “all experiences [he] had ever seen, [his] own included, were far below the standard God lifted up in the Acts.”

Durham eventually visited the Azusa Street Mission in 1907 and received the baptism of the Holy Spirit and spoke in tongues on Mar. 2, 1907. It was at this time that W.J. Seymour prophesied that wherever Durham preached, the Holy Spirit would fall upon the people.

When Durham returned to his the North Avenue Mission in Chicago, the Pentecostal revival spread quickly through his own church and he became a key figure in establishing the Pentecostal movement in Chicago. His overcrowded meetings lasted far into the night and sometimes until morning. Durham reported in his periodical, *The Pentecostal Testimony*, that “it was nothing to hear people at all hours of the night speaking in tongues and singing in the Spirit” and that “a thick haze ... like blue smoke” often rested on the mission. Durham reported that when this haze was present, those entering the building would fall down in the aisles.¹¹¹

Durham rejected the Parham-Seymour Holiness-Pentecostal doctrine of crisis sanctification. He noted the disappointment of those who claimed the doctrine, but still found that their carnal nature remained. Many resonated with his view. He began to proclaim, “Finished Work” theology. Durham taught that sanctification took place at the time of conversion and that the Christian then progresses in grace throughout his life.

In a 1910 Pentecostal Convention in Chicago, Durham forcefully entered the fray and sought to discredit the Wesleyan point of view. He said this,

“I began to write against the doctrine that it takes two works of grace to save and cleanse a man. I denied and still deny that God does not deal with the nature of sin at conversion. I deny that a man who is converted or born again is outwardly washed and cleansed but that his heart is left unclean with enmity against God in it.”¹¹²

In February 1911, Durham took his crusade to the Los Angeles, the New Jerusalem of Pentecostalism. By this time the leading Pentecostal center in Los Angeles was the Upper Room Mission, pastured by Elmer Fisher. When Durham delivered his message, he was told that he was not welcome in the Upper Room Mission.

William Seymour was off on a preaching tour at this time and so Durham went to Azusa Street. By this time, the mission had been abandoned by the white Pentecostals; the congregation consisted totally of blacks, who held strongly to the Wesleyan views of Parham and Seymour. Even so, Durham had considerable success in the mission .. until Seymour returned. When Seymour returned and learned what Durham was preaching, Seymour and the trustees locked Durham out of the mission.

¹¹¹Thomas William Miller, “The Significance of A.H. Argue For Pentecostal Historiography”, *Pneuma* 8 (Fall 1986). Page 123

¹¹² William W. Menzies, “Non-Wesleyan Origins of Pentecostal Movement” in *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins*, Vinson Synan, editor, (Plainfield, NJ, Logos) 1975, page 91

Durham had won over two influential Pentecostal leaders, Frank Ewart and Frank Bartleman. Bartleman arranged for Durham to minister in another location and the crowds became so huge – more than 1000 every Sunday – that it became necessary to rent a sizeable building on the corner of Seventh and Los Angeles Streets.

Feelings became intense and even Bartleman was disappointed by the vituperation that Durham displayed in his publication, *The Pentecostal Testimony*.

Even so, in time, Durham's view eventually prevailed among the tiny missions that dotted the countryside and which were not already locked into one of the Pentecostal denominations that held to the Holiness-Pentecostal tradition.

The Birth of the Assemblies of God

Early Pentecostals, no doubt influenced by Parham's anti-denominationalism, avoided any hint of inter-church organization. In various parts of the nation, groups of ministers did gather in local "associations" for mutual encouragement and fellowship. One of the earliest was the "Apostolic Faith Movement," which first met in Orchard, Texas in April, 1906, under Parham's leadership. In 1909, for various reasons, the group broke away from Parham and accepted the leadership of two Texas Pentecostal ministers, E. N. Bell and Howard A Goss. In 1911, the group dropped the name, "Apostolic Faith Movement," and the ministers in the group accepted credentials from C. H. Mason's, Church of God in Christ.

At the same time that this was happening, another group in was developing in Alabama, under the leadership of H. G. Rodgers. Meeting in Dothan, Alabama, in 1909, this group, without any knowledge of Tomlinson's Cleveland, Tennessee, group, adopted the name, "Church of God." They began to issue ministerial credentials to its pastors. When they learned of Mason's church, they changed their name to Church of God in Christ.

Thus, at this time, there were three groups looking to Mason, to some degree, and operating under the name, Church of God in Christ: the one in Texas led by Bell; the one in Alabama, led by Rodgers; and Mason's own group in Memphis.

The two white groups, the one in Texas led by Bell and the one in Alabama led by Rodgers, became increasingly dissatisfied with their existing ecclesiastical arrangements with Mason (Mason was a strong and somewhat domineering leader). In June 1913, these two groups met in Meridian, Mississippi, and effected a merger. The result was an all white group with 352 ministers. The group continued to have a relationship with Mason and continued to use the name, Church of God in Christ. However, they began to issue credentials that superseded those issued by Mason.

Two journals representing the Church of God in Christ were in operation: *The Word and Witness*, was edited by M.M. Pinson; *Apostolic Faith* was edited by Bell. In late summer, the

decision was made to merge the two journals into one, using the name, *The Word and Witness*. Bell was chosen to be the editor. Many in the white churches began to discuss forming an all-white denomination, with no connection to Mason. The December 20, 1913, issue of *The Word and Witness* called for a General Council of all “Pentecostal saints and Churches of God in Christ,” to meet the following April in Hot Springs, Arkansas “to discuss various problems common to all.”¹¹³ No invitations were sent to black ministers, but Mason and some of his associates did attend as observers. Mason was asked to preach on Thursday night and his choir sang one special number. Mason’s sermon was, “The Wonders of God as seen in the Lowly Sweet Potato.”

Although the three-hundred ministers and laymen who attended the April 2-12, 1914, gathering declared that they had no desire to create another sect or denomination, they did just that. They adopted a resolution, *Preamble and Resolution of Constitution*, and created a new denomination with the name, “General Council of the Assemblies of God.” M.M. Pinson (a “finished work” advocate) delivered an address, “The Finished Work of Calvary,” followed by the group’s adopting a statement of faith. The statement included the usual Pentecostal emphasis on speaking in tongues, but also included an article that stated that sanctification was “progressive,” rather than instantaneous. Thus, the new Assemblies of God was placed firmly outside of the Wesleyan/Methodist camp and in the Finished Work camp.

This constitution became the model for other Finished Work Pentecostal denominations that formed after 1914. One way that the new denomination differed from other Southern Pentecostal groups that had formed previously, was in ecclesiology. Other groups had been strongly episcopal, following the Methodist model, with a series of bishops, etc., overseeing groups of churches. The new denomination was strongly congregational in government – similar to the Baptist model, rather than the Methodist model.

The formation of the Assemblies of God signaled the end of the interracial experiment that had been characteristic of most Pentecostalism up to that time. The Assemblies became a predominately white church (a minority of blacks were affiliated with the new AG) whereas the Church of God in Christ became exclusively black.

Another thing that the organization of the Assemblies signaled was the end of efforts to unite all Pentecostals under one umbrella. Since the Assemblies had rejected instantaneous sanctification, the Pentecostal movement was divided between those of Holiness second work advocates and those who held to the Assemblies’ Finished Work doctrine. Efforts to produce doctrinal unity among Pentecostals came to an end.

¹¹³ Synan, page 152

Oneness Pentecostalism

The new denomination soon became wracked buy a “new issue.” This controversy threatened to destroy the new denomination while still in its infancy. The issue became known as “Jesus Only,” or “Oneness,” or “Pentecostal Unitarianism,” had cropped up the year before the historic 1914 Hot Springs meeting.

Like the Pentecostal movement itself, this new doctrine had its origin in Los Angeles. A “world-wide” camp meeting was held near Los Angeles in 1913. Pentecostal ministers from across the United States were in attendance. During a baptismal service being held outside the large camp-meeting tent, the officiating minister, R. E. McAlister, casually mentioned that “the apostles invariably baptized their converts once in the name of Jesus Christ... that the words, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were never used in Christian baptism.”¹¹⁴

When McAlister uttered these words a shudder went through the ministers assembled on the platform. One minister, not seated on the platform, left to the platform to warn McAlister from using that language or it would “associate the camp with a Dr. Sykes who so baptized.”

Not everyone reacted in this manner. One preacher, John G. Scheppe “spent the night in prayer and toward morning “was given a glimpse of the power of the name of Jesus.” He began to run through the camp, awakening the campers as he shouted out his new discovery. The following day, campers searched the Scriptures, concerning the name of Jesus.

One of the most influential Pentecostal leaders of that era was Frank J. Ewart. Ewart was a native of Australia, who had been a Baptist pastor in Canada and Oregon. When he accepted the Pentecostal doctrine he was expelled from the Baptists in 1908. He moved to Los Angeles where he became an assistant to William Durham, and when Durham died, Ewart became his successor. Ewart soon began to embrace the “Jesus Only” view, but cautiously spent a year in formulating his new doctrine. He preached his first Jesus Only sermon in Belvedere, just outside of Los Angeles, in 1914. In the sermon, Ewart stated that the name of God was, Jesus, and that the terms, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, were merely terms used to designate various aspects of Jesus’ person. Therefore, the idea of a Trinity was a mistake which had been foisted upon the Church by Constantine at the Council of Nicea in 325 AD.

One of Ewart’s first converts was Glen A. Cook, who had been a co-founder with Mason of the Church of God in Christ. To correct this historical error, the two men set up a tank in a tent and on April 15, 1914, rebaptized one another “in the names of Jesus” (note: this was two days after the close of the historic April 2-12, 1914 historic meeting in Hot Springs that gave birth the Assemblies of God). The two men then launched a nation-wide campaign to reconvert and rebaptize the entire Pentecostal Movement.

¹¹⁴ Synan 154

One of the few Negro preachers of the newly founded, Assemblies of God was G. T. Haywood in Indianapolis. Haywood pastored one of the largest Assemblies of God churches. Cook visited Haywood's church and converted to Oneness doctrine, Haywood and 465 members of the church. Because Haywood's church was a significant church his defection caused great alarm among the AG denominational leaders. A special meeting was called in Little Rock, to combat this heresy. Over the next couple of years, the battle waxed strong and heavy. By the end of 1915, it appeared that the Oneness doctrine was going to prevail in the Assemblies. To stem the tide, two Assemblies leaders, Rosewell Flower and John W. Welch, organized a resistance movement and rallied the AG Trinitarians for a last-ditch stand. In October 1915, the Third General Council of the Assemblies of God met in St. Louis. Both Unitarians and Trinitarians sent large delegations, both ready to engage in the conflict. Even though dissension was strong, the council passed a resolution adverse to the Unitarian view. The delegates adjourned the meeting knowing that the conflict was not over.

In October, 1916, the Fourth General Council which met in St. Louis, settled the issue. The meeting was filled with controversy to the degree that every preacher present was forced to take a stand one side or the other. Bell originally had been in the Unitarian camp, but by the time of this conference he had become, once again, Trinitarian. The Trinitarians, under the leadership of Flower, Welch, Pinson, and Bell, to gain control. Although the young denomination had vowed never to write a formal creed, because of the pressing issue at hand, a committee was appointed to draft a "Statement of Fundamental Truths" to guide the church in the future. Members of the two factions listened as the committee read what it had produced, a strongly Trinitarian document.

The Unitarians, realizing that they had lost, left the meeting in disgust, and made plans to meet later to organize their own sect. The result was that out of 585 ministers, 156 left the AG to align with the new group. Some of the Pentecostal Unitarian groups that were born out of this controversy are:

- Affirming Pentecostal Church International
- Apostolic Assemblies of Christ
- Apostolic Assembly of the Faith in Christ Jesus
- Apostolic Gospel Church of Jesus Christ
- Apostolic Overcoming Holy Church of God
- Assemblies of the Lord Jesus Christ
- Bible Way Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ
- Churches of Jesus Christ International
- Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ of the Apostolic Faith
- Pentecostal Assemblies of the World
- United Pentecostal Church International

The last of these, the United Pentecostal Church, is the denomination that is most influential Unitarian Pentecostal denomination in the Midwest.

Albert Benjamin Simpson and the Christian and Missionary Alliance

Albert Benjamin Simpson born in Cavendish, Prince Edward Island on December 15, 1843, was reared in a strict Calvinistic Scottish Presbyterian and Puritan tradition. He made a decision for Christ and was converted in 1859 during a revival led by an Irish evangelist, Henry Grattan Guinness.¹¹⁵ He had an excellent theological education in the Presbyterian, Knox College, the theological department of the University of Toronto. From the age of 21 until the age of 30 Albert pastored Presbyterian Churches in Canada.

In December 1873, at age 30, Simpson left Canada and assumed the pulpit of the largest Presbyterian church in Louisville, Kentucky, the Chestnut Street Presbyterian Church. While at Chestnut Street he became concerned about the fact that the dignified Presbyterian Church was not reaching the “common man.” He became frustrated by the church’s lack of concern for evangelizing and especially by its failure to be concerned about the salvation of the unreached masses. In order to facilitate what he felt he was being called to do, he built a simple “tabernacle” for that purpose.

In 1880, Simpson was called to the Thirteenth Street Presbyterian Church in New York City where he immediately began reaching out to the world with the gospel. In addition to his active evangelistic work in the church, he also published a missionary journal, *The Gospel in All Lands*, the first missionary journal with pictures. Simpson also founded and began publishing an illustrated magazine entitled *The Word, Work, and World*. By 1911, this magazine became known as *The Alliance Weekly*, then *Alliance Life*, and is now called *a.life*. It continues to be the official publication of The Christian and Missionary Alliance, in the USA and Canada.

By 1881, after two fruitful years at Thirteenth Presbyterian, he resigned in order to begin an independent gospel ministry to the many new immigrants and the neglected masses of New York City. Simpson always saw education as a tool for reaching the masses. He began informal training classes in 1882 in order to reach "the neglected peoples of the world with the neglected resources of the church". By 1883, a formal program was in place and ministers and missionaries were being trained in a multi-cultural context (This school was the beginning of Nyack College and Alliance Theological Seminary). In 1889, the church that had formed as a result of Simpson’s school moved into its new home at the corner of 44th St. and 8th Ave. The church named its new building, “The New York Tabernacle.” The Tabernacle became the base of both his ministry of evangelism in the city, and also of his growing work of worldwide missions.

Since childhood, Simpson had lived with serious physical illness. When he came to the conviction that divine healing was a part of the blessing of abiding in Christ as Life and healing,

¹¹⁵ Guinness was a famous non-conformist Irish evangelist – he was a part of the famous Guinness Brewery family.

he experienced a healing from his infirmities. Out of this experience and his new-found conviction on the subject, he emphasized healing in his preaching. He began to devote one meeting a week for teaching, testimonies and prayer on this topic. Although such teaching isolated him (and the C&MA) from the mainline churches that either did not emphasize or outright rejected healing, Simpson's uncompromising trust in the Word and power of God kept him steadily forging ahead of his times without criticism or rancor with those who disagreed.

Simpson's disciplined upbringing and his natural genius made him a most effective preacher. After a few years, he developed his unique gospel of Jesus, that came to be described as the "Four Fold Gospel":

- Jesus our Savior,
- Sanctifier,
- Healer,
- and Coming King

The Four Fold Gospel is symbolized in the logo of the C&MA : the Cross, the Laver, the Pitcher and the Crown.



He came to his special emphasis in ministry through his own healing and his absolute Christ-centeredness in doctrine and experience. Simpson's heart for evangelism was the driving force behind the creation of the C&MA. Initially, the Christian and Missionary Alliance was not founded as a denomination, but as an organized movement of world evangelism.

In his 1890 book, *A Larger Christian Life*, Simpson discussed his vision for the church:

“He is showing us the plan for a Christian church that is much more than an association of congenial friends to listen once a week to an intellectual discourse and musical entertainment and carry on by proxy a mechanism of Christian work; but rather a church that can be at once the mother and home of every form of help and blessing which Jesus came to give to lost and suffering men, the birthplace and the home of souls, the fountain of healing and cleansing, the sheltering home for the orphan and distressed, the school for the culture and training of God's children, the armory where they are equipped for the battle of the Lord and the army which fights those battles in His name. Such a center of population in this sad and sinful world!”¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ A. B. Simpson, *A Larger Christian Life*, (New York, Christian and Missionary Alliance Publishing Company) 1890 page 153

During the beginning of the twentieth century, Simpson became closely involved with the growing Pentecostal movement. It became common for Pentecostal pastors and missionaries to receive their training at the Missionary Training Institute founded by Simpson (now Nyack College, Nyack, New York). As a result, Simpson had a great influence on Pentecostalism. Two groups, the Assemblies of God and the Church of the Foursquare Gospel especially were influenced by Simpson's teaching. This influence included evangelistic emphasis, Simpson's "fourfold gospel", and Simpson's hymns¹¹⁷ and books.

A severe division developed within the C&MA over "the initial evidence doctrine" that was causing serious division within Pentecostalism. Simpson wholeheartedly embraced the "Filling of the Holy Spirit" and the spiritual gifts, including speaking with tongues. However, he rejected the position that tongues was the only initial evidence for that Baptism experience. Simpson taught that the primary evidence of the "filling" is the Fruit of the Holy Spirit (Galatians 5:22-23) and that a very strong evidence is "fruitful ministry."

As a result of Simpson's view on the subject of tongues, the CM&A has become famous for its policy of "seek not, forbid not." The result is that few in the CM&A speak in tongues¹¹⁸

Aimee Semple McPherson and the Four-Square Church

No one did more to bring Pentecostalism out of the "back side of town," than did Aimee Semple McPherson. In her time she was the most publicized Christian evangelist, surpassing Billy Sunday and her other predecessors. She preached to more people than anyone had every done before or since – with the possible exception of Billy Graham with his television broadcasts.

- She conducted public faith-healing demonstrations before large crowds. Tens of thousands of people testified to their being healed.
- She was one of the earliest and most vocal preachers who declared that the United States is a nation founded and sustained by divine inspiration.
- McPherson's preaching style, extensive charity work and ecumenical contributions were a major influence in the survival and revitalization of biblically-based American Christianity in the 20th century.

An underlying theme of her broad ministry was Hebrews 13:8 *Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and to day, and for ever.*

Modernist Christianity asserted that the miracles of Jesus were superstitious interpretations of what actually occurred, or metaphors for his teachings, or outright fabrications. McPherson's ministry challenged these views. One might deny the reports of a God who did something 1,900 years ago, but large crowds of people attending McPherson's meetings witnessed the blind seeing, the lame walking and the deaf hearing. Alleged healings occurred faster than the

¹¹⁷ Simpson composed the lyrics of 120 hymns

¹¹⁸ Hayford, page 117

journalists could write them down. McPherson's central focus, was the Gospel message of salvation. In response to the evidence of miraculous healings, crowds rushed to the altar to experience New Testament conversion; it would be impossible to number the hordes of people who found their lives transformed by Jesus Christ through her meetings.

For that reason, we give extensive to her and to her ministry.

She was born Aimee Elizabeth Kennedy on a farm in Ingersoll, Ontario, Canada. Her father, James Kennedy, and her mother, Mildred – known as Minnie, were devout Christians. Her father was a Methodist; her mother was a very committed Salvation Army member. Aimee's later ministry modeled what she saw in her mother's working with the poor in Salvation Army soup kitchens. As a child she would play "Salvation Army" with her classmates. At home she would gather her dolls into a congregation and preach the Gospel to them.

She was a very attractive teenager with a youthful exuberance and a flair that caused her to be quite popular with her peers. She enjoyed life and found herself caught between the strictures of her parents' holiness code (both Methodist and Salvation Army) and the social life of Ingersoll. She openly violated these codes by reading novels and going to movies and dances, activities which were strongly disapproved of by both the Salvation Army and the Methodist faith of her father. When novels made their way into the Methodist Church library, Aimee, with guilty delight, would read them. At the movies, she recognized some of her fellow Methodist church members. One evening, at a local dance, she learned that her dancing partner was--of all things... a Presbyterian minister!

In high school, she was taught Charles Darwin's *Theory of Evolution*. One day, her stunned father almost fell backwards while carrying a pan of milk up the basement stairs, when she asked him, "How do you know there is a God?" She began to quiz visiting preachers and local pastors about faith and science, but was unhappy with the answers she received. Aimee came to the conclusion, that in spite of the unsatisfactory answers she received from church leaders, she would trust the Bible and consider the theory of evolution to be folly. She became a very able spokesperson for the biblical creation account – and was so throughout most of her life. While still a teenager, she wrote to the Canadian newspaper, *Family Herald and Weekly Star*, questioning why taxpayer-funded public schools had courses, such as evolution, which undermined Christianity.

In the midst of her struggle between following the holiness codes of her parents and the fulfillment she found in her teenage social activities, a Pentecostal missionary from Ireland, Robert James Semple, arrived in Ingersoll, December, 1907, and began a series of revival meetings. Aimee attended the meetings and became fascinated by the message about the baptism in the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues – especially when the sermon was delivered with an "Irish lilt." While listening to Semple's preaching, Aimee came under the conviction that she need to fully surrender her life to Christ, even if it mean forsaking the social life that she loved. After several days of inner struggle, she yielded her life to God's call and not long after was "Spirit baptized," and spoke in tongues.

Aimee fell in love with the evangelist and after a short courtship, the couple was married on August 12, 1908 in a Salvation Army ceremony. As a part of the ceremony, they pledged never to allow their marriage to lessen their devotion to God nor lessen their faithfulness in the "Army." Their notion of Army was very broad, encompassing much more than just the Salvation Army. Such a broad view of God's Army would be a characteristic of Aimee's later endeavors.

In order to support his new bride, Robert went to work in a foundry and preached at the local Pentecostal mission. Together, the couple studied the Bible and Aimee claimed that Robert taught her all that she knew (some associates who knew that couple, state she was far more knowledgeable than she let on).

After a few months, the Semples, did what many Pentecostals of their day were doing - they moved to Chicago and became part of William Durham's Full Gospel Assembly. Under Durham's tutelage, Aimee was discovered to have a unique ability in the interpretation of speaking in tongues. She teamed up with Durham translating his tongues messages with dramatic eloquence.

When Robert and Aimee felt called to the foreign mission field, Durham accompanied them to their departure and blessed them as they embarked first to Europe, and then to China. They arrived in Hong Kong in June 1910. Aimee was about six months pregnant. Shortly after arriving in Hong Kong, they made a short trip into China and both contracted malaria. Robert also contracted dysentery. Robert Semple died of the illnesses on August 19, 1910, and was buried in a Hong Kong Cemetery. Aimee Semple was only 19 years old when Robert died. She was left alone to give birth to her daughter, Roberta, on September 17, 1910.

Her mother, Mildred Kennedy wired her funds for the return journey to the United States. On-board ship, Aimee Semple started a Sunday school class then held other services as well. Almost all the passengers attended. On her departure, a collection was taken by the ship's purser and the amount given was just enough to pay for travel to her hometown. Robert Semple never left her thoughts; she displayed his photo in her parlor and spoke of him glowingly, even dreamily, in her sermons, as a lifelong inspiration.

Shortly after her recuperation in the United States, Semple joined her mother Minnie working with the Salvation Army in New York City. While in New York City, she met Harold Stewart McPherson, an accountant. They were married and moved to Rhode Island. In March, 1913, a son was born, Rolf Potter Kennedy McPherson.

Aimiee tried to live the life of the dutiful housewife. She had a devoted husband, a fine home, and two lovely children, but often was miserable because she was denying her "calling" to go preach. She helped with worship services in several Pentecostal churches in and around the Providence, Rhode Island area, but this did not satisfy the voice within her, which told her to go and do the work of an evangelist.

In the winter of 1913-1914, she fell seriously ill, and after a failed operation she was left in the holding room where patients were taken to die. McPherson, recounting the event, said that in her delirium, she again heard the persistent voice, asking her to go preach. Feeling that she had to choose between death or preaching, she made a choice – she would accept the challenge of the voice and dedicate her life to preaching the Gospel. The nurse attending the “death room” was astounded as McPherson suddenly opened her eyes and turned over in bed without pain.

One spring morning in 1915, her husband returned home from the night shift to discover McPherson had left him and taken the children. A few weeks later, a note was received inviting him to join her in evangelistic work.

Harold followed his wife, planning to take her back home. However, when he saw her preaching to a crowd, she was not the troubled woman of the last two years, but she was confident, radiant, and lovely. Before long Robert had the Pentecostal experience, was speaking in tongues, and became her fellow worker in Christ. Their house in Providence was sold and he joined her in setting up tents for revival meetings and even did some preaching himself.

During this period, the McPhersons "lived by faith." People, unbidden, would appear and donate goods. They often laundered their clothing in the local ponds and creeks. Aimee became an excellent angler as they fished in those same ponds and creeks for their meals. In a later sermon, using an experience as a sermon illustration, she described how, in St Petersburg, Florida, as soon as she had a good catch on her line, a pelican would swoop in and swallow it. She would then have to reach down past its beak into the pelican's gullet and pull her fish out.

In spite of his initial enthusiasm, Robert grew weary of living out of their "Gospel Car" and wanted a life that was more stable and predicable. After an argument he returned to Rhode Island and filed for separation. Aimee hoped for reconciliation and reunion, but Robert wanted no more of being married to an Evangelist. He petitioned for divorce, citing abandonment; the divorce was granted in 1921.

From 1915-1921 Aimee crisscrossed the United States by car and by rail. McPherson was a physically strong woman. She hefted a maul to hammer in tent stakes and involved herself in all the physical labor a revival setup required. She could fix her car, move boulders and drag fallen timber out of the road, as she traveled to her preaching destinations.

She always was accompanied by her mother, Minnie Kennedy and often by her two children. At first she struggled to gain an audience. Standing on a chair in some public place, she would gaze into the sky as if intently observing something there, perhaps reaching upwards as if to gesture for help or supplication. An audience, curious as to what the woman was doing or looking at, would gather around her. Then after 20 minutes to an hour, she would jump off the chair, declare something to the effect "I have a secret to share with you, follow me..." go to a nearby meeting room she had earlier rented out. Once inside, the doors were shut behind them and McPherson would begin her sermon.

Pentecostals were viewed by many as being strange, with their loud, raucous unorganized meetings. McPherson, perhaps because of her Methodist upbringing, kept an order to her meetings. She wanted to create the enthusiasm a Pentecostal meeting could provide, with its "Amen Corner" and "Halleluiahs Chorus" but also wanted to avoid unbridled chaos as participants started shouting, trembling on the floor and speaking in tongues. Although McPherson practiced speaking in tongues, she rarely emphasized it. On the other hand, she did not wish to quench any who suddenly came into "the Spirit." To accommodate this she set up a "tarry tent or room" away from the general area for any who suddenly started speaking in tongues or display any other Holy Ghost behavior that might put off the larger audience.

Healing became a central part of her meetings and by 1919 people were flocking to her meetings to be healed of sickness and affliction. Aimee always emphasized that she was not a healer, but that Jesus is the healer. Testimonies of healings and miracles became a part of her crusades and she soon was filling the largest auditoriums in city after city. In 1917 she began publishing a magazine, *The Bridal Call*, that popularized her teaching and helped to develop a support base. Some of the stories of healing reported in the magazine were quite spectacular. A 1920 healing of a little boy in Washington, D.C., is an example. His mother carried her little boy forward so that the evangelist could pray for him. As the evangelist began to pray for the child,

“She rubbed the twisted flesh of his knees and thighs... she took his wrists and his hands high over his head. Three men in black suits mumbled around him while Aimee held his wrists. Suddenly he felt pulled up from his knees, by a draft, toward the ceiling. He stood on straight legs, not legs that he could remember, and took his first steps toward his mother.

‘My God! Look at my son! He walks...’ The mother’s lower lip trembled; she began crying; she picked her child up and held him in her arms, kissing him.

When she put him down, the boy started out into the aisle. He hesitated at first, then walked faster, and gradually began to run...

‘Look, mama, look,’ he cried out, ‘see how I can run! Oh, mama, see! You’re crying...but look, mama, I can run and I doesn’t hurt me either.’”¹¹⁹

Aimee often would pray for hours over the sick until each one had received a personal touch, leaving her exhausted by the end of the service. In August 1921, doctors from the American Medical Association in San Francisco secretly investigated some of McPherson's local revival meetings. The subsequent AMA report stated McPherson's healing was "genuine, beneficial and wonderful."¹²⁰

Even though physical healing was a major feature, the proclamation of salvation in Jesus Christ always was central with thousands responding to the invitation to receive Christ. (For an extensive discussion of her healing ministry, see ADDENDUM K)

¹¹⁹ Hayford, pae 143

¹²⁰ Epstein, page 233

In 1918, land and money were provided for a home that was built for her, Minnie, and the children. In 1920, she felt drawn to Echo Park in Los Angeles. She and her mother found a plot of land and later in the year the plot was purchased with plans to build a wooden structure seating 2500 people. Because the attendance at the meetings began to expand beyond expectations they realized that the building need to be bigger and eventually, a marble structure seating more than 5000 was erected.

Though she was ordained by the Assemblies of God, many Methodist and Baptist pastors outside of Los Angeles supported her. She emphasized ecumenism. When converts came forward in her crusades, they filled out cards and were referred to existing churches in the community. This upset some AG stalwarts. In 1920, she accepted credentials from the Methodist Church. When disputes over the title to the property in Los Angeles arose - the denomination wanted to have a claim on it – she decided to conclude her denominational affiliation in January 1922.

In 1922, during a successful campaign in Oakland, she preached from Ezekiel 1:4-10 and declared the “Foursquare Gospel.” As she talked about the four living creatures, she said that the four faces of each creature, a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle, typified, the full-orbed ministry of Jesus:

- Christ the Savior
- Christ the Baptizer with the Spirit
- Christ the Healer
- Christ the Coming King.

In her parlance, this “Fourfold Gospel” replaced the term, “Full Gospel,” and from that time forward, the Fourfold was her Pentecostal message.

Her sermons were dramatic. She employed a group of artists, electricians, decorators, and carpenters who built the sets for each Sunday’s service. She wrote operas, included animals in her presentations, and had an outstanding orchestra. In service after service, the Temple was filled to capacity.

One thing for which the ministry was noted was its outstanding charity work and provision of food for the poor – this reflected her history with the Salvation Army. She had a home for unwed mothers, and a day care center for children of working mothers. The Temple commissary was the only place in town that one could get food, clothing, and blankets with no questions asked. It was open 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, and had a soup kitchen, free clinics, and other charitable activities as the Great Depression wore on. (for a fuller discussion of her charities, see ADDENDUM L)

On May 18, 1926, McPherson went with her secretary to Ocean Park Beach north of Venice Beach to swim. Soon after arriving, McPherson was nowhere to be found. It was thought she had drowned.

McPherson was scheduled to hold a service that day; her mother Minnie Kennedy preached the sermon instead, saying at the end, "Sister is with Jesus," sending parishioners into a tearful frenzy. Mourners crowded Venice Beach and the commotion sparked days-long media coverage fueled in part by William Randolph Hearst's *Los Angeles Examiner* and a stirring poem by Upton Sinclair to commemorate the tragedy. Daily updates appeared in newspapers across the country and parishioners held day-and-night seaside vigils. One parishioner drowned while searching for the body, and a diver died of exposure.

Ransom demands began to arrive. One note demanding \$25,000 was conveyed by a lawyer who claimed contact with the kidnappers. Another note from the "Revengers" demanded \$500,000. The handwritten "Revengers" note later disappeared from the LA Police evidence locker and the lawyer was found dead in a suspicious accident before his claim could be adequately investigated. A second lengthy typewritten ransom letter from the "Avengers" arrived June 19, 1926, demanding \$500,000 or else kidnappers would sell McPherson into "white slavery." The note stated that their prisoner was a nuisance because she was incessantly preaching to them. The lengthy, two-page poorly typewritten letter also indicated the kidnappers worked hard to spread the word McPherson was held captive, and not drowned. McPherson's mother regarded the notes as hoaxes, written by people who were taking advantage of McPherson's absence. She believed that her daughter was dead.

Shortly thereafter, on June 23, McPherson stumbled out of the desert in Agua Prieta, Sonora, a Mexican town across the border from Douglas, Arizona. The Mexican couple she approached thought she had died when McPherson collapsed in front of them. An hour later she stirred and the couple covered her with blankets. She claimed she had been kidnapped, drugged, tortured, and held for ransom in a shack by two men and a woman, "Steve," "Mexicali Rose," and another unnamed man. She also claimed she had escaped from her captors and walked through the desert for about 13 hours to freedom.

Following her return from Douglas, Arizona, McPherson was greeted at the train station by 30,000–50,000 people, more than Los Angeles had ever seen come together in honor of any other person at that time. The parade back to the temple even elicited a greater turnout than President Woodrow Wilson's visit to Los Angeles in 1919. Aircraft flew low overhead, dropping roses, which drifted around McPherson as she stood surrounded by white-robed flower girls from Angelus Temple.

The fire department was out in their parade uniforms and high ranking Los Angeles officials formally greeted her return.

Already incensed over McPherson's influential public stance on evolution and the Bible, most of the Chamber of Commerce and some other civic leaders, including some prominent church leaders, were upset by the welcome. Those who opposed her always were seeking to discover some sort of scandal in her private life. Lurid tales of sexual affairs were planted in newspapers, which were all too happy to report them. None of the scandalous reports ever were proven to be

true and most of them clearly were disproven. An informal alliance was formed to determine if her disappearance was the result of something other than a kidnapping (see ADDENDUM M).

In spite of all of the negative press generated by the controversy surrounding her kidnapping, she emerged from the kidnapping nationally famous. It is estimated that ten percent of the population in Los Angeles held membership in her Temple.¹²¹ For a time, movie studios competed with each other offering McPherson long-term contracts.

In 1927, the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel was incorporated. Thousands considered the Temple to be their home church and there were a number of branch churches associated with the ministry. She was a pioneer in the use of media, being the second woman to be granted a radio license – the ministry had its own radio station which broadcast her sermons and teachings daily (Station KFSG).

Because of the popularity of the new-born talking pictures, McPherson believed that the new media had the potential to transform Christianity. She explored Hollywood culture and appeared in newsreels alongside other famous individuals such as Mary Pickford, Frances Perkins, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. As she identified more with that culture, she lost weight, cut and dyed her hair, and became stylish and well attired. A critic wrote McPherson "can out-dress the Hollywood stars." She justified her actions by saying that as she drew audiences to herself, she used that to draw people to Christ.

This caused problems in her organization, especially among those from a Holiness background. They yearned for Sister Aimee "in the old time dress," referring to her previous "trademarked" uniform of a navy cape over a white servant's dress (both of which had been purchased inexpensively in bargain basements).

Other members of the Temple and much of the Temple staff, loved it and her Angelus Temple services remained hugely popular throughout her life. Unless parishioners arrived early, they frequently they could not get in because all of the seats had been taken.

Aimee preached as many as twenty sermons a week, while maintain a grueling schedule of writing, organizing, radio broadcasts, and traveling. In 1930, exhausted, she had a nervous breakdown that sidelined her for almost a year. Her children had married and she was alone and sick. On September 13, 1931, she married a baritone, David Hutton, who sang in one of her operas. This caused a problem in the Temple, because her husband, Robert McPherson, was still alive (he had remarried). The marriage ended in divorce two and a half years later, and McPherson publically repented for having married, saying that it had been a mistake both for theological and personal reasons.

¹²¹ Roberts Liardon, *God's Generals* Vol. 7 DVD 2005

The well-known hymn writer and nationally known song evangelist and composer, Homer Rodeheaver,¹²² asked her hand in marriage in 1935, but she turned him down.

On September 26, 1944, McPherson went to Oakland, California, for a series of revivals, planning to preach her popular "Story of My Life" sermon. When her son went to her hotel room at 10:00 the next morning, he found her unconscious. She was dead by 11:15.

It was later discovered she previously called her doctor that morning to complain about feeling ill from the medicine he had prescribed, but he was in surgery and could not be disturbed. She then phoned another doctor who referred her to yet another physician. It seems that she lost consciousness before the third doctor's answering service could contact him.

The autopsy did not conclusively determine the cause of McPherson's death. She had been taking sleeping pills following numerous health problems – including "tropical fever." Among the pills found in the hotel room was the barbiturate Seconal - a strong sedative which had not been prescribed for her. It was unknown how she obtained them.

The coroner said she most likely died of an accidental overdose compounded by kidney failure but the cause of death is listed as unknown.

Forty-five thousand people waited in long lines, some until 2 am, to file past the evangelist's casket. For three days, her body lay in state at the Angelus Temple. Within a mile-and-a-half radius of the church, police had to double park cars. One observer noted that to watch the long line of people from every social class pass reverently by her casket, and see tears shed by all types of people, regardless of class and color, helped give understanding to the far-reaching influence of her life and ministry.

Marcus Bach, who was on a spiritual odyssey of personal discovery when he visited the Temple, wrote:

"Roberta [her daughter], who had married an orchestra director, flew in from New York. Ma Kennedy was at the grave, Rheba Crawford Splivalo had returned to say that there was never a greater worker for God than Sister. A thousand ministers of the Foursquare Gospel paid their tearful tribute. The curious stood by impressed. The poor who had always been fed at Angelus were there, the lost who had been spirit-filled, the healed, the faithful here they were eager to immortalize the Ontario farm girl who loved

¹²² Rodeheaver was another of those larger than life individuals of this era. Everyone in America knew him. He was called, Rody, by friends and the press. He had been Billy Sunday's choir director, song leader, and soloist. Early on, he had played the coronet, but switched to the trombone because it could be heard better in a large tent. He composed countless songs, became a music publisher, and was a pioneer in the production of recording of sacred music. Rody was able to get almost anyone to sing with him, spontaneously – the New York Advertising Club, John D. Rockefeller Sr. (on a golf course), Will Rogers, etc.

the Lord. Here they laid the body of Sister Aimee to rest in the marble sarcophagus guarded by two great angels on Sunrise slope.¹²³ "

It took eleven trucks to transport the \$50,000 worth of flowers to the cemetery. The cemetery received more telegraphed floral orders than at any time since Will Roger's death almost 10 years earlier.

The fruit of Aimee Semple McPherson's life have been quite significant and none more so than the denomination that grew out of the Angelus Temple. The International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, has become one of the finest of the several Pentecostal denominations. It is a denomination known for accountability and a balanced and scholarly approach to Pentecostalism. The LIFE Bible College (Lighthouse for International Foursquare Evangelism) begun by McPherson in 1923, and King's College and Seminary, begun in 1997 under the leadership of Dr. Jack Hayford, have been instrumental in training a host of leaders for the 20th and 21st Century Church.

In 2013, the denomination reported that the denomination had 68,085 meeting places, 7,527,174 members and in that year, immersed into Christ, 838,762 converts.

The 20th Century American Evangelicals

Near mid-century, in established conservative churches, the term, *evangelical*, began to replace the term, *fundamentalist*. The chief reason was what the term, *fundamentalist*, had come to represent.

Early on, all of the well-known evangelical leaders of the later 20th Century had used the term, *fundamentalist*, as a self-describing term. Conservative scholars of high reputation accepted this self-descriptive term (Machen, for example), whose origin we have seen in previous sessions. By the middle of the century, the term had come to represent a class of Christians who argued about various schools of thought concerning Dispensationalism, legalism, and arguments over what many considered to be secondary doctrines. Negative attacks, rather than a positive proclamation of the Gospel often marked the Fundamentalist Movement.

The founding of Fuller Seminary in 1947 was one of the most important events in the formation of what came to be known as *evangelicalism* or as Harold Ockenga, one of the two original visionaries who gave birth to the institution called the movement, *new evangelicalism* – and others used the term, *neo-evangelicalism*. Even so, Fuller's founders saw themselves as reforming fundamentalism, rather than being the progenitors of a new movement. George Marsden states,

“Even though the early Fuller was a major part of a concerted attempt to reform fundamentalism, the unmistakable intention was, not a break with fundamentalism, but

¹²³ Marcus Bach, *They Have Found a Faith* (Indianapolis/New York, The Bobbs-Merrill Company) 1946, page 74

a reform from within. The early Fuller was in striking ways a fundamentalist institution with a thoroughly fundamentalist constituency. Though *evangelical* may have been the more respectable word to use, few would have questioned the fundamentalist identification.”¹²⁴

Because evangelicalism became such a huge portion of the Church in America – and the rest of the world – we will take a leap forward of several decades to the middle of the Twentieth Century and study this phenomenon that burst forth prior to 1960.

First, we must seek a definite of the term, *evangelical*, and that in itself is not an easy task.

The English term is derived from the New Testament Greek term, εὐαγγέλιον (*euangelion*).

- The first part of the term, εὐ (*eu*) means, “good.”
- The second part of the term, ἀγγέλιον (*angelion*) means, “message”¹²⁵

So, the term means, “a good message,” or, as it has been used in recent decades, “good news,” and in Old English, “Gospel.”¹²⁶

So, in simplest terms, *evangelical* means one who believes in salvation by faith in Jesus Christ’s atonement. More precisely, Evangelical Christians are those who believe in the centrality of a “born again” experience in receiving salvation, as well as the authority of the Bible as God’s Infallible Word.

The origins of evangelicalism usually are considered to be found in Lutheran Pietism, which then progressed through Nicholas Zinzendorf and the Moravian Church, thence through John Wesley into Methodism. A somewhat separate stream resulted in the Puritan Movement in England and the American Colonies. The Puritans, as opposed to the Presbyterians and Baptists in the early colonies, required a “born again” experience before a person could be a member of the church.¹²⁷

Two concepts of salvation have existed, side by side in American Christianity, for the past three hundred years. Prior recent millennia, this controversy did not exist.

1. The dominant view throughout church history has been that baptism (in some form, depending on the doctrine of the particular church) imparts salvation.

¹²⁴ George M. Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism, Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company) 1987, page 3

¹²⁵ The Greek term, ἄγγελος (*angelos*), which in English often is rendered as, “angel,” literally means, “messenger.”

¹²⁶ In both Old and Middle English, the term, *gödspel* means, “good story.”

¹²⁷ See notes from TCF 2011 Sunday Night Seminar, *The Church in America, from 1492 to the American Revolution*, pages 79ff

2. The more recent view, held by evangelicals, is that a born-again experience (of some sort) is required for salvation. According to this view, baptism, although important, is not involved in the new-birth process.

There is variety within these two views, but this is the general difference between the two concepts of salvation. For example, those who hold the first view, and who practice infant baptism, usually have some sort of confirmation ceremony when the child reaches the age where theological concepts can be comprehended, but the baptism of the infant, like the circumcision of the Mosaic Covenant, makes that child a member of God's heavenly covenant family.

Others, who hold the first view cited above, consider *believer's* baptism to be the requirement – a person believes the message, and in response to that, is baptized – the outward act, accompanied by faith and commitment, results in the reception of the Holy Spirit and thus, the new-birth. Obedience, in response to faith, is the key element.

Those who hold to the second view above (the evangelical view) may or may not practice infant baptism, but would expect some sort of a born-again experience at some point in a person's life. Groups, such as the Southern Baptists, consider one to be saved before baptism, but that any truly born-again person will be baptized because Jesus commanded it and it is the means whereby the saved person becomes a part of the Church. Thus, it is common for a Southern Baptist minister to describe immersion as “following Jesus in Christian baptism.”

As stated, there is a host of differences in beliefs and practices within these two views, but, in general, these are the two views that prevail concerning the new birth – evangelicalism being a part of the second group above.

Historian, David Bebbington, notes four distinctive aspects of contemporary evangelicals and most evangelicals accept his definition as being correct:¹²⁸

- Conversionism – the necessity of being “born again.” Bebbington notes that a conversion experience often can be emotional, including grief and sorrow for sin, followed by a great relief at receiving forgiveness. The assurance of salvation (because of the experience) always will accompany salvation. Bebbington also notes, that both sudden and gradual conversions are common, but some sort of experience always is present.
- Biblicism – having a reverence for the Bible and a high regard for biblical authority. Some evangelicals describe their view of the Bible as its being inerrant, whereas others would describe the Bible as being infallible.
- Crucicentrism – the focus on the atonement, the saving death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, offers forgiveness of sin and a new life. This is understood as

¹²⁸ David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730's to the 1980's* (London, Routledge) 1993 page 3

being *substitutionary atonement*, in which Christ died as a substitute for sinful humanity, taking on Himself the guilt and punishment for sin.

- Activism – the tendency to actively share the Gospel in diverse ways, including both preaching and various forms of social action. The proliferation of parachurch organizations is an expression of this characteristic.

The National Association of Evangelicals defines an evangelical Christian as someone,

- Who believes that the Bible is authoritative
- Who has had a born-again experience
- Who shares this message of faith¹²⁹

Individual members of seemingly non-evangelical churches may be evangelical. A Princeton University study listed the following denominations as being evangelical:

Assemblies of God, Southern Baptists, Independent Baptists, black Protestants, African Methodist Episcopal, African Methodist Episcopal Zion, Church of Christ, Churches of God in Christ, Missouri Synod Lutheran Church, National Baptist Church, National Progressive Baptist Church, Nondenominational, Pentecostal denominations, and the Presbyterian Church in America.

Most other lists would include some Methodists.

Within Evangelicalism itself, there are two broad types.¹³⁰ The terms used to distinguish between them are:

- Confessional evangelicals
Albert Mohler, president of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, describes confessional evangelicalism as "that movement of Christian believers who seek a constant convictional continuity with the theological formulas of the Protestant Reformation." Confessional Evangelicals believe that evangelicalism requires protection from theological liberalism and heresy and this protection is to be found in subscribing to the historic creeds and to the Reformation-era confessions of faith.¹³¹

¹²⁹ www.creationtips.com *What is an Evangelical Christian?*

¹³⁰ John C. Green, a senior fellow at the Pew Forum separates evangelicals into three camps: *Traditionalists*, whom he characterizes as adhering to the primary doctrines of Protestant doctrine; *Centrists*, whom he describes as being socially conservative, support most traditional Protestant theology, but avoid politics; *Modernist*, whom he describes as being a small minority, rarely attend church, and have great diversity in beliefs (<http://wikipedia.org/w/index.php/title=Evangelicalism>)

¹³¹ Albert Mohler, "Confessional Evangelicalism" in Andrew Naselli, Collin Hansen, *Four Views on the Spectrum of Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, Zondervan) 2011 page 103-104

- Revivalist evangelicals
Revivalist Evangelicals tend to place greater emphasis on religious experience than their confessional counterparts. The anti-creedal emphasis has been a defining characteristic among evangelicals that have been heavily influenced by revivalism and by pietism.

These two streams have been critical of each other.

- Confessional Evangelicals have been suspicious of the revivalist unguarded religious experience.
- Revivalist Evangelicals worry that the intellectual emphasis of the confessionals puts a damper on vibrant spirituality.¹³²

Many contemporary congregations that identify themselves as, “evangelical,” intentionally avoid identifying with any single form of evangelicalism. These “generic evangelicals” are usually theologically and socially conservative, but most of their churches are “nondenominational,” tend to be non-creedal, and would tend to be closer the revivalist strain – especially those related to the Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements.¹³³

Latter Rain Revival¹³⁴

In the years immediately following World War II, there was concern among some Pentecostals that the Pentecostal Movement had become too institutionalized and formalized. They expressed regret that the “gifts of the Spirit” rarely were manifested in the services, and in some cases, not even taught. A group of Canadian Pentecostals seemed to be especially exercised over this turn of events.

Latter Rain doctrines addressed this formalism with a series of doctrinal and practical changes. These changes made the Latter Rain Movement distinct from the Pentecostal context from which it arose. Churches and ministries that grew out of or were influenced by the Latter Rain were and are significantly different from traditional Pentecostal institutions.

In October, 1947, a new school, Sharon Bible College, was launched in North Battleford, Saskatchewan, Canada. Seventy students enrolled for the first term. Some were second- and third-year students from the Pentecostal Bible College in Saskatoon, but most were freshmen.

The group initially was led by three men:

¹³² Roger Olson “Postconservative Evangelicalism,” in Andrew Naselli, Collin Hansen, *Four Views on the Spectrum of Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, Zondervan) 2011 page 241-242

¹³³ Sam Reimer, *Evangelicals and the Continental Divide* (McGill-Queen’s Press) 2003, page 29

¹³⁴ Much of the material in this section is the result of Jim Garrett’s personal experience, as a result of having had extensive contact with Latter Rain “apostles and prophets” in various ministry settings and ministry activities (for example: Dale Rumble, Lattie McDonough, Erskine Holt).

- Herrick Holt, a pastor of the Church of the Foursquare Gospel in North Battleford
- Two former pastors of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, George Hawtin and Percy G. Hunt

Hawtin, was the founder of the Pentecostal Bible College in Saskatoon (originally known as Bethel Bible Institute) and Hunt was a part of the faculty. After a time, Hawtin began to have serious disagreements with the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada board that the denomination had appointed to oversee the school. The conflict became so difficult that the board asked for Hawtin's resignation. Hunt, who was loyal to Hawtin, resigned from the faculty in protest against the board's action. Many of the original students at the newly formed Sharon Bible College had followed Hawtin and Hunt from Saskatoon.

George Hawtin's brother Ernest Hawtin, and his brother-in-law Milford Kirkpatrick, soon joined the faculty of the new Sharon school.

Three buildings at the North Battleford airport were acquired for the campus but extensive work needed to be done on the buildings before they were ready for classes. The future students worked on the buildings during the day, and participated in prayer meetings and chapel services in the evening. Fasting, prophecy, and intercessory prayer characterized their prayer sessions.

What happened, during this period, echoed Parham's Topeka experience (see page 58 in this document). On February 11, 1948, a young woman prophesied that God had set an open door before the students and that He was asking them to pass through the door. Later, another prophecy was given stating that the open door led to the gifts and ministries of the Spirit that were available to the Body of Christ.

In the prayer meetings and chapel services that took place during the four days after that prophetic word, many other prophetic words were given by both students and faculty. Various students were called out, by "prophetic knowledge." Hands were laid on those called out, supposedly imparting to them a spiritual gift of some sort.

Later, on Easter weekend, the school held a "Feast of Pentecost." Because news of the events taking place at the school had been widely reported in the area, significant numbers of people showed up for the weekend. The result was a camp meeting held July 7-18, 1948. Before long, thousands were coming to the repeated camp meetings held at North Battleford and a full-blown revival was born.

The revival came to be called, *Latter Rain*.

The term *Latter Rain* was gleaned from several Old Testament passages, referring to God's physical blessing upon a repentant Israel¹³⁵, as well as an illustrative use of the term in James 5:7

¹³⁵ Jeremiah 3:3, 5:23–25, Joel 2:23, Hosea 6:3, Zechariah 10:1

Be patient, therefore, brethren, until the coming of the Lord. Behold, the farmer waits for the precious produce of the soil, being patient about it, until it gets the early and late rains. (James 5:7 NAS)

The idea of a latter rain was not new to Pentecostals. It was present from the earliest days of Pentecostalism, which believed that the reappearance of speaking in tongues and the baptism of the Holy Spirit marked the "latter rain of God's Spirit." The outpouring of the Holy Spirit on Pentecost had been the "former rain" that established the Church, but the 20th Century "move" of the Spirit was the latter rain that would bring the Church's work to completion and culminate in the Second Coming of Jesus Christ.

Even though the term occurred several times in the Old Testament prophets, it was its use in Joel that was emphasized most often. A portion of Joel's prophecy had been quoted by Peter on Pentecost. In his Pentecostal sermon, recorded in Acts 2, Peter quoted Joel 2:28-32, to explain the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on that occasion.

"And it will come about after this That I will pour out My Spirit on all mankind; And your sons and daughters will prophesy, Your old men will dream dreams, Your young men will see visions.²⁹ "And even on the male and female servants I will pour out My Spirit in those days.³⁰ "And I will display wonders in the sky and on the earth, Blood, fire, and columns of smoke.³¹ "The sun will be turned into darkness, And the moon into blood, Before the great and awesome day of the LORD comes.³² "And it will come about that whoever calls on the name of the LORD Will be delivered; For on Mount Zion and in Jerusalem There will be those who escape, As the LORD has said, Even among the survivors whom the LORD calls. (Joel 2:28-32 NAS)

The Sharon Bible College revivalists cited the earlier portion of Joel 2, specifically, verse 23

So rejoice, O sons of Zion, And be glad in the LORD your God; For He has given you the early rain for your vindication. And He has poured down for you the rain, The early and latter rain as before. (Joel 2:23 NAS)

Most leaders of the Sharon Bible College revival, in keeping with the early Pentecostals of Azusa Street, declared that the Acts 2 Pentecost had been the early rain, but some said that the Azusa Street revival had been the first rain and that a *latter rain* was being poured out in this generation. Thus, the term, *Latter Rain Revival* became the label for this revival. Through radio broadcasts and other means, the teaching associated with this Latter Rain revival quickly spread across Canada and the United States (later, around the world).¹³⁶

¹³⁶ Two dear friends of mine (jwg), Dale and Bertha Rumble, while living in Eastern Canada, became "born again" believers (totally independent of one another – before they met and married) though listening to a Latter Rain radio broadcast.

A major defining characteristic of the revival was the teaching that through the Latter Rain, God had restored to the Church the Ephesians 4:11 “Five-fold Ministries,”¹³⁷ which the leaders of the Sharon revival claimed had been lost to the Church:¹³⁸

- Apostles
- Prophets
- Evangelists
- Pastors
- Teachers

Special emphasis was placed on the “foundational offices of apostle and prophet.”¹³⁹

Some of the other distinctives of this revival/movement were:¹⁴⁰

- *Bestowal of the Holy Spirit through the laying-on of hands.* Historically, Pentecostal groups had understood the baptism in the Holy Spirit to be the result of prayer – often “tarrying prayer” and “praying through.” Latter Rain teaching stated that the Holy Spirit was imparted by the laying-on of hands – especially by one who occupied one of the Five-fold offices.
- *Spiritual gifts are imparted through laying on of hands* – especially by those who occupied one of the foundational offices of apostle or prophet.
- *The restoration of the Tabernacle of David* – being understood to mean exuberant worship. The "Sacrifice of Praise" was an important theme. Some insisted that the raising of hands and other physical manifestations of worship are necessary, rather than optional. An effort was made to show that those who considered dancing, lifting of hands, and spontaneous praise to be optional activities were in error – such demonstrations were essential to the move of God’s Spirit.
- *The union of all believers.* Latter Rain advocates expected that in the coming "last days," the denominations would dissolve, and the true Church would coalesce into city-wide churches under the leadership of the newly restored apostles and prophets.¹⁴¹
- *A Great End-Times Harvest.* Dispensationalism, in one form or another, had become firmly entrenched in Pentecostalism. Dispensationalism expected a time of tribulation and falling away toward the end of the age - thus, it tended to be somewhat pessimistic in

¹³⁷ In Greek, there are only four: apostles, prophets, evangelists, and shepherd/teachers

¹³⁸ The term, “offices,” often was used to describe these ministries – one occupied the “office of apostle,” etc.

¹³⁹ Classical Pentecostals understood the five ministerial roles not as “offices” or authority given to any particular person, but as functions available to the entire Spirit-baptized congregation, subject to the leading of the Spirit.

¹⁴⁰ Some of the more contemporary expressions of Latter Rain include Dominion Theology and the view that church government has no formal structure, but exists by having a voluntary relationship with an apostle.

¹⁴¹ These ideas are alive, currently, in the New Apostolic Reformation

its outlook. In opposition to the Dispensationalists, Latter Rain Revivalists believe that there will be a great “End Times Harvest.” Rather than attempting to save a few souls before the rise of the anti-Christ, the Latter Rain prophesied that the Church would be overcoming and victorious – the Church would come into "full stature" as taught by the Apostle Paul.

- *The Manifest Sons of God.* A major feature of the expected latter rain would be the "manifestation of the Sons of God" or "Joel's Army."¹⁴² The Latter Rain movement taught that as the end of the age approached, these Manifest Sons of God (individuals who have come into the full stature of Jesus Christ) would receive the Spirit without measure. They would be as Jesus was when he was on earth and would receive a number of divine gifts, including the ability to change their physical location, to speak any language through the Holy Spirit, and would be able to perform divine healings and other miracles. They would complete the work of God, restoring man's rightful position as was originally mandated in Genesis, this would usher in the millennial reign (the Latter Rain presented a post-millennial view). Extreme versions of this interpretation referred to Jesus as a "pattern" Son and applied "ye are gods" (Psalms 82:6) to this coming company of believers.

NOTE: The Charismatic Movement, which began almost two decades after the 1948 visitation, inherited many of the teachings and practices of the Latter Rain Revival. Some of the Latter Rain leadership became very instrumental in the formation of the Charismatic Renewal.

Pentecostal writer and leader, George Warnock, spent the fall of 1949 at Sharon Bible College, serving in various capacities in support of the movement. Warnock wrote a book, *The Feast of Tabernacles*, in which he described the role of Latter Rain groups' fulfillment of God's feasts for Israel. He described the Jewish feasts of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles as ones that "pre-figure and typify the whole Church Age, beginning with the death of Jesus on the cross, and consummating in *the manifestation of the Sons of God* – the *overcomers* who will step into immortality and establish the Kingdom of God on earth."¹⁴³

An activity that has characterized more recent expressions of Latter Rain has been the practice of having “Presbyteries.” A Presbytery is an event in which a number of apostles and prophets are called together in a particular place to call out members of a congregation, lay hands on them, prophesy over them, and bestow upon them spiritual gifts. Most Presbyteries consist of three or more of these foundational offices – both apostles and prophets need to be present, if possible. Usually, certain members of the congregation are declared to be prophets and occasionally, someone is declared to be an apostle. A Presbytery often is called when a church has been newly established.

¹⁴² To relate the Army of God in Joel to a victorious generation of Christians totally misunderstands the army in Joel. The army in Joel is a plague of locusts that Jehovah has sent upon the land. See Joel Chapters 2 & 3

¹⁴³ George H. Warnock, *The Feast of Tabernacles*, (North Battleford, Sharon Schools)

Classical Pentecostal denominations began to question and, in some cases, condemn the revival. For example, the 1949 General Council of the Assemblies of God USA, stated that the Latter Rain practice of personal prophecy, accompanied by the laying on of hands, as well as the Manifest Sons of God doctrine should be rejected. In its Resolution #7, General Council of 1949 stated:

“We disapprove of those extreme teachings and practices, which being unfounded scripturally, serve only to break fellowship with those of like precious faith and tend to confusion and division among members of the Body of Christ, and be it hereby known that this 23rd General Council disapproves of the so-called 'New Order of the Latter Rain'...”¹⁴⁴

Several contemporary (21st Century) groups display Latter Rain theology and practice. These often are dubbed the *Latter Rain Movement*, which has added some things to the Latter Rain teaching that were not present in the original. The highest-profile contemporary manifestation of the Latter Rain Movement is the New Apostolic Reformation (the NAR), led by C. Peter Wagner, of Fuller Theological Seminary. According to Wagner, “The second apostolic age began in the year 2001” when the lost offices of prophet and apostle were restored¹⁴⁵ (note that this differs from the original Latter Rain revival, which asserted that these “offices” were restored during the revival of 1948 – 1952 and continued thereafter).

Some of the more prominent contemporary individuals whose names are associated with the NAR are:

- C. Peter Wagner – Founder of Global Harvest Ministries
- Lou Engle – Founder of The Call
- Mike and Cindy Jacobs – Founders of Generals International
- Don Nori – Destiny Image Publications
- Bill Johnson – Head Pastor of Bethel Church
- Rick Joyner – Founder of Morning Star Ministries
- John P. Kelly - Founder of John P. Kelly Ministries and Convening Apostle

¹⁴⁴ *Minutes of the General Council of the Assemblies of God*, Resolution 7: “The New Order of the Latter Rain.”

¹⁴⁵ C. Peter Wagner, Arise Prophetic Conference Gateway Church, San Jose, CA, October 10, 2004 – Let us Reason Ministries (<http://www.letusreason.org/latrain21>)

ADDENDUM A

Churches that constituted the FCC in 1923

- [Methodist Episcopal Church](#)
- [Methodist Episcopal Church, South](#)
- [Methodist Protestant Church](#)
- [Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America](#)
- [African Methodist Episcopal Church](#)
- [African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church](#)
- [Primitive Methodist Church](#)
- [National Baptist Convention](#)
- [Baptist Churches, North](#)
- [Free Baptist Church](#)
- [Christian Church](#)
- [Christian Reformed Church in North America](#)
- [Churches of God in North America \(General Eldership\)](#)
- [Congregational Churches](#)
- [Disciples of Christ](#)
- [Friends](#)
- [Evangelical Synod of North America](#)
- [Evangelical Association](#)
- [Moravian Church](#)
- [Presbyterian Church in the United States of America](#)
- [Presbyterian Church in the United States](#)
- [Reformed Church in America](#)
- [Reformed Church in the United States](#)
- [Reformed Episcopal Church](#)
- [Reformed Presbyterian Church, General Synod](#)
- [Seventh Day Baptist Church](#)
- [United Brethren Church](#)
- [United Evangelical Church](#)
- [United Presbyterian Church](#)
- [United Lutheran Church](#)(consultative)

ADDENDUM B

The Contents and Authors of *The Fundamentals*

NOTE: The arrangement shown below is from the original 12-volume set.

Volume I:

- The Virgin Birth of Christ - James Orr
- The Deity of Christ - Benjamin B. Warfield
- The Purposes of the Incarnation - G. Campbell Morgan
- The Personality and Deity of the Holy Spirit - R. A. Torrey
- The Proof of the Living God - Arthur T. Pierson
- History of the Higher Criticism - Dyson Hague
- A Personal Testimony - Howard A. Kelly

Volume II:

- The Testimony of the Monuments to the Truth of the Scriptures - George Frederick Wright
- The Recent Testimony of Archaeology to the Scriptures - M. G. Kyle
- Fallacies of the Higher Criticism - Franklin Johnson
- Christ and Criticism - Robert Anderson
- Modern Philosophy - Philip Mauro
- Justification by Faith - H. C. G. Moule
- Tributes to Christ and the Bible by Brainy Men not Known as Active Christians

Volume III:

- Inspiration of the Bible—Definition, Extent, and Proof - James M. Gray
- The Moral Glory of Jesus Christ a Proof of Inspiration - William G. Moorehead
- God in Christ the Only Revelation of the Fatherhood of God - Robert E. Speer
- The Testimony of Christian Experience - E. Y. Mullins
- Christianity No Fable - Thomas Whitelaw
- My Personal Experience with the Higher Criticism - J. J. Reeve
- The Personal Testimony of Charles T. Studd

Volume IV:

- The Tabernacle in the Wilderness: Did it Exist? - David Heagle
- The Testimony of Christ to the Old Testament - William Caven
- The Bible and Modern Criticism - F. Bettex
- Science and Christian Faith - James Orr
- A Personal Testimony - Philip Mauro

Volume V:

- Life in the Word - Philip Mauro
- The Scriptures - A. C. Dixon
- The Certainty and Importance of the Bodily Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the Dead - R. A. Torrey
- Observations of the Conversion and Apostleship of St. Paul - Lord Lyttleton (analyzed and condensed by J. L. Campbell)
- A Personal Testimony - H. W. Webb-Peploe

Volume VI:

- The Testimony of Foreign Missions to the Superintending Providence of God - Arthur T. Pierson.
- Is There a God? - Thomas Whitelaw
- Sin and Judgment to Come - Robert Anderson
- The Atonement - Franklin Johnson
- The God-Man - John Stock
- The Early Narratives of Genesis - James Orr
- The Person and Work of Jesus Christ - John L. Nuelsen
- The Hope of the Church - John McNicol

Volume VII:

- The Passing of Evolution - George Frederick Wright
- Inspiration - L. W. Munhall
- The Testimony of the Scriptures to Themselves - George S. Bishop
- Testimony of the Organic Unity of the Bible to its Inspiration - Arthur T. Pierson
- One Isaiah - George L. Robinson
- The Book of Daniel - Joseph D. Wilson
- Three Peculiarities of the Pentateuch - Andrew Craig Robinson
- Millennial Dawn: A Counterfeit of Christianity - William G. Moorehead

Volume VIII:

- Old Testament Criticism and New Testament Christianity - W. H. Griffith Thomas
- Evolutionism in the Pulpit - Anonymous
- Decadence of Darwinism - Henry H. Beach
- Paul's Testimony to the Doctrine of Sin - Charles B. Williams
- The Science of Conversion - H. M. Sydenstricker
- The Doctrinal Value of the First Chapters of Genesis - Dyson Hague
- The Knowledge of God - James Burrell
- "Preach the Word" - Howard Crosby
- Mormonism: Its Origin, Characteristics, and Doctrines - R. G. McNiece

Volume IX:

- The True Church - Bishop Ryle
- The Mosaic Authorship of the Pentateuch - George Frederick Wright
- The Wisdom of this World - A. W. Pitzer
- Holy Scripture and Modern Negations - James Orr
- Salvation by Grace - Thomas Spurgeon
- Divine Efficacy of Prayer - Arthur T. Pierson
- What Christ Teaches Concerning Future Retribution - William C. Procter
- A Message from Missions - Charles A. Bowen
- Eddyism: Commonly Called Christian Science - Maurice E. Wilson

Volume X:

- Why Save the Lord's Day? - Daniel Hoffman Martin
- The Internal Evidence of the Fourth Gospel - Canon G. Osborne Troop
- The Nature of Regeneration - Thomas Boston
- Regeneration—Conversion—Reformation - George W. Lasher
- Our Lord's Teachings About Money - Arthur T. Pierson
- Satan and His Kingdom - Mrs. Jessie Penn-Lewis

- The Holy Spirit and the Sons of God - W. J. Erdman
- Consecration - Henry W. Frost
- The Apologetic Value of Paul's Epistles - E.J. Stobo
- What the Bible Contains for the Believer - George F. Pentecost
- Modern Spiritualism Briefly Tested by Scripture - Algernon J. Pollock

Volume XI:

- The Biblical Conception of Sin - Thomas Whitelaw
- At-One-Ment by Propitiation - Dyson Hague
- The Grace of God - C. I. Scofield
- Fulfilled Prophecy A Potent Argument for the Bible - Arno C. Gaebelein
- The Coming of Christ - Charles R. Erdman
- Is Romanism Christianity? - T. W. Medhurst
- Rome, The Antagonist of the Nation - J. M. Foster

Volume XII:

- Doctrines that Must be Emphasized in Successful Evangelism - L. W. Munhall
- Pastoral and Personal Evangelism, or Winning Men to Christ One-by-One - John Timothy Stone
- The Sunday School's True Evangelism - Charles Gallaudet Trumbull
- Foreign Missions or World-Wide Evangelism - Robert E. Speer
- What Missionary Motives Should Prevail? - Henry W. Frost
- The Place of Prayer in Evangelism - R. A. Torrey
- The Church and Socialism - Charles R. Erdman
- The Fifteen Books Most Indispensable for the Minister or the Christian Worker

ADDENDA C

Bible Presbyterian Church

JWG edited article from Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

Origin

The Bible Presbyterian Church was formed in 1937, predominantly through the efforts of Carl McIntire, J. Oliver Buswell and Allan MacRae. The First General Synod of the Bible Presbyterian Church was held in 1938 in Collingswood, New Jersey. Francis Schaeffer was the first minister to be ordained in the new denomination.

The Bible Presbyterian Church broke from the Orthodox Presbyterian Church in 1937. After the more conservative faction had left the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America it became evident that there were two groups within the Orthodox Presbyterian Church. The first group, the "orthodox" faction held to the classic formulations of Reformed theology (as mediated through the Westminster Confession and the Catechisms) and piety.

The other faction espoused a conservatism that showed a more keen interest in cultural and political matters. This group, of which McIntire was the most vocal spokesman, was far-right fundamentalist in nature. McIntire laid the basis for much of what was to come to be called the "Christian right" in American religion and politics.

Two main issues made the existence of these factions within the Orthodox Presbyterian Church evident. The first had to do with a classic Reformed piety over against a piety of fundamentalism. It came down to a conflict of the use of alcoholic beverages. The "orthodox" side condemned drunkenness, but nevertheless did not agree that Scripture prescribed Christians to totally abstain from drinking alcoholic beverages, while the "Bible" side asserted that the Bible prohibited the consumption of alcohol entirely (see also Christianity and alcohol).

The second issue was over faithfulness to Covenant Theology versus the toleration of Dispensationalism. Those on the "Bible" side had come to tolerate, and even use, the popular Scofield Reference Bible whose notes taught the theological system called Dispensationalism, rather than the Covenant Theology historically held by many Reformed churches. Scofield's notes were under considerable criticism by faculty members of Westminster Theological Seminary, who led the "orthodox" faction. Historic premillennialism was tolerated within the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, yet the Dispensational form of premillennialism was considered to be serious error. Those who came to call themselves "Bible Presbyterians" saw the serious criticisms against Scofield's notes as a swipe against historic premillennialism itself, rather than merely the Dispensational form of premillennialism, and wanted the freedom to use the Scofield Reference Bible. The formal exodus of Bible Presbyterian churches came about in 1938, only two years after the forming of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, immediately after the failure of Rev. Milo F. Jamison, a Dispensationalist, to be elected Moderator of the General Assembly. The split was not on unkind terms, as was the case with the original split with the PCUSA. The Bible Presbyterian Church has always maintained the unity of the covenant of grace (a decidedly non-dispensational position), and, in later years, passed resolutions against dispensationalism in its annual Synod meetings.

The Westminster Confession of Faith, Larger Catechism and Shorter Catechism was adopted in the first Bible Presbyterian Synod in 1938. It agrees with the original manuscript of the Confession, but not the contemporary revisions. The denomination describes itself as a confessional church, which believes in the historic Reformed Christianity.

First split

As is often true in those who have a somewhat legalistic view, in 1955–1956, an acrimonious split occurred in the Bible Presbyterian Church, resulting in the Bible Presbyterian Church Collingswood Synod and the Bible Presbyterian Church Columbus Synod.

While the Bible Presbyterian Church Collingswood Synod remained under the influence of McIntire, the BPC Columbus Synod, which included such men as Francis Schaeffer and Jay E. Adams would eventually move beyond its Bible Presbyterian Church heritage and eventually would take the name the Evangelical Presbyterian Church in 1961 (which is not to be confused with the current denomination of the same name, founded in 1981). In 1965, the Evangelical Presbyterian Church merged with the Reformed Presbyterian Church, General Synod, a denomination of "new light" Covenanter descent, to form the Reformed Presbyterian Church, Evangelical Synod (RPCES). The RPCES would eventually merge with the Presbyterian Church in America in 1982.

Shortly before the 1955-1956 split, the Bible Presbyterian Church had established Covenant College and Covenant Theological Seminary, both of which would be supported by the BPC Columbus Synod/Evangelical Presbyterian Church and both would follow the Evangelical Presbyterian Church into first the RPCES and then the PCA.

Second Split

The remaining synod retained the name *Bible Presbyterian Church*. The group experienced another split in 1979; the American Presbyterian Church left the BPC over roughly the same concerns that led to the original OPC/BPC split decades earlier.

Third split

On March 28, 2008, the South Atlantic Presbytery voted by a wide margin to disassociate from the Bible Presbyterian Synod, in opposition to formal relations recently established between the Synod and the Orthodox Presbyterian Church. The presbytery took the name Faith Presbytery, Bible Presbyterian Church.

Recent history

Today the North American body has fewer than thirty congregations, but believes it is influential beyond its numbers. Bible Presbyterians do not have synod-controlled boards for missions and education, but annually approve independent agencies for mission work, as well as colleges and seminaries.

ADDENDUM D

Clarence Darrow examines William Jennings Bryan at the Scopes Trial

Monday, July 20, 1925

JUDGE RAULSTON: Do you want Mr. Bryan sworn?

DARROW: No.

BRYAN: I can make affirmation; I can say, "So help me God, I will tell the truth."

DARROW: No, I take it you will tell the truth. You have given considerable study to the Bible, haven't you, Mr. Bryan?

BRYAN: Yes, sir, I have tried to.

DARROW: Well, we all know you have; we are not going to dispute that at all. But you have written and published articles almost weekly, and sometimes have made interpretations of various things.

BRYAN: I would not say interpretations, Mr. Darrow, but comments on the lesson.

DARROW: If you comment to any extent, those comments have been interpretations?

BRYAN: I presume that my discussion might be to some extent interpretations, but they have not been primarily intended as interpretations.

DARROW: But you have studied that question, of course?

BRYAN: Of what?

DARROW: Interpretation of the Bible.

BRYAN: On this particular question?

DARROW: Yes, sir.

BRYAN: Yes, sir.

DARROW: Then you have made a general study of it?

BRYAN: Yes, I have. I have studied the Bible for about fifty years, or some time more than that. But, of course, I have studied it more as I have become older than when I was but a boy.

DARROW: Do you claim that everything in the Bible should be literally interpreted?

BRYAN: I believe everything in the Bible should be accepted as it is given there. Some of the Bible is given illustratively; for instance, "Ye are the salt of the earth." I would not insist that man was actually salt, or that he had flesh of salt, but it is used in the sense of salt as saving God's people.

DARROW: But when you read that Jonah swallowed the whale -- or that the whale swallowed Jonah, excuse me, please -- how do you literally interpret that?

BRYAN: When I read that a big fish swallowed Jonah -- it does not say whale.

DARROW: Doesn't it? Are you sure?

BRYAN: That is my recollection of it, a big fish. And I believe it, and I believe in a God who can make a whale and can make a man, and can make both do what He pleases.

DARROW: Mr. Bryan, doesn't the New Testament say whale [*Matthew 12:40*]?

BRYAN: I am not sure. My impression is that it says fish, but it does not make so much difference. I merely called your attention to where it says fish, it does not say whale.

DARROW: But in the New Testament it says whale, doesn't it?

BRYAN: That may be true. I cannot remember in my own mind what I read about it.

DARROW: Now, you say the big fish swallowed Jonah, and he remained how long -- three days -- and then he spewed him up on the land. You believe that the big fish was made to swallow Jonah?

BRYAN: I am not prepared to say that; the Bible merely says it was done.

DARROW: You don't know whether it was the ordinary run of fish or made for that purpose?

BRYAN: You may guess; you evolutionists guess.

DARROW: But when we do guess, we have the sense to guess right.

BRYAN: But you do not do it often.

DARROW: You are not prepared to say whether that fish was made especially to swallow a man or not?

BRYAN: The Bible doesn't say; so I am not prepared to say.

DARROW: You don't know whether that was fixed up specially for the purpose.

BRYAN: No, the Bible doesn't say.

DARROW: But do you believe He made them -- that He made such a fish, and that it was big enough to swallow Jonah?

BRYAN: Yes, sir. And let me add, one miracle is just as easy to believe as another.

DARROW: It is for me.

BRYAN: It is for me, too.

DARROW: Just as hard?

BRYAN: It is hard to believe for you, but easy for me. A miracle is a thing performed beyond what man can perform. When you get beyond what man can do, you get within the realms of miracles; and it is just as easy to believe the miracle of Jonah as any other miracle in the Bible.

DARROW: Perfectly easy to believe that Jonah swallowed the whale?

BRYAN: The Bible says so. The Bible doesn't make as extreme statements as evolutionists do.

DARROW: That may be a question, Mr. Bryan, about some of those you have known.

BRYAN: The only thing is, you have a definition of fact that includes imagination.

DARROW: And you have a definition that excludes everything but imagination!

STEWART: I object to that as argumentative.

DARROW: The witness must not argue with me, either. Do you consider the story of Jonah and the whale a miracle?

BRYAN: I think it is.

DARROW: Do you believe Joshua made the sun stand still?

BRYAN: I believe what the Bible says. I suppose you mean that the earth stood still?

DARROW: I don't know. I'm talking about the Bible now.

BRYAN: I accept the Bible absolutely.

DARROW: The Bible says Joshua commanded the sun to stand still for the purpose of lengthening the day, doesn't it, and you believe it?

BRYAN: I do.

DARROW: Do you believe at that time the entire sun went around the earth?

BRYAN: No, I believe that the earth goes around the sun.

DARROW: Do you believe that the men who wrote it thought that the day could be lengthened or that the sun could be stopped?

BRYAN: I don't know what they thought.

DARROW: You don't know?

BRYAN: I think they wrote the fact without expressing their own thoughts.

DARROW: Have you an opinion as to whether or not the men who wrote that thought . . .

STEWART: I want to object, Your Honor. It has gone beyond the pale of any issue that could possibly be injected into this lawsuit, except by imagination. I do not think the defendant has a right to conduct the examination any further, and I ask Your Honor to exclude it.

JUDGE RAULSTON: I will hear Mr. Bryan.

BRYAN: It seems to me it would be too exacting to confine the defense to the facts. If they are not allowed to get away from the facts, what have they to deal with?

JUDGE RAULSTON: Mr. Bryan is willing to be examined. Go ahead.

DARROW: Have you an opinion as to whether whoever wrote the book, I believe it was Joshua - - the Book of Joshua -- thought the sun went around the earth or not?

BRYAN: I believe that he was inspired.

DARROW: Can you answer my question?

BRYAN: When you let me finish the statement.

DARROW: It is a simple question, but finish it.

BRYAN: You cannot measure the length of my answer by the length of your question.

[Laughter.]

DARROW: No, except that the answer will be longer. [Laughter.]

BRYAN: I believe that the Bible is inspired, and an inspired author, whether one who wrote as he was directed to write, understood the things he was writing about, I don't know.

DARROW: Whoever inspired it, do you think whoever inspired it believed that the sun went around the earth?

BRYAN: I believe it was inspired by the Almighty, and he may have used language that could be understood at that time, instead of using language that could not be understood until Darrow was born. [Laughter and applause.]

DARROW: So it might not -- it might be subject to construction, might it not?

BRYAN: It might have been used in language that could be understood then.

DARROW: That means it is subject to construction?

BRYAN: That is your construction. I am answering your question.

DARROW: Is that correct?

BRYAN: That is my answer to it.

DARROW: Can you answer?

BRYAN: I might say Isaiah spoke of God sitting upon the circle of the earth.

DARROW: I am not talking about Isaiah.

JUDGE RAULSTON: Let him illustrate if he wants to.

DARROW: It is your opinion that the passage was subject to construction?

BRYAN: Well, I think anybody can put his own construction upon it, but I do not mean that necessarily it is a correct construction. I have answered the question.

DARROW: Don't you believe that in order to lengthen the day, it would have been construed that the earth stood still?

BRYAN: I would not attempt to say what would have been necessary, but I know this: that I can take a glass of water that would fall to the ground without the strength of my hand, and to the extent of the glass of water I can overcome the law of gravitation and lift it up, whereas without my hand, it would fall to the ground. If my puny hand can overcome the law of gravitation, the most universally understood, to that extent, I would not set a limit to the power of the hand of the Almighty God, that made the universe.

DARROW: I read that years ago, in your "Prince of Peace." Can you answer my question directly? If the day was lengthened by stopping either the earth or the sun, it must have been the earth?

BRYAN: Well, I should say so. Yes, but it was language that was understood at that time, and we now know that the sun stood still, as it was, with the earth.

DARROW: We know also the sun does not stand still.

BRYAN: Well, it is relatively so, as Mr. Einstein would say.

DARROW: I ask you if it does stand still?

BRYAN: You know as well as I know.

DARROW: Better. You have no doubt about it?

BRYAN: No, no.

DARROW: And the earth moves around it?

BRYAN: Yes, but I think there is nothing improper if you will protect the Lord against against your criticism.

DARROW: I suppose He needs it?

BRYAN: He was using language at that time that the people understood.

DARROW: And that you call "interpretation?"

BRYAN: No, sir, I would not call it interpretation.

DARROW: I say you would call it interpretation at this time, to say it meant something then?

BRYAN: You may use your own language to describe what I have to say, and I will use mine in answering.

DARROW: Now, Mr. Bryan, have you ever pondered what would have happened to the earth if it had stood still?

BRYAN: No.

DARROW: You have not?

BRYAN: No, sir; the God I believe in could have taken care of that, Mr. Darrow.

DARROW: I see. Have you ever pondered what would naturally happen to the earth if it stood still suddenly?

BRYAN: No.

DARROW: Don't you know it would have been converted into a molten mass of matter?

BRYAN: You testify to that when you get on the stand; I will give you a chance.

DARROW: Don't you believe it?

BRYAN: I would want to hear expert testimony on that.

DARROW: You have never investigated that subject?

BRYAN: I don't think I have ever had the question asked.

DARROW: Or ever thought of it?

BRYAN: I have been too busy on things that I thought were of more importance than that.

DARROW: You believe the story of the flood to be a literal interpretation?

BRYAN: Yes, sir.

DARROW: When was that flood?

BRYAN: I wouldn't attempt to fix the date. The date is fixed, as suggested this morning.

DARROW: About 2400 B.C.?

BRYAN: That has been the estimate of a man that is accepted today. I would not say it is accurate.

DARROW: That estimate is printed in the Bible?

BRYAN: Everybody knows. At least I think most of the people know that was the estimate given.

DARROW: But what do you think that the Bible itself says? Do you know how that estimate was arrived at?

BRYAN: I never made a calculation.

DARROW: A calculation from what?

BRYAN: I could not say.

DARROW: From the generations of man?

BRYAN: I would not want to say that.

DARROW: What do you think?

BRYAN: I do not think about things I don't think about.

DARROW: Do you think about things you do think about?

BRYAN: Well, sometimes. [Laughter.]

DARROW: Mr. Bryan, you have read these dates over and over again?

BRYAN: Not very accurately. I turn back sometimes to see what the time was.

DARROW: You want to say now, you have no idea how these dates were computed?

BRYAN: No, I don't say. But I have told you what my idea was. I say I don't know how accurate it was.

DARROW: You say from the generation of man...

STEWART: I am objecting to his cross-examining his own witnesses.

DARROW: He is a hostile witness.

JUDGE RAULSTON: I am going to let Mr. Bryan control.

BRYAN: I want to give him all the latitude that he wants, for I am going to have some latitude when he gets through.

DARROW: You can have latitude and longitude. [Laughter.]

JUDGE RAULSTON: Order.

STEWART: The witness is entitled to be examined as to the legal evidence of it. We were supposed to go into the origin of this case, and we have nearly lost the day, Your Honor.

McKENZIE: I object to it.

STEWART: Your Honor, he is perfectly able to take care of this, but we are attaining no evidence. This is not competent evidence.

BRYAN: These gentlemen have not had much chance. They did not come here to try this case. They came here to try revealed religion. I am here to defend it, and they can ask me any questions they please.

JUDGE RAULSTON: All right. [Applause.]

DARROW: Great applause from the bleachers.

BRYAN: From those whom you call "yokels."

DARROW: I have never called them yokels.

BRYAN: That is the ignorance of Tennessee, the bigotry.

DARROW: You mean who are applauding you?

BRYAN: Those are the people whom you insult.

DARROW: You insult every man of science and learning in the world because he does not believe in your fool religion.

JUDGE RAULSTON: I will not stand for that.

DARROW: For what he is doing?

JUDGE RAULSTON: I am talking to both of you.

STEWART: This has gone beyond the pale of a lawsuit, your Honor. I have a public duty to perform under my oath, and I ask the court to stop it. Mr. Darrow is making an effort to insult the gentleman on the witness stand, and I ask that this be stopped, for it has gone beyond the pale of a lawsuit.

JUDGE RAULSTON: To stop it now would not be just to Mr. Bryan. He wants to ask the other gentleman questions along the same line.

STEWART: It will all be incompetent.

BRYAN: The jury is not here.

JUDGE RAULSTON: I do not want to be strictly technical.

DARROW: Then Your Honor rules and I accept. How long ago was the flood, Mr. Bryan?

BRYAN: Let me see Ussher's calculation about it.

DARROW: Surely. [Hands a Bible to Bryan.]

BRYAN: I think this does not give it.

DARROW: It gives an account of Noah. Where is the one in evidence? I am quite certain it is there.

BRYAN: Oh, I would put the estimate where it is, because I have no reason to vary it. But I would have to look at it to give you the exact date.

DARROW: I would, too. Do you remember what book the account is in?

BRYAN: Genesis... It is given here as 2348 years before Christ.

DARROW: Well, 2348 years B. C. You believe that all the living things that were not contained in the ark were destroyed?

BRYAN: I think the fish may have lived.

DARROW: Outside of the fish?

BRYAN: I cannot say.

DARROW: You cannot say?

BRYAN: No, except that just as it is, I have no proof to the contrary.

DARROW: I am asking you whether you believe it.

BRYAN: I do.

DARROW: That all living things outside of the fish were destroyed.

BRYAN: What I say about the fish is merely a matter of humor.

DARROW: I understand.

BRYAN: Due to the fact that a man wrote up here the other day to ask whether all the fish were destroyed, and the gentleman who received the letter told him the fish may have lived.

DARROW: I am referring to the fish too.

BRYAN: I accept that as the Bible gives gives it, and I have never found any reason for denying, disputing, or rejecting it.

DARROW: Let us make it definite: 2,348 years?

BRYAN: I didn't say that. That is the time given, but I don't pretend to say that is exact.

DARROW: You never figured it out, those generations, by yourself?

BRYAN: No, sir, not myself.

DARROW: But the Bible you have offered in evidence says 2340 something, so that 4200 years ago there was not a living thing on earth, excepting the people on the ark and the animals on the ark, and the fishes.

BRYAN: There had been living things before that.

DARROW: I mean at that time.

BRYAN: After that.

DARROW: Don't you know there are any number of civilizations that are traced back to more than 5,000 years?

BRYAN: I know we have people who trace things back according to the number of ciphers they have. But I am not satisfied they are accurate.

DARROW: You are not satisfied that there is any civilization that can be traced back five thousand years?

BRYAN: I would not want to say there is, because I have no evidence of it that is satisfactory.

DARROW: Would you say there is not?

BRYAN: Well, so far as I know, but when the scientists differ from twenty-four millions to three hundred millions in their opinions as to how long ago life came here, I want them to be nearer, to come nearer together, before they demand of me to give up my belief in the Bible.

DARROW: Do you say that you do not believe that there were any civilizations on this earth that reach back beyond five thousand years?

BRYAN: I am not satisfied by any evidence that I have seen.

DARROW: I didn't ask you what you are satisfied with -- I asked you if you believed it.

BRYAN: Will you let me answer it?

JUDGE RAULSTON: Go right on.

BRYAN: I am satisfied by no evidence that I have found that would justify me in accepting the opinions of these men against what I believe to be the inspired word of God.

DARROW: And you believe every nation, every organization of men, every animal in the world outside of the fishes --

BRYAN: The fish, I want you to understand, is merely a matter of humor.

DARROW: I believe the Bible says so. Take the fishes in?

BRYAN: Let us get together and look over this.

DARROW: Probably we would better. We will after we get through. You believe that all the various human races on the earth have come into being in the last four thousand years or four thousand two hundred years, whatever it is?

BRYAN: No; it would be more than that. Sometime after the creation, before the flood.

DARROW: 1925 added to it?

BRYAN: The flood is 2300 and something; and creation, according to the estimate there, is further back than that.

DARROW: Then you don't understand me. If we don't get together on it, look at the book. This is the year of grace 1925, isn't it? Let us put down 1925. Have you got a pencil? [One of the defense attorneys hands Darrow a pencil.]

BRYAN: Add that to 4,004?

DARROW: Yes.

BRYAN: That is the date given here on the first page, according to Bishop Ussher, which I say I accept only because I have no reason to doubt it.

DARROW: 1925 plus 4004 is 5,929 years. Now then, what do you subtract from that?

BRYAN: That is the beginning.

DARROW: I was talking about the flood.

BRYAN: 2348 on that, we said.

DARROW: Less that?

BRYAN: No, subtract that from 4000. It would be about 1700 years.

DARROW: That is the same thing.

BRYAN: No. Subtracted, it is 2300 and something before the beginning of the Christian era, about 1700 years after the Creation.

DARROW: If I add 2300 years, that is the beginning of the Christian era?

BRYAN: Yes, sir.

DARROW: If I add 1925 to that I will get it, won't I?

BRYAN: Yes, sir.

DARROW: That makes 4,262 years?

BRYAN: According to the Bible there was a civilization before that, destroyed by the flood.

DARROW: Let me make this definite. You believe that every civilization on the earth and every living thing, except possibly the fishes, that came out of the ark, were wiped out by the flood?

BRYAN: At that time.

DARROW: At that time; and then whatever human beings, including all the tribes that inhabited the world, and have inhabited the world, and who run their pedigree straight back, and all the animals, have come on to the earth since the flood?

BRYAN: Yes.

DARROW: Within 4200 years. Do you know a scientific man on the earth that believes any such thing?

BRYAN: I cannot say. But I know some scientific men who dispute entirely the antiquity of man as testified to by other scientific men.

DARROW: Only that does not answer the question. Do you know of a single scientific man on the face of the earth that believes any such thing as you stated, about the antiquity of man?

BRYAN: I don't think I have ever asked one the direct question.

DARROW: Quite important, isn't it?

BRYAN: Well, I don't know as it is.

DARROW: It might not be?

BRYAN: If I had nothing else to do except speculate on what our remote ancestors were and what our remote descendants have been, but I have been more interested in Christians going on right now, to make it much more important than speculations on either the past or the future.

DARROW: You have never had any interest in the age of the various races and people and civilizations and animals that exist upon the earth today. Is that right?

BRYAN: I have never felt a great deal of interest in the effort that has been made to dispute the Bible by the speculations of men, or the investigations of men.

DARROW: Are you the only human being on earth who knows what the Bible means?

STEWART: I object.

JUDGE RAULSTON: Sustained.

DARROW: You do know that there are thousands of people who profess to be Christians who believe the earth is much more ancient and that the human race is much more ancient?

BRYAN: I think there may be.

DARROW: And you never have investigated to find out how long man has been on the earth?

BRYAN: I have never found it necessary to examine every speculation; but if I had done it I never would have done anything else.

DARROW: I ask for a direct answer.

BRYAN: I do not expect to find out all those things. I do not expect to find out about races.

DARROW: I didn't ask you that. Now, I ask you if you know, if it was interesting enough, or important enough for you to try to find out how old these ancient civilizations are?

BRYAN: No, I have not made a study of it.

DARROW: Don't you know that the ancient civilizations of China are six or seven thousand years old at the very least?

BRYAN: No; but they would not run back beyond the creation, according to the Bible six thousand years.

DARROW: You don't know how old they are, is that right?

BRYAN: I don't know how old they are, but possibly you do. [Laughter.] I think you would give the preference to anybody who opposed the Bible, and I give the preference to the Bible.

DARROW: I see. Well, you are welcome to your opinion. Have you any idea how old the Egyptian civilization is?

BRYAN: No.

DARROW: Do you know of any record in the world, outside of the story of the Bible, which conforms to any statement that it is 4,200 years ago or thereabouts, that all life was wiped off the face of the earth?

BRYAN: I think they have found records.

DARROW: Do you know of any?

BRYAN: Records reciting the flood, but I am not an authority on the subject.

DARROW: Now, Mr. Bryan: will you say if you know of any record, or have ever heard of any records that describe that a flood existed 4,200 years ago, or about that time, which wiped all life off the earth?

BRYAN: The recollection of what I have read on the subject is not distinct enough to say whether the records attempted to fix a time, but I have seen in the discoveries of archaeologists where they have found records that described the flood.

DARROW: Mr. Bryan, don't you know that there are many old religions that describe the flood?

BRYAN: No, I don't know.

DARROW: You know there are others besides the Jewish?

BRYAN: I don't know whether those are the record of any other religion, or refer to this flood.

DARROW: Don't you ever examine religion so far to know that?

BRYAN: Outside of the Bible?

DARROW: Yes.

BRYAN: No, I have not examined to know that, generally.

DARROW: You have never examined any other religions?

BRYAN: Yes, sir.

DARROW: Have you ever read anything about the origins of religions?

BRYAN: Not a great deal.

DARROW: You have never examined any other religion?

BRYAN: Yes, sir.

DARROW: And you don't know whether any other religion gave a similar account of the destruction of the earth by the flood?

BRYAN: The Christian religion has satisfied me and I have never felt it necessary to look up some competing religions.

DARROW: Do you consider that every religion on earth competes with the Christian religion?

BRYAN: I think everybody who believes in the Christian religion believes so...

DARROW: I am asking what you think.

BRYAN: I do not regard them as competitive because I do not think they have the same source as we have.

DARROW: You are wrong in saying "competitive"?

BRYAN: I would not say competitive, but the religious unbelievers.

DARROW: Unbelievers of what?

BRYAN: In the Christian religion.

DARROW: What about the religion of Buddha?

BRYAN: Well, I can tell you something about that, if you would like to know.

DARROW: What about the religion of Confucius or Buddha?

BRYAN: Well, I can tell you something about them, if you would like to know.

DARROW: Did you ever investigate them?

BRYAN: Somewhat.

DARROW: Do you regard them as competitive?

BRYAN: No, I think they are very inferior. Would you like for me to tell you what I know about it?

DARROW: No.

BRYAN: Well, I shall insist on giving it to you.

DARROW: You won't talk about free silver, will you?

BRYAN: Not at all.

STEWART: I object to counsel going any further and cross-examining his own witness. He is your own witness.

DARROW: Well, now, general, I assume that every lawyer knows perfectly well that we have a right to cross-examine a hostile witness. Is there any doubt about that?

STEWART: Under the law in Tennessee, if you put a witness on and he proves to be hostile to you, the law provides the method by which you may cross-examine him. You will have to make an affidavit that you are surprised at his statement, and you may do that.

BRYAN: Is there any way by which a witness can make an affidavit that the attorney also is hostile?

DARROW: I am not hostile to you. I am hostile to your views, and I suppose that runs with me, too.

BRYAN: But I think when the gentleman asked me about Confucius I ought to be allowed to answer his question.

DARROW: Oh, tell it, Mr. Bryan, I won't object to it.

BRYAN: I had occasion to study Confucianism when I went to China. I got all I could find about what Confucius said, and I found that there were several direct and strong contrasts between the teachings of Jesus and the teachings of Confucius. In the first place, one of his followers asked if there was any word that would express all that was necessary to know in the relations of life, and he said, "Isn't reciprocity such a word?" I know of no better illustration of the difference between

Christianity and Confucianism than the contrast that is brought out there. Reciprocity is a calculating selfishness. If a person does something for you, you do something for him and keep it even. That is the basis for the philosophy of Confucius. Christ's doctrine was not of reciprocity. We were told to help people not in proportion as they had helped us -- not in proportion as they might have helped us, but in proportion to their needs, and there is all the difference in the world between a religion that teaches you just to keep even with other people and the religion that teaches you to spend yourself for other people and to help them as they need help.

DARROW: There is no doubt about that. I haven't asked you that.

BRYAN: That is one of the differences between the two.

DARROW: Do you know how old the Confucian religion is?

BRYAN: I can't give you the exact date of it.

DARROW: Did you ever investigate to find out?

BRYAN: Not to be able to speak definitely as to date, but I can tell you something I read, and will tell you.

DARROW: Wouldn't you just as soon answer my questions, and get along?

BRYAN: Yes, sir.

DARROW: Of course, if I take any advantage of misquoting you, I don't object to being stopped. Do you know how old the religion of Zoroaster is?

BRYAN: No, sir.

DARROW: Do you know they are both more ancient than the Christian religion?

BRYAN: I am not willing to take the opinion of people who are trying to find excuses for rejecting the Christian religion, when they attempt to give dates and hours and minutes. And they will have to get together and be more exact than they have yet been able, to compel me to accept just what they say as if it were absolutely true.

DARROW: Are you familiar with James Clark's book on the ten great religions?

BRYAN: No.

DARROW: He was a Unitarian minister, wasn't he? You don't think he was trying to find fault, do you?

BRYAN: I am not speaking of the motives of men.

DARROW: You don't know how old they are, all these other religions?

BRYAN: I wouldn't attempt to speak correctly, but I think it is much more important to know the difference between them than to know the age.

DARROW: Not for the purpose of this inquiry, Mr. Bryan. Do you know about how many people there were on this earth at the beginning of the Christian era?

BRYAN: No, I don't think I ever saw a census on that subject.

DARROW: Do you know how many people there were on this earth 3,000 years ago?

BRYAN: No.

DARROW: Did you ever try to find out?

BRYAN: When you display my ignorance, could you not give me the facts so I would not be ignorant any longer? Can you tell me how many people there were when Christ was born?

DARROW: You know, some of us might get the facts and still be ignorant.

BRYAN: Will you please give me that? You ought not to ask me a question that you don't know the answer to.

DARROW: I can make an estimate.

BRYAN: What is your estimate?

DARROW: Wait until you get to me. Do you know anything about how many people there were in Egypt 3500 years ago, or how many people there were in China 5000 years ago?

BRYAN: No.

DARROW: Have you ever tried to find out?

BRYAN: No, sir, you are the first man I ever heard of who was interested in it. [Laughter.]

DARROW: Mr. Bryan, am I the first man you ever heard of who has been interested in the age of human societies and primitive man?

BRYAN: You are the first man I ever heard speak of the number of people at these different periods.

DARROW: Where have you lived all your life?

BRYAN: Not near you. [Laughter.]

DARROW: Nor near anybody of learning?

BRYAN: Oh, don't assume you know it all.

DARROW: Do you know that there are thousands of books in your libraries on all these subjects I have been asking you about?

BRYAN: I couldn't say, but I will take your word for it.

DARROW: Did you ever read a book on primitive man? Like Tylor's "Primitive Culture" or Boas or any of the great authorities?

BRYAN: I don't think I have ever read the ones you have mentioned.

DARROW: Have you read any?

BRYAN: Well, I have read a little from time to time, but I didn't pursue it, because I didn't know I was to be called as a witness.

DARROW: You have never in all your life made any attempt to find out about the other peoples of the earth -- how old their civilizations are, how long they have existed on the earth, have you?

BRYAN: No, sir, I have been so well satisfied with the Christian religion that I have spent no time trying to find arguments against it.

DARROW: Were you afraid you might find some?

BRYAN: No, sir, I am not afraid now that you will show me any.

DARROW: You remember that man who said -- I am not quoting literally -- that one could not be content though he rose from the dead? You suppose you could be content?

BRYAN: Well, will you give the rest of it, Mr. Darrow?

DARROW: No.

BRYAN: Why not?

DARROW: I am not interested.

BRYAN: Why scrap the Bible? They have Moses and the Prophets.

DARROW: Who has?

BRYAN: That is the rest of the quotation you didn't finish.

DARROW: And so you think if they have Moses and the Prophets, they don't need to find out anything else?

BRYAN: That was the answer that was made there.

DARROW: And you followed the same vein?

BRYAN: I have all the information I want to live by and to die by.

DARROW: And that's all you are interested in?

BRYAN: I am not looking for any more on religion.

DARROW: You don't care how old the earth is, how old man is, or how long the animals have been here?

BRYAN: I am not so much interested in that.

DARROW: You have never made any investigation to find out?

BRYAN: No, sir, I have never.

DARROW: All right.

BRYAN: Now, will you let me finish the question?

DARROW: What question was that? If there is anything more you want to say about Confucius, I don't object.

BRYAN: Oh yes, I have got two more things.

DARROW: If Your Honor please, I don't object, but his speeches are not germane to my question.

HICKS: Your Honor, he put him on.

RAULSTON: You went into it and I will let him explain.

DARROW: I asked him certain specific questions about Confucius

HICKS: The questions he is asking are not germane either.

DARROW: I think they are.

BRYAN: I mentioned the word "reciprocity" to show the difference between Christ's teaching in that respect and the teachings of Confucius. I call your attention to another difference. One of the followers of Confucius asked him, "What do you think of the doctrine that you should reward evil with good?" And the answer of Confucius was, "Reward evil with justice and and reward good with good. Love your enemies. Overcome evil with good. And there is a difference between the two teachings -- a difference incalculable in its effect and in -- the third difference -- people who scoff at religion and try to make it appear that Jesus brought nothing into the world, talk about the Golden Rule of Confucius. Confucius said, "Do not unto others what you would not have others do unto you." There is all the difference in the world between a negative harmfulness and a positive helpfulness, and the Christian religion is a religion of helpfulness, of service, embodied in the language of Jesus when he said, "Let him who would be chiefest among you be the servant of all." Those are the three differences between the teachings of Jesus and the teaching of Confucius, and they are very strong differences on very important questions. Now, Mr. Darrow, you asked me if I knew anything about Buddha.

DARROW: You want to make a speech on Buddha, too?

BRYAN: No sir, I want to answer your question on Buddha.

DARROW: I asked you if you knew anything about him.

BRYAN: I do.

DARROW: Well, that's answered, then.

BRYAN: Buddha...

DARROW: Well, wait a minute. You answered the question.

RAULSTON: I will let him tell what he knows.

DARROW: All he knows?

RAULSTON: Well, I don't know about that.

BRYAN: I won't insist on telling all I know. I will tell more than Mr. Darrow wants told.

DARROW: Well, all right, tell it. I don't care.

BRYAN: Buddhism is an agnostic religion.

DARROW: To what? What do you mean by "agnostic"?

BRYAN: I don't know.

DARROW: You don't know what you mean?

BRYAN: That is what "agnosticism" is -- "I don't know". When I was in Rangoon, Burma, one of the Buddhists told me that they were going to send a delegation to an agnostic congress that was to be held soon at Rome and I read in an official document...

DARROW: Do you remember his name?

BRYAN: No sir, I don't.

DARROW: What did he look like? How tall was he?

BRYAN: I think he was about as tall as you, but not so good-looking.

DARROW: Do you know about how old a man he was? Do you know whether he was old enough to know what he was talking about?

BRYAN: He seemed to be old enough to know what he was talking about. [Laughter.]

DARROW: If Your Honor please, instead of answering plain specific questions we are permitting the witness to regale the crowd with what some black man said to him when he was travelling in Rangoon, India.

BRYAN: He was dark-colored, but not black.

RAULSTON: I will let him go ahead and answer.

BRYAN: I wanted to say that I then read a paper that he gave me, and official paper of the Buddhist church, and it advocated the sending of delegates to that agnostic conference at Rome, arguing that it was an agnostic religion and I will give you another evidence of it. I went to call on a Buddhist teacher.

DARROW: I object to Mr. Bryan making a speech every time I ask him a question.

RAULSTON: Let him finish his answer and then you can go ahead.

BRYAN: I went to call on a Buddhist priest and found him at his noon meal, and there was an Englishman there who was also a Buddhist. He went over as ship's carpenter and became a Buddhist and had been for about six years, and while I waited for the Buddhist priest I talked to the Englishman and he said the most important thing was you didn't have to believe to be a Buddhist.

DARROW: You know the name of the Englishman?

BRYAN: No sir, I don't know his name.

DARROW: What did he look like? What did he look like?

BRYAN: He was what I would call an average looking man.

DARROW: How could you tell he was an Englishman?

BRYAN: He told me so.

DARROW: Do you know whether he was truthful or not?

BRYAN: No sir, but I took his word for it.

JUDGE RAULSTON: Well, get along, Mr. Darrow, with your examination.

DARROW: Mr. Bryan ought to get along. You have heard of the Tower of Babel, haven't you?

BRYAN: Yes, sir.

DARROW: That tower was built under the ambition that they could build a tower up to heaven, wasn't it? And God saw what they were at, and to prevent their getting into heaven He confused their tongues?

BRYAN: Something like that. I wouldn't say to prevent their getting into heaven. I don't think it is necessary to believe that God was afraid they would get to heaven.

DARROW: I mean that way?

BRYAN: I think it was a rebuke to them.

DARROW: A rebuke to them trying to go that way?

BRYAN: To build the tower for that purpose.

DARROW: To take that short cut?

BRYAN: That is your language, not mine.

DARROW: Now, when was that?

BRYAN: Give us the Bible.

DARROW: Yes, we will have strict authority on it. Scientific authority?

BRYAN: That was about 100 years before the flood, Mr. Darrow, according to this chronology. It was 2247 -- the date on one page is 2218 and on the other, 2247. And it is described in here --

DARROW: That is the year 2247?

BRYAN: 2218 B.C. is at the top of one page and 2247 at the other, and there is nothing in here to indicate the change.

DARROW: Well, make it 2230 then?

BRYAN: All right, about.

DARROW: Then you add 1500 to that.

BRYAN: No, 1925.

DARROW: Add 1925 to that, that would be 4155 years ago. Up to 4155 years ago every human being on earth spoke the same language?

BRYAN: Yes, sir, I think that is the inference that could be drawn from that.

DARROW: All the different languages of the earth, dating from the Tower of Babel, is that right? Do you know how many languages are spoken on the face of the earth?

BRYAN: No. I know the Bible has been translated into 500 and no other book has been translated into anything like that many.

DARROW: That is interesting, if true. Do you know all the languages there are?

BRYAN: No, sir, I can't tell you. There may be many dialects besides that in some languages, but those are all the principal languages.

DARROW: There are a great many that are not principal languages?

BRYAN: Yes sir.

DARROW: You haven't any idea how many there are?

BRYAN: No, sir.

DARROW: How many people have spoken those various languages?

BRYAN: No, sir.

DARROW: And you say that all those languages of all the sons of men have come on the earth not over 4150 years ago?

BRYAN: I have seen no evidence that would lead me to put it any farther back than that.

DARROW: That is your belief, anyway -- that was due to the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel. Did you ever study philology at all?

BRYAN: No, I have never made a study of it; not in the sense in which you speak of it.

DARROW: You have used language all your life?

BRYAN: Well, hardly all my life -- ever since I was about a year old.

DARROW: And good language, too. And you never took any pains to find anything about the origin of languages?

BRYAN: I never studied it as a science.

DARROW: Have you ever, by any chance, read Max Mueller?

BRYAN: No.

DARROW: The great German philologist.

BRYAN: No.

DARROW: Or any book on that subject?

BRYAN: I don't remember to have read a book on that subject, especially, but I have read abstracts, of course, and articles on philology.

DARROW: Mr. Bryan, could you tell me how old the earth is?

BRYAN: No, sir, I couldn't.

DARROW: Could you come anywhere near it?

BRYAN: I wouldn't attempt to. I could possibly come as near as scientists do, but I had rather be more accurate before I give a guess.

DARROW: You don't think much of scientists, do you?

BRYAN: Yes, I do, sir.

DARROW: Is there any scientist in the world you think much of?

BRYAN: Yes.

DARROW: Who?

BRYAN: Yes, the bulk of them.

DARROW: I don't want that kind of an answer, Mr. Bryan. Who are they?

BRYAN: I will give you George M. Price, for instance.

DARROW: Who is he?

BRYAN: Professor of geology in a college.

DARROW: Where?

BRYAN: He was out near Lincoln, Nebraska.

DARROW: How close to Lincoln, Nebraska?

BRYAN: About 3 or 4 miles. He is now in a college out in California.

DARROW: Where is the college?

BRYAN: At Lodi.

DARROW: That is a small college?

BRYAN: I didn't know you had to judge a man by the size of his college; I thought you judged him by the size of the man.

DARROW: I thought the size of the college made some difference.

BRYAN: It might raise a presumption in the minds of some, but I think I would rather find out what he believed.

DARROW: You would rather find out whether his belief coincided with your views or prejudices or whatever they are, before you said how good he was?

BRYAN: I don't think I am any more prejudiced for the Bible than you are against it.

DARROW: Well, I don't know.

BRYAN: Well, I don't know either. It is my guess.

DARROW: You mentioned Price because he is the only human being in the world so far as you know that signs his name as a geologist, that believes like you do.

BRYAN: No, there is a man named Wright who taught at Oberlin.

DARROW: I will get to Mr. Wright in a moment. I am asking you about Mr. Price. Who publishes his book?

BRYAN: I can't tell you. I can get you the book.

DARROW: Don't you know? Don't you know it is Revell and Company in Chicago?

BRYAN: I couldn't say.

DARROW: He publishes yours, doesn't he?

BRYAN: Yes, sir.

STEWART: Will you let me make an exception? I don't think it is pertinent about who publishes a book.

DARROW: He has quoted a man that every scientist in this country knows is a mountebank and a pretender, and not a geologist at all.

JUDGE RAULSTON: You can ask him about the man, but don't ask him about who publishes the book.

DARROW: Do you know anything about the college he is in?

BRYAN: No, I can't tell you.

DARROW: Do you know how old his book is?

BRYAN: No, sir; it is a recent book.

DARROW: Do you know anything about his training?

BRYAN: No, I can't say on that.

DARROW: Do you know of any geologist on the face of the earth who ever recognized him?

BRYAN: I couldn't say.

DARROW: But you think he is all right? How old does he say the earth is?

BRYAN: I am not sure that I would insist on some particular geologist that you picked out recognizing him before I could consider him worthy if he agreed with your views.

DARROW: You would consider him worthy if he agreed with your views.

BRYAN: Well, I think his argument is very good.

DARROW: How old does Mr. Price say the earth is?

BRYAN: I haven't examined the book in order to answer questions on it.

DARROW: Then you don't know anything about how old he says it is?

BRYAN: He speaks of the layers that are supposed to measure age, and points out that they are not uniform and not always the same, and that attempts to measure age by these layers where they are not in the order in which they are usually found, makes it difficult to tell the exact age.

DARROW: Does he say anything whatever about the age of the earth?

BRYAN: I wouldn't be able to testify.

DARROW: You didn't get anything about the age from him?

BRYAN: Well, I know he disputes what you say, and I say there is very good evidence to dispute it -- what some others say about the age.

DARROW: Where did you get your information about the age of the earth?

BRYAN: I am not attempting to give you information about the age of the earth.

DARROW: Then you say there was Mr. Wright, of Oberlin?

BRYAN: That was rather I think on the age of man rather than upon the age of the earth.

DARROW: There are two Mr. Wrights, of Oberlin?

BRYAN: I couldn't say.

DARROW: Both of them are geologists. Do you know how long Mr. Wright says man has been on the earth?

BRYAN: Well, he gives the estimates of different people.

DARROW: Does he give any opinion of his own?

BRYAN: I think he does.

DARROW: What is it?

BRYAN: I am not sure.

DARROW: What is it?

BRYAN: It was based upon the last glacial age, that man has appeared since the last glacial age.

DARROW: Did he say there was no man on earth before the last glacial age?

BRYAN: I think he disputes the finding of any proof, where the proof is authentic, but I had rather read him than quote him. I don't like to run the risk of quoting from memory.

DARROW: You couldn't say then how long Mr. Wright places it?

BRYAN: I don't attempt to tell you.

DARROW: When was the last glacial age?

BRYAN: I wouldn't attempt to tell you that.

DARROW: Have you any idea?

BRYAN: I wouldn't want to fix it without looking at some of the figures.

DARROW: That was since the Tower of Babel, wasn't it?

BRYAN: Well, I wouldn't want to fix it. I think it was before the time given in here, and that was only given as the possible appearance of man and not the actual.

DARROW: Have you any idea how far back the last Glacial Age was?

BRYAN: No, sir.

DARROW: Do you know whether it was more than 6,000 years ago?

BRYAN: I think it was more than 6,000 years ago.

DARROW: Have you any idea how old the earth is?

BRYAN: No.

DARROW: The book you have introduced in evidence fails you, doesn't it? [referring to the Bible]

BRYAN: I don't think it does, Mr. Darrow.

DARROW: Let's see whether it does. Is this the one?

BRYAN: That is the one, I think.

DARROW: It says B.C. 4004.

BRYAN: That is Bishop Ussher's calculation.

DARROW: That is printed in the Bible you introduced?

BRYAN: Yes, sir.

DARROW: And numerous other Bibles?

BRYAN: Yes, sir.

DARROW: Printed in the Bible in general use in Tennessee?

BRYAN: I couldn't say.

DARROW: And Scofield's Bible?

BRYAN: I couldn't say about that.

DARROW: You have seen it somewhere else?

BRYAN: I think that is the chronology actually used.

DARROW: Does the Bible you have introduced for the jury's consideration say that?

BRYAN: Well, you'll have to ask those who introduced that.

DARROW: You haven't practiced law for a long time, so I will ask you if that is the King James version that was introduced. That is your marking, and I assume it is.

BRYAN: I think that is the same one.

DARROW: There is no doubt about it, is there, gentlemen?

STEWART: That is the same one.

DARROW: Would you say the earth was only 4,000 years old?

BRYAN: Oh no, I think it is much older than that.

DARROW: How much?

BRYAN: I couldn't say.

DARROW: Do you say whether the Bible itself says it is older than that?

BRYAN: I don't think the Bible says itself whether it is older or not.

DARROW: Do you think the earth was made in six days?

BRYAN: Not six days of twenty-four hours.

DARROW: Doesn't it say so?

BRYAN: No, sir.

STEWART: I want to interpose another objection. What is the purpose of this examination?

BRYAN: The purpose is to cast ridicule on everybody who believes in the Bible, and I am perfectly willing that the world shall know that these gentlemen have no other purpose than ridiculing every Christian who believes in the Bible.

DARROW: We have the purpose of preventing bigots and ignoramuses from controlling the education of the United States, and you know it, and that is all.

BRYAN: I am glad to bring out that statement. I want the world to know that this evidence is not just for the view. Mr. Darrow and his associates have filed affidavits here stating, the purpose of which, as I understand it, is to show that the Bible story is not true.

MALONE: Mr. Bryan seems anxious to get some evidence into the record that would tend to show that those affidavits are not true.

BRYAN: I am not trying to get anything into the record. I am simply trying to protect the Word of God against the greatest atheist or agnostic in the United States. [Prolonged applause.] I want the papers to know I am not afraid to get on the stand in front of him and let him do his worst. I want the world to know that agnosticism is trying to force agnosticism on our colleges and on our schools, and the people of Tennessee will not permit that to be done. [Prolonged applause.]

DARROW: I wish I could get a picture of those claquers.

STEWART: I am not afraid of Mr. Bryan being perfectly able to take care of himself, but this examination cannot be a legal examination, and it cannot be worth a thing, Your Honor. I respectfully except to it, and call upon Your Honor in the name of all that is legal to stop this examination, and stop it here.

HAYS: I rather sympathize with the General [Stewart], but Mr. Bryan is produced as a witness because he is a student of the Bible, and he presumably understands what the Bible means. He is one of the foremost students in the United States, and we hope to show Mr. Bryan, who is a student of the Bible, what the Bible really means in connection with evolution. Mr. Bryan has already stated that the world is not merely 6,000 years old, and that is very helpful to us. And where your evidence is coming from, this Bible, which goes to the jury, is that the world started in 4004 B.C.

BRYAN: You think the Bible says that?

HAYS: The one you have taken in evidence says that.

BRYAN: I don't concede that it does.

HAYS: You know that that chronology is made up by adding together all of the ages of the people in the Bible, counting their ages. And now then, let us show the next stage from a Bible student, that these things are not to be taken literally, but that each man is entitled to his own interpretation.

STEWART: The court makes the interpretation.

HAYS: But the court is entitled to information on what is the interpretation of an expert Bible student.

STEWART: This is resulting in a harangue and nothing else.

DARROW: I didn't do any of the haranguing; Mr. Bryan has been doing that.

STEWART: You know absolutely you have done it.

DARROW: Oh, all right.

MALONE: Mr. Bryan doesn't need any support.

STEWART: Certainly he doesn't need any support, but I am doing what I conceive my duty to be, and I don't need any advice, if you please, sir. [Applause.]

JUDGE RAULSTON: That would be irrelevant testimony if it was going to the jury. Of course, it is excluded from the jury on the point it is not competent testimony, on the same ground as the affidaviting.

HICKS: Your Honor, let me say a word right there. It is in the discretion of the court how long you will allow them to question witnesses for the purpose of taking testimony to the supreme court. Now we, as taxpayers of this county, feel that this has gone beyond reason.

JUDGE RAULSTON: Well, now, that taxpayers doesn't appeal to me so much, when it is only 15 or 20 minutes time.

DARROW: I would have been through in a half-hour if Mr. Bryan had answered my questions.

STEWART: They want to put in affidavits as to what other witnesses would swear, why not let them put in affidavits as to what Mr. Bryan would swear.

BRYAN: God forbid!

STEWART: It is not worth anything to them, if Your Honor please, even for the record in the supreme court.

HAYS: Is it not worth anything to us if Mr. Bryan will accept the story of creation in detail, and if Mr. Bryan, as a Bible student, states you cannot take the Bible necessarily as literally true?

STEWART: The Bible speaks for itself.

HAYS: You mean to say the Bible itself tells whether these are parables? Does it?

STEWART: We have left all annals of procedure behind. This is a harangue between Col. Darrow and his witness. He makes so many statements that he is forced to defend himself.

DARROW: I do not do that.

STEWART: I except to that is not pertinent to this lawsuit.

JUDGE RAULSTON: Of course it is not pertinent, or it would be before the jury.

STEWART: It is not worth anything before a jury.

JUDGE RAULSTON: Are you about through, Mr. Darrow?

DARROW: I want to ask a few more questions about the creation.

JUDGE RAULSTON: I know. We are going to adjourn when Mr. Bryan comes off the stand for the day. Be very brief, Mr. Darrow. Of course -- I believe I will make myself clearer. Of course, it is incompetent testimony before the jury. The only reason I am allowing this to go in at all is that they may have it in the appellate courts, as showing what the affidavit would be.

BRYAN: The reason I am answering is not for the benefit of the Superior court. It is to keep these gentlemen from saying I was afraid to meet them and let them question me. And I want the Christian world to know that any atheist, agnostic, unbeliever, can question me any time as to my belief in God, and I will answer him.

DARROW: I want to take an exception to this conduct of this witness. He may be very popular down here in the hills. I do not need to have his explanation for his answer.

BRYAN: If I had not, I would not have answered the question.

HAYS: May I be heard? I do not want Your Honor to think we are asking questions of Mr. Bryan with the expectation that the higher court will not say that those questions are proper testimony. The reason I state that is this, your law speaks for the Bible. Your law does not say the literal interpretation of the Bible. If Mr. Bryan, who is a student of the Bible, will state that everything in the Bible need not be interpreted literally, that each man must judge for himself, if he will state that, of course, then Your Honor would charge the jury. We are not bound by a literal interpretation of the Bible. If I have made my argument clear enough for the attorney-general to understand, I will retire.

STEWART: I will admit you have frequently been difficult of comprehension, and I think you are as much to blame as I am.

HAYS: I know I am.

STEWART: I think this is not legal evidence for the record in the Appellate Courts. The King James version of the Bible, as Your Honor says...

JUDGE RAULSTON: I cannot say that.

STEWART: Your Honor has held the court takes judicial knowledge of the King James version of the Bible.

JUDGE RAULSTON: No sir, I did not do that.

STEWART: Your Honor charged the grand jury and read from that.

JUDGE RAULSTON: I happened to have the Bible in my hand, it happened to be a King James edition, but I will charge the jury, gentlemen, the Bible generally used in Tennessee, as the book ordinarily understood in Tennessee, as the Bible, I do not think it is proper for us to say to the jury what Bible.

STEWART: Of course, that is all we could ask of Your Honor. This investigation or interrogation of Mr. Bryan as a witness, Mr. Bryan is called to testify, was of the counsel for the prosecution in this case, and has been asked something, perhaps less than a thousand questions, of course not personal to this case, and it has resulted in an argument, and argument about every other question cannot be avoided. I submit, Your Honor, it is not worth anything in the record at all, if it is not legal testimony. Mr. Bryan is willing to testify and is able to defend himself. I accept it, if the court please, and ask Your Honor to stop it.

HAYS: May I ask a question? If your contention is correct that this law does not necessarily mean that the Bible is to be taken literally word for word, is this not competent evidence?

STEWART: Why could you not prove it by your scientists?

DARROW: We are calling one of the most foremost Bible students. You vouch for him.

MALONE: We are offering the best evidence.

McKENZIE: Do you think this evidence is competent before a jury?

DARROW: I think so.

JUDGE RAULSTON: It is not competent evidence for the jury.

McKENZIE: Nor is it competent in the Appellate Courts, and these gentlemen would no more file the testimony of Col. Bryan as a part of the record in this case than they would file a rattlesnake and handle it themselves.

DARROW, HAYS, MALONE: We will file it. We will file it. We will file every word of it.

BRYAN: Your Honor, they have not asked a question legally, and the only reason they have asked any question is for the purpose -- as the question about Jonah was asked -- for a chance to give this agnostic an opportunity to criticize a believer in the word of God; and I answered the question in order to shut his mouth, so that he cannot go out and tell his atheistic friends that I would not answer his questions. That is the only reason, no more reason in the world.

MALONE: Your Honor, on this very subject I would like to say that I would have asked Mr. Bryan -- and I consider myself as good a Christian as he is -- every question that Mr. Darrow has asked him, for the purpose of bringing out whether or not there is to be taken in this court only a literal interpretation of the Bible; or whether, obviously as these questions indicate, if a general and literal construction cannot be put upon the parts of the Bible which have been covered by Mr. Darrow's questions. I hope, for the last time, no further attempt will be made by counsel on the other side of the case, or Mr. Bryan, to say the defense is concerned at all with Mr. Darrow's particular religious views or lack of religious views. We are here as lawyers with the same right to our views. I have the same right to mine as a Christian as Mr. Bryan has to his, and we do not intend to have this case changed by Mr. Darrow's agnosticism or Mr. Bryan's brand of Christianity. [Prolonged applause.]

JUDGE RAULSTON: I will pass on each question as asked, if it is objected to.

DARROW: Mr. Bryan, do you believe that the first woman was Eve?

BRYAN: Yes.

DARROW: Do you believe that she was literally made out of Adam's rib?

BRYAN: I do.

DARROW: Did you ever discover where Cain got his wife?

BRYAN: No sir, I leave the agnostics to hunt for her.

DARROW: You have never found out?

BRYAN: I have never tried to find.

DARROW: You have never tried to find?

BRYAN: No.

DARROW: The Bible says he got one, doesn't it? Were there other people on earth at that time?

BRYAN: I cannot say.

DARROW: You cannot say? Did that never enter your consideration?

BRYAN: Never bothered me.

DARROW: There were no others recorded, but Cain got a wife. That is what the Bible says. Where she came from, you don't know. All right. Does the statement "The morning and the evening were the first day" and "The morning and the evening were the second day" mean anything to you?

BRYAN: I do not think it necessarily means a twenty-four hour day.

DARROW: You do not?

BRYAN: No.

DARROW: What do you consider it to be?

BRYAN: I have not attempted to explain it. If you will take the second chapter -- let me have the book. The fourth verse of the second chapter says, "Those are the generation of the heavens and of the earth, when they were erected in the day the Lord God made the earth and the heavens." The word "day" there in the very next chapter is used to describe a period. I do not see that there is necessity for considering the words, "the evening and the morning" as meaning necessarily a twenty-four hour day in the day when the Lord made the heavens and the earth.

DARROW: Then when the Bible said, for instance, "And God called the firmament heaven, and the evening and the morning were the second day," that does not necessarily mean twenty-four hours?

BRYAN: I do not think it necessarily does.

DARROW: Do you think it does or does not?

BRYAN: I know a great many think so.

DARROW: What do you think?

BRYAN: I do not think it does.

DARROW: You think these were not literal days?

BRYAN: I do not think they were 24-hour days.

DARROW: What do you think about it?

BRYAN: That is my opinion -- I do not know that my opinion is better on that subject than those who think it does.

DARROW: You do not think that?

BRYAN: No. But I think it would be just as easy for the kind of God we believe in to make the earth in six days as in six years or in six million years or in six hundred million years. I do not think it important whether we believe one or the other.

DARROW: Do you think those were literal days?

BRYAN: My impression is they were periods, but I would not attempt to argue as against anybody who wanted to believe in literal days.

DARROW: Have you any idea of the length of the periods?

BRYAN: No I don't.

DARROW: Do you think the sun was made on the fourth day?

BRYAN: Yes.

DARROW: And they had evening and morning without the sun?

BRYAN: I am simply saying it is a period.

DARROW: They had evening and morning for four periods without the sun, do you think?

BRYAN: I believe in creation as there told, and if I am not able to explain it, I will accept it.

DARROW: Then you can explain it to suit yourself. Mr. Bryan, what I want to know is, do you believe the sun was made on the fourth day?

BRYAN: I believe just as it says there.

DARROW: Do you believe the sun was made on the fourth day?

BRYAN: Read it.

DARROW: I am very sorry. You have read it so many times, you would know, but I will read it again. "And God said, let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven, to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and for years. "And let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven, to give light upon the earth; and it was so. "And God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night; He made the stars also. "And God set them in the firmament of the heaven, to give light upon the earth, and to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide the light from the darkness; and God saw that it was good. And the evening and the morning were the fourth day." Do you believe, whether it was a literal day or a period, the sun and moon were not made until the fourth day?

BRYAN: I believe they were made in the order in which they were given there and I think in dispute with Gladstone and Huxley on that point --

DARROW: Cannot you answer my question?

BRYAN: -- I prefer to agree with Gladstone.

DARROW: I do not care about Gladstone.

BRYAN: Then prefer to agree with whoever you please.

DARROW: Cannot you answer my question?

BRYAN: I have answered it. I believe that was made on the fourth day, in the fourth day.

DARROW: And they had the evening and the morning before that time for three days or three periods. All right, that settles it. Now, if you call those periods, they might have been a very long time.

BRYAN: They might have been.

DARROW: The creation might have been going on for a very long time?

BRYAN: It might have continued for millions of years.

DARROW: Yes, all right. Do you believe in the story of the temptation of Eve by the serpent?

BRYAN: I do.

DARROW: Do you believe that after Eve ate the apple, or gave it to Adam, whichever way it was, that God cursed Eve, and at that time decreed that all womankind thenceforth and forever should suffer the pangs of childbirth in the reproduction of the earth?

BRYAN: I believe what it says, and I believe the fact as fully.

DARROW: That is what it says, doesn't it?

BRYAN: Yes.

DARROW: And for that reason, every woman born of woman, who has to carry on the race, the reason they have childbirth pains is because Eve tempted Adam in the Garden of Eden?

BRYAN: I will believe just what the Bible says. I ask to put that in the language of the Bible, for I prefer that to your language. Read the Bible, and I will answer.

DARROW: All right, I will do that: "And I will put enmity between thee and the woman." That referring to the serpent?

BRYAN: The serpent.

DARROW: "And between thy seed and her seed. It shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel. Unto the woman He said, "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception. In sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee." That is right, is it?

BRYAN: I accept it as it is.

DARROW: Did that come about because Eve tempted Adam to eat the fruit?

BRYAN: I believe it is just as the Bible says.

DARROW: And you believe that is the reason that God made the serpent to go on his belly after he tempted Eve?

BRYAN: I believe the Bible as it is. And I do not permit you to put your language in the place of the language of the Almighty. You read that Bible and ask me questions and I will answer them. I will not answer your questions in your language.

DARROW: I will read it to you from the Bible: "And the Lord God said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field. Upon thy belly shalt thou go and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life." Do you think that is why the serpent is compelled to crawl upon its belly?

BRYAN: I believe that.

DARROW: Have you any idea how the snake went before that time?

BRYAN: No, sir.

DARROW: Do you know whether he walked on his tail or not?

BRYAN: No sir, I have no way to know. [Laughter.]

DARROW: Now, you refer to the cloud that was put in the heavens after the flood, the rainbow. Do you believe in that?

BRYAN: Read it.

DARROW: All right, Mr. Bryan, I will read it for you.

BRYAN: Your Honor, I think I can shorten this testimony. The only purpose Mr. Darrow has is to slur at the Bible, but I will answer his questions. I will answer it all at once, and I have no objection in the world. I want the world to know that this man, who does not believe in a God, is trying to use a court in Tennessee. . .

DARROW: I object to that.

BRYAN: . . . to slur at it, and, while it require time, I am willing to take it.

DARROW: I object to your statement. I am examining you on your fool ideas that no intelligent Christian on earth believes!

JUDGE RAULSTON: Court is adjourned until nine o'clock tomorrow morning

Source: <http://personal.uncc.edu/jmarks/Darrow.html>

ADDENDUM E

Shall the Fundamentalists Win?

Harry Emerson Fosdick Sermon

May 21, 1922

(slightly condensed)

This morning we are to think of the fundamentalist controversy which threatens to divide the American churches as though already they were not sufficiently split and riven. A scene, suggestive for our thought, is depicted in the fifth chapter of the Book of the Acts, where the Jewish leaders hale before them Peter and other of the apostles because they had been preaching Jesus as the Messiah. Moreover, the Jewish leaders propose to slay them, when in opposition Gamaliel speaks “Refrain from these men, and let them alone; for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will be overthrown; but if it is of God ye will not be able to overthrow them; lest haply ye be found even to be fighting against God.” . . .

Already all of us must have heard about the people who call themselves the Fundamentalists. Their apparent intention is to drive out of the evangelical churches men and women of liberal opinions. I speak of them the more freely because there are no two denominations more affected by them than the Baptist and the Presbyterian. We should not identify the Fundamentalists with the conservatives. All Fundamentalists are conservatives, but not all conservatives are Fundamentalists. The best conservatives can often give lessons to the liberals in true liberality of spirit, but the Fundamentalist program is essentially illiberal and intolerant.

The Fundamentalists see, and they see truly, that in this last generation there have been strange new movements in Christian thought. A great mass of new knowledge has come into man’s possession—new knowledge about the physical universe, its origin, its forces, its laws; new knowledge about human history and in particular about the ways in which the ancient peoples used to think in matters of religion and the methods by which they phrased and explained their spiritual experiences; and new knowledge, also, about other religions and the strangely similar ways in which men’s faiths and religious practices have developed everywhere. . . .

Now, there are multitudes of reverent Christians who have been unable to keep this new knowledge in one compartment of their minds and the Christian faith in another. They have been sure that all truth comes from the one God and is His revelation. Not, therefore, from irreverence or caprice or destructive zeal but for the sake of intellectual and spiritual integrity, that they might really love the Lord their God, not only with all their heart and soul and strength but with all their mind, they have been trying to see this new knowledge in terms of the Christian faith and to see the Christian faith in terms of this new knowledge.

Doubtless they have made many mistakes. Doubtless there have been among them reckless radicals gifted with intellectual ingenuity but lacking spiritual depth. Yet the enterprise itself

seems to them indispensable to the Christian Church. The new knowledge and the old faith cannot be left antagonistic or even disparate, as though a man on Saturday could use one set of regulative ideas for his life and on Sunday could change gear to another altogether. We must be able to think our modern life clear through in Christian terms, and to do that we also must be able to think our Christian faith clear through in modern terms.

There is nothing new about the situation. It has happened again and again in history, as, for example, when the stationary earth suddenly began to move and the universe that had been centered in this planet was centered in the sun around which the planets whirled. Whenever such a situation has arisen, there has been only one way out—the new knowledge and the old faith had to be blended in a new combination. Now, the people in this generation who are trying to do this are the liberals, and the Fundamentalists are out on a campaign to shut against them the doors of the Christian fellowship. Shall they be allowed to succeed?

It is interesting to note where the Fundamentalists are driving in their stakes to mark out the deadline of doctrine around the church, across which no one is to pass except on terms of agreement. They insist that we must all believe in the historicity of certain special miracles, preeminently the virgin birth of our Lord; that we must believe in a special theory of inspiration—that the original documents of the Scripture, which of course we no longer possess, were inerrantly dictated to men a good deal as a man might dictate to a stenographer; that we must believe in a special theory of the Atonement—that the blood of our Lord, shed in a substitutionary death, placates an alienated Deity and makes possible welcome for the returning sinner; and that we must believe in the second coming of our Lord upon the clouds of heaven to set up a millennium here, as the only way in which God can bring history to a worthy denouement. Such are some of the stakes which are being driven to mark a deadline of doctrine around the church.

If a man is a genuine liberal, his primary protest is not against holding these opinions, although he may well protest against their being considered the fundamentals of Christianity. This is a free country and anybody has a right to hold these opinions or any others if he is sincerely convinced of them. The question is—Has anybody a right to deny the Christian name to those who differ with him on such points and to shut against them the doors of the Christian fellowship? The Fundamentalists say that this must be done. In this country and on the foreign field they are trying to do it. They have actually endeavored to put on the statute books of a whole state binding laws against teaching modern biology. If they had their way, within the church, they would set up in Protestantism a doctrinal tribunal more rigid than the pope's.

In such an hour, delicate and dangerous, when feelings are bound to run high, I plead this morning the cause of magnanimity and liberality and tolerance of spirit. I would, if I could reach their ears, say to the Fundamentalists about the liberals what Gamaliel said to the Jews, "Refrain from these men and let them alone; for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will be

everthrown; but if it is of God ye will not be able to overthrow them; lest haply ye be found even to be fighting against God.”

That we may be entirely candid and concrete and may not lose ourselves in any fog of generalities, let us this morning take two or three of these Fundamentalist items and see with reference to them what the situation is in the Christian churches. Too often we preachers have failed to talk frankly enough about the differences of opinion which exist among evangelical Christians, although everybody knows that they are there. Let us face this morning some of the differences of opinion with which somehow we must deal.

We may well begin with the vexed and mooted question of the virgin birth of our Lord. I know people in the Christian churches, ministers, missionaries, laymen, devoted lovers of the Lord and servants of the Gospel, who, alike as they are in their personal devotion to the Master, hold quite different points of view about a matter like the virgin birth. Here, for example, is one point of view that the virgin birth is to be accepted as historical fact; it actually happened; there was no other way for a personality like the Master to come into this world except by a special biological miracle. That is one point of view, and many are the gracious and beautiful souls who hold it. But side by side with them in the evangelical churches is a group of equally loyal and reverent people who would say that the virgin birth is not to be accepted as an historic fact. . . . So far from thinking that they have given up anything vital in the New Testament’s attitude toward Jesus, these Christians remember that the two men who contributed most to the Church’s thought of the divine meaning of the Christ were Paul and John, who never even distantly allude to the virgin birth.

Here in the Christian churches are these two groups of people and the question which the Fundamentalists raise is this—Shall one of them throw the other out? Has intolerance any contribution to make to this situation? Will it persuade anybody of anything? Is not the Christian Church large enough to hold within her hospitable fellowship people who differ on points like this and agree to differ until the fuller truth be manifested? The Fundamentalists say not. They say the liberals must go. Well, if the Fundamentalists should succeed, then out of the Christian Church would go some of the best Christian life and consecration of this generation—multitudes of men and women, devout and reverent Christians, who need the church and whom the church needs.

Consider another matter on which there is a sincere difference of opinion between evangelical Christians: the inspiration of the Bible. One point of view is that the original documents of the Scripture were inerrantly dictated by God to men. Whether we deal with the story of creation or the list of the dukes of Edom or the narratives of Solomon’s reign or the Sermon on the Mount or the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians, they all came in the same way, and they all came as no other book ever came. They were inerrantly dictated; everything there—scientific opinions, medical theories, historical judgments, as well as spiritual insight—is infallible. That is one idea

of the Bible's inspiration. But side by side with those who hold it, lovers of the Book as much as they, are multitudes of people who never think about the Bible so. Indeed, that static and mechanical theory of inspiration seems to them a positive peril to the spiritual life. . . .

Here in the Christian Church today are these two groups, and the question which the Fundamentalists have raised is this—Shall one of them drive the other out? Do we think the cause of Jesus Christ will be furthered by that? If He should walk through the ranks of his congregation this morning, can we imagine Him claiming as His own those who hold one idea of inspiration and sending from Him into outer darkness those who hold another? You cannot fit the Lord Christ into that Fundamentalist mold. The church would better judge His judgment. For in the Middle West the Fundamentalists have had their way in some communities and a Christian minister tells us the consequences. He says that the educated people are looking for their religion outside the churches.

Consider another matter upon which there is a serious and sincere difference of opinion between evangelical Christians: the second coming of our Lord. The second coming was the early Christian phrasing of hope. No one in the ancient world had ever thought, as we do, of development, progress, gradual change as God's way of working out His will in human life and institutions. They thought of human history as a series of ages succeeding one another with abrupt suddenness. The Graeco-Roman world gave the names of metals to the ages—gold, silver, bronze, iron. The Hebrews had their ages, too—the original Paradise in which man began, the cursed world in which man now lives, the blessed Messianic kingdom someday suddenly to appear on the clouds of heaven. It was the Hebrew way of expressing hope for the victory of God and righteousness. When the Christians came they took over that phrasing of expectancy and the New Testament is aglow with it. The preaching of the apostles thrills with the glad announcement, "Christ is coming!"

In the evangelical churches today there are differing views of this matter. One view is that Christ is literally coming, externally, on the clouds of heaven, to set up His kingdom here. I never heard that teaching in my youth at all. It has always had a new resurrection when desperate circumstances came and man's only hope seemed to lie in divine intervention. It is not strange, then, that during these chaotic, catastrophic years there has been a fresh rebirth of this old phrasing of expectancy. "Christ is coming!" seems to many Christians the central message of the Gospel. In the strength of it some of them are doing great service for the world. But, unhappily, many so overemphasize it that they outdo anything the ancient Hebrews or the ancient Christians ever did. They sit still and do nothing and expect the world to grow worse and worse until He comes.

Side by side with these to whom the second coming is a literal expectation, another group exists in the evangelical churches. They, too, say, "Christ is coming!" They say it with all their hearts; but they are not thinking of an external arrival on the clouds. They have assimilated as part of the

divine revelation the exhilarating insight which these recent generations have given to us, that development is God's way of working out His will. . . .

And these Christians, when they say that Christ is coming, mean that, slowly it may be, but surely, His will and principles will be worked out by God's grace in human life and institutions, until "He shall see of the travail of His soul and shall be satisfied."

These two groups exist in the Christian churches and the question raised by the Fundamentalists is—Shall one of them drive the other out? Will that get us anywhere? Multitudes of young men and women at this season of the year are graduating from our schools of learning, thousands of them Christians who may make us older ones ashamed by the sincerity of their devotion to God's will on earth. They are not thinking in ancient terms that leave ideas of progress out. They cannot think in those terms. There could be no greater tragedy than that the Fundamentalists should shut the door of the Christian fellowship against such.

I do not believe for one moment that the Fundamentalists are going to succeed. Nobody's intolerance can contribute anything to the solution of the situation which we have described. If, then, the Fundamentalists have no solution of the problem, where may we expect to find it? In two concluding comments let us consider our reply to that inquiry.

The first element that is necessary is a spirit of tolerance and Christian liberty. When will the world learn that intolerance solves no problems? This is not a lesson which the Fundamentalists alone need to learn; the liberals also need to learn it. Speaking, as I do, from the viewpoint of liberal opinions, let me say that if some young, fresh mind here this morning is holding new ideas, has fought his way through, it may be by intellectual and spiritual struggle, to novel positions, and is tempted to be intolerant about old opinions, offensively to condescend to those who hold them and to be harsh in judgment on them, he may well remember that people who held those old opinions have given the world some of the noblest character and the most rememberable service that it ever has been blessed with, and that we of the younger generation will prove our case best, not by controversial intolerance, but by producing, with our new opinions, something of the depth and strength, nobility and beauty of character that in other times were associated with other thoughts. It was a wise liberal, the most adventurous man of his day—Paul the Apostle—who said, "Knowledge puffeth up, but love buildeth up."

Nevertheless, it is true that just now the Fundamentalists are giving us one of the worst exhibitions of bitter intolerance that the churches of this country have ever seen. As one watches them and listens to them he remembers the remark of General Armstrong of Hampton Institute, "Cantankerousness is worse than heterodoxy." There are many opinions in the field of modern controversy concerning which I am not sure whether they are right or wrong, but there is one thing I am sure of: courtesy and kindness and tolerance and humility and fairness are right. Opinions may be mistaken; love never is.

As I plead thus for an intellectually hospitable, tolerant, liberty-loving church, I am, of course, thinking primarily about this new generation. We have boys and girls growing up in our homes and schools, and because we love them we may well wonder about the church which will be waiting to receive them. Now, the worst kind of church that can possibly be offered to the allegiance of the new generation is an intolerant church. Ministers often bewail the fact that young people turn from religion to science for the regulative ideas of their lives. But this is easily explicable.

Science treats a young man's mind as though it were really important. A scientist says to a young man, "Here is the universe challenging our investigation. Here are the truths which we have seen, so far. Come, study with us! See what we already have seen and then look further to see more, for science is an intellectual adventure for the truth." Can you imagine any man who is worthwhile turning from that call to the church if the church seems to him to say, "Come, and we will feed you opinions from a spoon. No thinking is allowed here except such as brings you to certain specified, predetermined conclusions. These prescribed opinions we will give you in advance of your thinking; now think, but only so as to reach these results."

My friends, nothing in all the world is so much worth thinking of as God, Christ, the Bible, sin and salvation, the divine purposes for humankind, life everlasting. But you cannot challenge the dedicated thinking of this generation to these sublime themes upon any such terms as are laid down by an intolerant church.

The second element which is needed if we are to reach a happy solution of this problem is a clear insight into the main issues of modern Christianity and a sense of penitent shame that the Christian Church should be quarreling over little matters when the world is dying of great needs. If, during the war, when the nations were wrestling upon the very brink of hell and at times all seemed lost, you chanced to hear two men in an altercation about some minor matter of sectarian denominationalism, could you restrain your indignation? You said, "What can you do with folks like this who, in the face of colossal issues, play with the tiddledywinks and peccadillos of religion?" So, now, when from the terrific questions of this generation one is called away by the noise of this Fundamentalist controversy, he thinks it almost unforgivable that men should tithe mint and anise and cummin, and quarrel over them, when the world is perishing for the lack of the weightier matters of the law, justice, and mercy, and faith. . . .

The present world situation smells to heaven! And now, in the presence of colossal problems, which must be solved in Christ's name and for Christ's sake, the Fundamentalists propose to drive out from the Christian churches all the consecrated souls who do not agree with their theory of inspiration. What immeasurable folly!

Well, they are not going to do it; certainly not in this vicinity. I do not even know in this congregation whether anybody has been tempted to be a Fundamentalist. Never in this church

have I caught one accent of intolerance. God keep us always so and ever increasing areas of the Christian fellowship; intellectually hospitable, open-minded, liberty-loving, fair, tolerant, not with the tolerance of indifference, as though we did not care about the faith, but because always our major emphasis is upon the weightier matters of the law.

Source: Harry Emerson Fosdick, "Shall the Fundamentalists Win?" *Christian Work* 102 (June 10, 1922): 716–722, as found at <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5070/>

ADDENDUM F

Karl Barth, Father of Neo-Orthodoxy

"The gospel is not a truth among other truths. Rather, it sets a question mark against all truths."
146

Karl Barth (pronounced "Bart") not only said this, he spent his life setting question marks, in the name of Christ, against all manner of "truths." Because of this *modus operandi*, Barth's approach came to be known as *Dialectical Theology* (for example, God's relationship to humanity embodies both grace and judgment). Barth appealed to those who could not accept the traditional, Orthodox view of Scripture, yet longed for some basis for giving the Bible relevance in the Church.

He was born in 1886 in Basel, Switzerland, the son of Fritz Barth (a professor of New Testament and early church history at Bern) and Anna Sartorius. He studied at the best universities: Bern, Berlin, Tübingen, and Marburg. At Berlin he sat under the famous liberals of the day (for example, the highly regarded historian Adolf Harnack). These scholars taught an optimistic/progressive version of Christianity that focused on the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, rather than Jesus Christ and the Cross.

Barth rejected the liberal theology of his professors, but he also rejected the theologies of the conservative/fundamentalist theologians. He sought to find a path that acknowledged the intellectual achievements and discoveries of the 19th Century, yet held to important basic faith concepts.

After serving a Geneva church from 1909 to 1911, Barth was appointed to a working-class parish in the village of Safenwil in the Canton Aargau, Switzerland. He served as pastor of that church from 1911-1921. In 1913 he married Nell Hoffman, a talented violinist. The couple eventually had one daughter and four sons, one of whom became the influential New Testament scholar, Marcus Barth.

Dismayed by what he considered to be the moral weakness of liberal theology, Barth plunged into a study of the Bible, especially Paul's Epistle to the Romans, to see what insights it could offer. He also visited Moravian preacher Christoph Blumhardt and came away overwhelmingly convinced of the victorious reality of Christ's resurrection.

Out of this search emerged his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (1918). He sounded themes that had been muted in liberal theology. For example, he came to believe that liberal theology had domesticated God into the patron saint of human institutions and values (the Social Gospel). Instead, Barth wrote of the "crisis," that is, God's judgment under which all the world stood, including all human institutions. He taught God's absolute sovereignty (in keeping with Reformed Orthodox theology) and complete freedom in initiating his revelation in Jesus Christ.

¹⁴⁶Mark Galli, *Karl Barth*, "The Ten Most Influential Christians of the Twentieth Century," *Christian History Magazine*, Volume 65 [Vo. XIX, No. 1] (Carol Stream, IL, Christianity Today Inc) page 23

He spoke dialectically, in paradox, to shock readers into seeing the radical nature of the gospel: "Faith is awe in the presence of the divine *incognito*; it is the love of God that is aware of the qualitative difference between God and man and God and the world."¹⁴⁷

Barth left the pastorate to become a professor of theology in Gottingen (1921-1925). He then moved to the university in Munster (1925-1930) and then to Bonn (1930-1935).

While in Gottingen, he met Charlotte von Kirschbaum, who became his life-time secretary and assistant. Even though he was married, his marriage was strained. Charlotte von Kirschbaum was his intellectual and emotional companion for most of his adult life. She and Barth's close friend, Eduard Thurneysen collaborated with Barth in developing his theology.¹⁴⁸

The first of six heavily revised editions of the Romans commentary was published in 1922, while he was at Gottingen. It rocked the theological community. In this commentary and in his later works, he assaulted the easy optimism of liberal mainline Christianity. In response to their amiable view of humankind, Barth wrote, "Men have never been good, they are not good, they will never be good." As a result, liberal theologians gasped in horror and attacked Barth furiously.

He wrote and published many other writings but his magnum opus was his massive, *The Church Dogmatics*. This major work was begun in 1931. It grew year by year out of his class lectures; though incomplete, it eventually filled four volumes in 12 parts, each densely printed with 500 to 700 pages each. Many pastors in the 1930s, '40s, and '50s, desperate for an antidote to liberalism, eagerly awaited the publication of each book.

Barth also was attacked by conservative Christians also considered him the foe because he refused to consider the Bible to be "infallible" (he believed that only Jesus is infallible).

Others thought Barth's theology overemphasized God's transcendence, making God seem utterly distant. Emil Brunner, parted company with Barth over the question of God's showing signs of his presence in nature and history (something the early Barth vehemently denied).

During his tenure at Bonn, Barth became immersed in the German church struggle with Nazism. For several years he had been troubled by the fact that not only was Germany, becoming increasingly militaristic, but his former German theology professors were fully supportive of the development.¹⁴⁹ As a result of his concern, he was one of the founders of the so-called *Confessing Church*, which was repulsed by the ideology of "blood and soil" and the Nazis' attempt to create a "German Christian" church.

¹⁴⁷ Galli, page 24

¹⁴⁸ *ibid*

¹⁴⁹ Barth's former professor, Adolph von Harnack was one of the signatories of the 1914, *Manifesto of the Ninety-Three German Intellectuals to the Civilized World*, among other German theologians, included carried the signature of Barth's previous professor, Adolf von Harnack. For the text of the *Manifesto* and the signatories see ADDENDA G

The 1934 Barmen Declaration, largely based on Barth's initial draft, pitted the revelation of Jesus Christ against the "truth" of Hitler and National Socialism. He was forced to leave Germany in 1935 because he refused to swear allegiance to Adolph Hitler. He returned to Switzerland and became a professor in Basel (1935-1962).

After the war, Barth engaged in controversies about baptism (though a Reformed theologian, he rejected infant baptism), hermeneutics, and the demythologizing program of Rudolf Bultmann (who denied the historical nature of Scripture, instead believing it a myth whose meaning could heal spiritual anxiety).

ADDENDUM G

Manifesto of the Ninety-Three German Intellectuals to the Civilized World¹⁵⁰

(Note: the italics in the text were a part of the original German document)

As representatives of German Science and Art, we hereby protest to the civilized world against the lies and [calumnies](#) with which [our enemies](#) are endeavoring to stain the honor of Germany in her hard struggle for existence—in a struggle that has been forced on her.

The iron mouth of events has proved the untruth of the fictitious German defeats; consequently misrepresentation and calumny are all the more eagerly at work. As heralds of truth we raise our voices against these.

It is not true that Germany is [guilty of having caused this war](#). Neither the [people](#), the Government, nor the [Kaiser](#) wanted war. Germany did her utmost to prevent it; for this assertion the world has documental proof. Often enough during the twenty-six years of his reign has [Wilhelm II](#) shown himself to be the upholder of peace, and often enough has this fact been acknowledged by our opponents. Nay, even the Kaiser, whom they now dare to call an [Attila](#), has been ridiculed by them for years, because of his steadfast endeavors to maintain universal peace. Not till a numerical superiority which has been lying in wait on the frontiers assailed us did the whole nation rise to a man.

It is not true that we [trespassed](#) in neutral [Belgium](#). It has been proved that [France](#) and [England](#) had resolved on such a trespass, and it has likewise been proved that Belgium had agreed to their doing so. It would have been suicide on our part not to have preempted this.

It is not true that the life and property of a single Belgian citizen was injured by our soldiers without the bitterest [self-defense](#) having made it necessary; for again and again, notwithstanding repeated threats, the citizens lay in [ambush](#), [shooting at the troops](#) out of the houses, [mutilating](#) the wounded, and murdering in cold blood the [medical men](#) while they were doing their Samaritan work. There can be no baser abuse than the suppression of these crimes with the view of letting the Germans appear to be [criminals](#), only for having justly punished these assassins for their wicked deeds.

It is not true that our troops treated [Louvain](#) brutally. Furious inhabitants having treacherously fallen upon them in their quarters, our troops with aching hearts were obliged to fire a part of the town as a punishment. The greatest part of Louvain has been preserved. The famous [Town Hall](#) stands quite intact; for at great self-sacrifice our soldiers saved it from destruction by the flames.

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1. Jürgen von Ungern-Sternberg and Wolfgang von Ungern-Sternberg, [Der Aufruf "An die Kulturwelt!": das Manifest der 93 und die Anfänge der Kriegspropaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg](#), Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 1996, p.13. as translated and produced in http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manifesto_of_the_Ninety-Three

Every German would of course greatly regret if in the course of this terrible war any works of art should already have been destroyed or be destroyed at some future time, but inasmuch as in our great love for art we cannot be surpassed by any other nation, in the same degree we must decidedly refuse to buy a German defeat at the cost of saving a work of art.

It is not true that our warfare pays [no respect](#) to [international laws](#). It knows no indiscriminate cruelty. But in [the east](#) the earth is saturated with the blood of women and children [unmercifully butchered](#) by the wild Russian troops, and in the west [dumdum bullets](#) mutilate the breasts of our soldiers. Those who have allied themselves with [Russians](#) and [Serbians](#), and present such a shameful scene to the world as that of inciting Mongolians and negroes against the white race, have no right whatever to call themselves upholders of civilization.

It is not true that the combat against our so-called [militarism](#) is not a combat against our [civilization](#), as our enemies hypocritically pretend it is. Were it not for German militarism, German civilization would long since have been [extirpated](#). For its protection it arose in a land which for centuries had been plagued by bands of robbers as no other land had been. The [German Army](#) and the German people are one and today this consciousness fraternizes 70,000,000 Germans, all ranks, positions, and parties being one.

We cannot wrest the poisonous weapon—the lie—out of the hands of our enemies. All we can do is to proclaim to all the world that our enemies are giving false witness against us. You, who know us, who with us have protected the most holy possessions of man, we call to you:

Have faith in us! Believe, that we shall carry on this war to the end as a civilized nation, to whom the legacy of a [Goethe](#), a [Beethoven](#), and a [Kant](#) is just as sacred as its own hearths and homes.

For this we pledge you our names and our honor:

(Signers among the 93 included: [Nobel Prize](#) laureates, [artists](#), [physicians](#), [physicists](#), [chemists](#), [theologians](#), [philosophers](#), [poets](#), [architects](#) and well-known college professors)

1. [Adolf von Baeyer](#), chemist: synthesized indigo, 1905 recipient of the Nobel Prize in Chemistry
2. [Peter Behrens](#), architect and designer
3. [Emil Adolf von Behring](#), physiologist: received the 1901 Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine
4. [Wilhelm von Bode](#), art historian and curator
5. [Alois Brandl](#), Austrian-German philologist
6. [Lujo Brentano](#), economist and social reformer
7. [Justus Brinckmann](#), art historian
8. [Johannes Conrad](#), political economist
9. [Franz von Defregger](#), Austrian artist
10. [Richard Dehmel](#), anti-conservative poet and writer
11. [Adolf Deissmann](#), Protestant theologian
12. [Wilhelm Dörpfeld](#), architect and archeologist (including site of ancient Troy)
13. [Friedrich von Duhn](#), classical scholar

14. [Paul Ehrlich](#), awarded the 1908 Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine, initiated chemotherapy, "the magic bullet"
15. [Albert Ehrhard](#), Catholic priest and church historian
16. [Karl Engler](#), chemist
17. [Gerhart Esser](#), Catholic theologian
18. [Rudolf Christoph Eucken](#), philosopher: winner of the 1908 Nobel Prize for Literature
19. [Herbert Eulenberg](#), poet and playwright
20. [Henrich Finke](#), Catholic church historian
21. [Hermann Emil Fischer](#), chemist: 1902 recipient of the Nobel Prize in Chemistry
22. [Wilhelm Foerster](#), also signed counter-manifesto
23. [Ludwig Fulda](#), Jewish playwright with strong social commitment
24. [Eduard von Gebhardt](#), painter
25. [Jan Jakob Maria de Groot](#), Sinologist and historian of religion
26. [Fritz Haber](#), chemist: received the 1918 Nobel Prize in Chemistry for synthesizing ammonia
27. [Ernst Haeckel](#), biologist: coined the words "ecology, phylum, stem cell," developed "'ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny"
28. [Max Halbe](#), dramatist
29. [Adolf von Harnack](#), Lutheran theologian
30. [Carl Hauptmann](#), playwright
31. [Gerhart Hauptmann](#), dramatist and novelist: received the 1912 Nobel Prize in Literature
32. [Gustav Hellmann](#), meteorologist
33. [Wilhelm Herrmann](#), Reformed theologian
34. [Andreas Heusler](#), Swiss medievalist
35. [Adolf von Hildebrand](#), sculptor
36. [Ludwig Hoffmann](#)
37. [Engelbert Humperdinck](#), composer: including "Hänsel und Gretel"
38. [Leopold Graf von Kalckreuth](#), painter
39. [Arthur Kampf](#), history painter
40. [Friedrich August von Kaulbach](#), painter
41. [Theodor Kipp](#), jurist
42. [Felix Klein](#), mathematician: group theory, complex analysis, non-Euclidean geometry; "the Klein bottle"
43. [Max Klinger](#), Symbolist painter, sculptor, printmaker, and writer
44. [Alois Knoepfler](#), art historian
45. [Anton Koch](#), Catholic theologian
46. [Paul Laband](#), professor of law
47. [Karl Lamprecht](#), historian
48. [Philipp Lenard](#), physicist: winner of the 1905 Nobel Prize for Physics for cathode rays research
49. [Maximilian Lenz](#), painter
50. [Max Liebermann](#), Jewish Impressionist painter and printmaker
51. [Franz von Liszt](#), jurist and legal scholar (cousin of the composer)
52. [Ludwig Manzel](#), sculptor
53. [Joseph Mausbach](#), theologian
54. [Georg von Mayr](#), statistician

55. [Sebastian Merkle](#), Catholic theologian
56. [Eduard Meyer](#), historian
57. [Heinrich Morf](#), linguist
58. [Friedrich Naumann](#), liberal politician and Protestant pastor
59. [Albert Neisser](#), physician who discovered the cause of gonorrhea
60. [Walther Hermann Nernst](#), physicist: third law of thermodynamics, won the 1920 Nobel Prize in chemistry
61. [Wilhelm Ostwald](#), chemist: received the 1909 Nobel Prize in Chemistry
62. [Bruno Paul](#), architect, illustrator, interior designer, and furniture designer.
63. [Max Planck](#), theoretical physicist: originated quantum theory, awarded the Nobel Prize in Physics in 1918
64. [Albert Plohn](#), professor of medicine
65. [Georg Reicke](#)
66. [Max Reinhardt](#), Austrian-born, American stage and film actor and director
67. [Alois Riehl](#), philosopher
68. [Carl Robert](#), philologist and archeologist
69. [Wilhelm Roentgen](#), physicist: known for X-rays, awarded 1901 Nobel Prize in Physics
70. [Max Rubner](#), physiologist and hygienist
71. [Fritz Schaper](#), sculptor
72. [Adolf von Schlatter](#), Evangelical theologian
73. [August Schmidlin](#), theologian
74. [Gustav von Schmoller](#), economist
75. [Reinhold Seeberg](#), theologian
76. [Martin Spahn](#), historian
77. [Franz von Stuck](#), symbolist/Art Nouveau painter, sculptor, engraver, and architect
78. [Hermann Sudermann](#), dramatist and novelist
79. [Hans Thoma](#), painter
80. [Wilhelm Trübner](#), realist painter
81. [Karl Vollmöller](#), playwright and screenwriter
82. [Richard Voss](#), dramatist and novelist
83. [Karl Vossler](#), linguist and scholar
84. [Siegfried Wagner](#), composer, son of Richard Wagner
85. [Wilhelm Waldeyer](#), anatomist: named the chromosome
86. [August von Wassermann](#), bacteriologist: developed the "Wassermann test" for syphilis
87. [Felix Weingartner](#), Austrian conductor, composer and pianist
88. [Theodor Wiegand](#), archeologist
89. [Wilhelm Wien](#), physicist: received the 1911 Nobel Prize for work on heat radiation
90. [Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff](#), classical philologist
91. [Richard Willstätter](#), organic chemist: won the 1915 Nobel Prize for Chemistry for structure of plant pigments
92. [Wilhelm Windelband](#), philosopher
93. [Wilhelm Wundt](#), physician, psychologist, physiologist, philosopher, "father of experimental psychology"

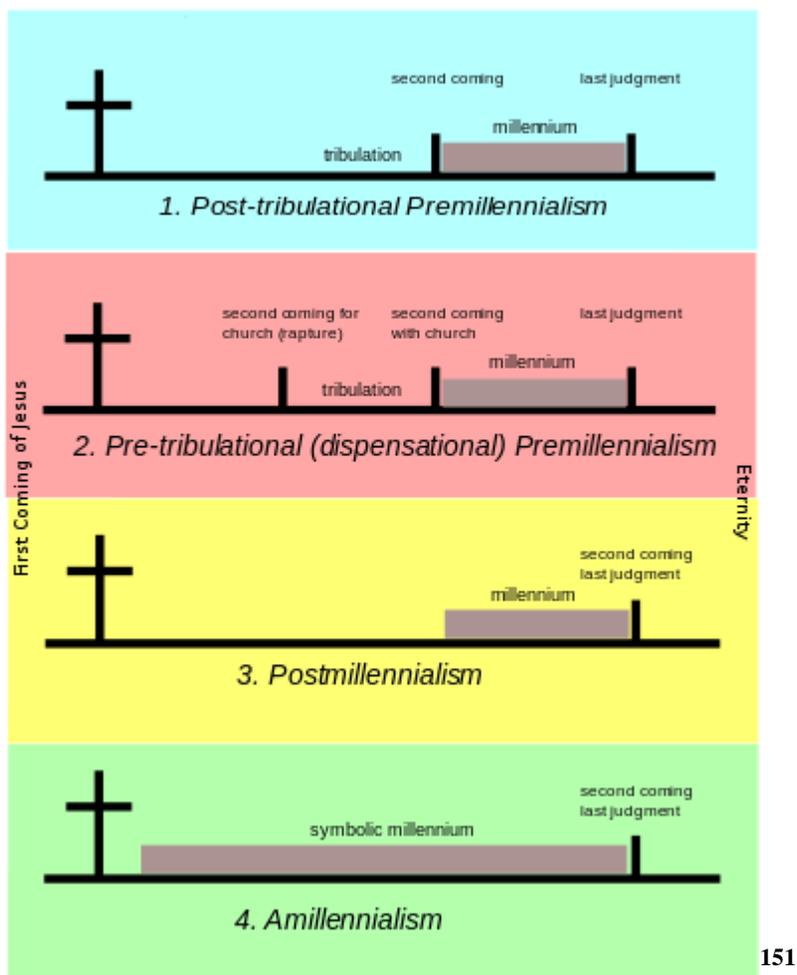
Note:

["The Ninety-Three Today"](#) (PDF). *The New York Times*. March 2, 1921. p. 7. A German writer, M.H. WEHBERG, published the results of personal inquiries made of the surviving professors, scientists and literary men who in 1914 signed the famous manifesto of the ninety-three Gelehrten. Seventeen of them have since died, but of this number it was known that several had changed their minds, or at least wished that they had not put their names to a document which was a reproach to German learning. Among the living only sixteen were found to stand by their action in 1914 without wavering, and to say that they would sign the manifesto again. This leaves some sixty of the original ninety-three who now express regret — in some cases amounting almost to remorse. Some of them explain that they did not read or know what they had signed. They gave their names by telephone or telegraph to what they supposed to be a truthful utterance of German university opinion. Later they felt 'keen chagrin' when they found that, with their indignant 'it is not true,' they had been denying facts amply proved. More than one of the signers now has strong words in condemnation of the 'unlucky and senseless' declaration, as it is now admitted to have been, to which they were induced to put their names. This is perhaps the nearest to repentance that we have had or may expect from Germany. Herr WEHBERG records many excuses, some semi-apologies, several expressions of sorrow that the thing turned out so badly; but not one form of the straight-out confession that is good for the soul.

ADDENDUM H

A Summary of Tribulationist Views

Comparison of Christian millennial teachings



¹⁵¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christian_eschatological_views

ADDENDUM I

Edward Irving and the Catholic Apostolic Church

Edward Irving was born in Annan, Annandale, Scotland on August 4, 1792. He died on December 7, 1834. Irving had an exceptional mind. At the age of thirteen he entered the University of Edinburgh. In 1809, at the age of seventeen, he received the Master of Arts Degree. In 1810, on the recommendation of Sir John Leslie, he was chosen master of an academy newly established at Haddington, East Lothian, where one of his students was Jane Welsh, who as Mrs. Carlyle, was one of the great letter-writers of the nineteenth century.¹⁵²

In 1812, he left Haddington to teach at Kircaldy, Fife. Irving always seemed to need an intellectual challenge and so he devoted his leisure time to further studies of mathematical and physical science, and to a course of reading in English literature.

Even though he was a success as a teacher, Irving felt that he was called to be a preacher. In order to pursue that calling, he participated in a series of “partial sessions,” and thereby completed the divinity studies that the Presbyterian Church of Scotland required for their ministers. He was licensed to preach in June 1815, but continued to discharge his scholastic duties for three more years. He filled the pulpit of various churches when they needed a fill-in preacher.

Somewhat frustrated by not being given a permanent church, in the summer of 1818 he resigned his headmaster position at Kircaldy, Fife. He moved to Edinburgh, hoping to increase the probability of obtaining a permanent appointment in the Church of Scotland. In October 1819, Thomas Chalmers, the minister in charge of St. John’s parish, Glasgow, persuaded the Presbytery to appoint Irving as Chalmers’ assistant.

Irving was a very striking figure. He was six feet four inches tall when the average Englishman was five feet five inches tall. He was physically well-proportioned, he had flowing black hair, and a face that many described as beautiful. His voice was strong and commanding. Needless to say, Edward Irving was a man who could not avoid being noticed when he entered a room.

¹⁵² He became engaged in 1812 to Isabella Martin, whom he married in 1823. During the eleven year engagement, he gradually fell in love with Jane Welsh, and she with him. Irving tried to get out of his engagement to Miss Martin, but her family would not agree to the abandonment of the engagement. Ironically, in 1821 Irving introduced Jane Welsh to his friend, the essayist Thomas Carlyle. She later became Mrs. Thomas Carlyle.

At Glasgow, most of the congregation was put off by his dramatic delivery. They were more accustomed to the controlled lecture style of the Church of Scotland.¹⁵³ Irving's greatest influence in Glasgow was among the poorer classes. Upon entering each humble home, he greeted the dwelling with the benediction "Peace be to this house." These "second class citizens" felt appreciated and esteemed by this elegant preacher.

In 1821, he was surprised when the Caledonian Church, Hatton Garden, London, invited him to become the minister of their church. The church was struggling with only a small remnant of the congregation remaining. The Presbytery agreed to this move and so he was ordained to that charge, July 1822. He experienced amazing success at Caledonian Church. His style was appreciated by the Londoners. A member of the House of Commons named, Calming, had been invited by Sir James Mackintosh to attend a service at Caledonian Church. Calming was so impressed that in an address to the House of Commons he mentioned Irving's eloquence – which resulted in many of the elite's beginning to attend the church to hear this outstanding preacher.

Attendance reached the point that the old Caledonian Church building was not adequate for the size of the congregation. The result was the erection of a new church building in Regent Square in 1827.

For years the subject of prophecy had occupied much of his thoughts. He began to expect the second advent to occur within a few years. He found wonderful corroboration of his beliefs in the writings of a Jesuit priest, Manuel Lacunza. Lacunza wrote under the assumed Jewish name of Juan Josafat Ben-Ezra. In 1827, Irving published an English translation of some of Lacunza's writings,¹⁵⁴ accompanied with an eloquent preface.

John Nelson Darby and the Plymouth Brethren who gave birth to Dispensationalism, encountered embryonic Dispensationalism through Irving's popularization of Lacunza's end-times theory. Darby attended one of the conferences on biblical prophecy that Irving and others held at Powerscourt House (the home of Lady Powerscourt).

A characteristic of Irving's ministry was prayer meetings held in the homes of his followers. In 1830, at a prayer meeting in the home of a family named MacDonald, in Port Glasgow, a "Holy Spirit inspired word," was spoken, *Send us apostles*. In Bavaria, in a Roman Catholic cottage meeting, a prophetic word was spoken, *Thus saith the Lord, I will again send you apostles and prophets as at the beginning*. Similar words began to be given in various small-group meetings and reports of these were given in various letters and pamphlets. In spite of these increasing words, no one knew what to make of them.

¹⁵³ Chalmers compared Irving's dramatic style to [Italian music](#), something appreciated only by [connoisseurs](#).

¹⁵⁴ Lacunza's work was written in Spanish

Even though his power in the pulpit was impressive, his most impressive gift was that of shepherd. When fame and adulation pressed ever-increasing demands on his time, he never ceased his quiet shepherding of the flock entrusted to his care.

In July, 1831, he wrote to a friend, “Two of my flock have received the gift of tongues and prophecy.” Two years earlier, Irving had written, “Homilies on Baptism,” and in that document had advocated the established position of the Church of Scotland., i.e., that the supernatural gifts had ceased. This was in response to an organized Holy Spirit movement that was popping up, spontaneously, in various locations.¹⁵⁵ Now, he had to face the question as to the correctness of that position.

He counseled extensively with the two individuals and slowly became convinced that the two had experienced genuine manifestations of the Holy Spirit. Having come to this conclusion, Irving spoke out in favor of the movement that was beginning to develop. Because he was so highly respected as the leading preacher in London, his endorsement gave considerable weight to the fledging movement.

Irving never spoke in tongues, nor did he ever interpret tongues, nor did he ever prophesy. Thus, it was no lightheaded endorsement. At first he did not permit tongues or prophecy in any public meeting, but in time he felt constrained to allow these manifestations in regular worship services. This upset the trustees of the congregation and they opposed Irving on the grounds that he had allowed unordained individuals to minister (tongues and prophecy) in the church building.¹⁵⁶

Irving was banned from the building and thus no longer the minister of the church. The greater part of the congregation wanted him to found a church, and so they located a large picture gallery on Newman Street, where they founded a new church describing themselves as the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church.

Two years after the founding of this church, Irving died in December 7, 1834, while ministering in Scotland. In death, he was honored by being interred in the crypt of Glasgow Cathedral near to the tomb of St. Mungo.

¹⁵⁵ In 1830, in a remote corner of Scotland, there had been a revival in which prophecy and healing had played a prominent part. The Church of Scotland had opposed these manifestations.

¹⁵⁶ His excommunication by the presbytery of London in 1830 for publishing his doctrines of the humanity of Jesus Christ, and the condemnation of these opinions by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in the following year, were secondary episodes; but the irregularities connected with the manifestation of the gifts and on the complaint of the trustees to the presbytery of London, he was declared unfit to remain the minister of the National Scotch Church of Regent Square.

After his death, the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church became fully established with its special distinctives.

The leadership of the movement had been handed off to other men, even before Irving's death. One of the most committed followers of Irving was Henry Drummond. Drummond was a wealthy businessman and member of Parliament.¹⁵⁷ On October 31, 1832, at a prayer meeting in Irving's home, Drummond approached John Bates Cardale, a prominent London lawyer who was kneeling in prayer. Cardale was praying for the Church – asking God to clothe the Church with power from on high. Drummond spoke with what was remembered as “indescribable power and dignity,” naming Cardale to the office of apostle. A week later, on November 7, Edward Taplin, who later would be named chief prophet of the new movement, repeated the apostolic calling to Cardale. This was the beginning of what became the defining characteristic of the movement – the restoration of the Ephesians 4:11 ascension gifts.

And He gave some as apostles, and some as prophets, and some as evangelists, and some as pastors and teachers, (Ephesians 4:11 NAU)

Over the next two years, eleven other men were called, by prophetic utterance, to complete the college of apostles. Men also were called to other offices as well:

- prophets
- evangelists
- pastors and teachers
- angels (their term for the lead pastor or local bishop of a congregation)
- elders
- deacons
- various assisting ministries

On July 14, 1835, the twelve apostles were set apart for their calling. The names of those considered new apostles were: John Bate Cardale, Henry Drummond, Henry King-Church, Spencer Perceval, Nicholas Armstrong, Francis Woodhouse (Francis Valentine Woodhouse), Henry Dalton, John Tudor (John O. Tudor), Thomas Carlyle, Francis Sitwell, William Dow and Duncan Mackenzie.

- eight of them were members of the Church of England
- three of the Church of Scotland
- one of the Independents.

Classed by their occupations and social positions, three were clergymen, three were members of the bar, three belonged to the gentry, two of them being members of Parliament; and of the remaining three, one was an artist, one a merchant, and one held the post of Keeper of the Tower.

¹⁵⁷ Henry Drummond wrote one of the most popular books of the 19th and early 20th Century, *The Greatest Thing in the World*, an exposition of I Corinthians 13.

Some of them were of the highest standing socially and politically, some of them of great ability as scholars and theologians; and all of them men of unblemished character, soundness in the faith, and abundant zeal in all Christian labors.

These, together with the seven congregations in London, the coadjutors of the apostles, formed what was known as the "Universal Church". The seat of the apostolic college was at Albury, near Guildford.

The first thing that they did was to remain silent for twelve months. Together with seven prophets, they retired to Albury and lived in seclusion. They spent each day in prayer and Bible study. The focus of their study came to be the nature and the destiny of the Church. Through "prophetic revelation," they set forth the Mosaic Tabernacle as a type of the Christian Church. They studied and developed in great detail the history, worship, order, and ministry. The condition of the contemporary Church was considered in great detail.

After their year of silence they prepared a "testimony" of what they had learned. This was presented to the spiritual and temporal rulers in various parts of Christendom in 1836. They began with an appeal to the bishops of the Church of England, then in a more comprehensive form to the Pope and other leaders in Christendom, including the Emperor of Austria-Hungary, the Tsar of Russia, the kings of France, Prussia, Denmark and Sweden, as well as King William IV of England. The apostles declared that the Christian Church was the body of all that had been baptized in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, thus laying aside all divisions between nominal Christians, and that the apostolate had been restored for setting the whole body of Christianity in order to be ready for the Second Coming of Christ; therefore, they called upon all the clergy and lay authorities to recognize this and submit to their self-appointment as "apostles".

Thus was born, well ahead of the Pentecostal Movement of the 20th Century, a church that manifested all of the defining characteristics of Pentecostalism, with some distinctive characteristics of its own – some of which were repeated a century later in the Latter Rain Revival.

ADDENDUM J

Alexander Dowie and Divine Healing

John Alexander Dowie was born in Scotland in May of 1847. His father, John Murray Dowie, was a tailor and part time preacher. His family emigrated to Adelaide, Australia, in 1860, where he became a member of the Adelaide Congregational Church. As he grew into manhood, Dowie felt called to Christian ministry. The Congregational Church required their ministers to have degrees from a theological institution that had a connection with the denomination. In order to meet these requirements, Dowie returned to Scotland and attended the University of Edinburgh.

At Edinburgh, he was exposed to the teachings of Edward Irving¹⁵⁸ and the argument that cessasionist theology was wrong, and that the gifts of the Spirit were for the contemporary Church. After completing his studies and returning to Australia, he became pastor of a Congregational church at a small town, about 50 miles from Adelaide.

In 1876 he moved to Sydney and became minister of the Newtown Congregational church. While he was at Newton, an epidemic of some sort hit the city. It was here that God revealed that healing was still for today. Several members of his church became sick and died. Dowie later reported that as he anguished over the deaths of his parishioners, God revealed to him that sickness was of the devil and should be resisted. He began to pray for his parishioners and from that day forward none died. Dowie was so changed by this revelation that he resigned his pastorate and became a full-time healing evangelist, holding services in theatres. In the early eighteen-eighties, he began to gather a following in Melbourne. It was during this period that he began to publish a magazine promoting Divine healing. The name of the magazine was *Jehovah Rophi* (“Jehovah heals”).

In 1882, he was invited to become the minister of the Sackville Street [Tabernacle](#) in [Collingwood](#). His authoritarian leadership (a lifetime trait) led to a split in the church, and Dowie was fined and jailed for over a month for leading unauthorized processions. He gave his account of the incident in *Sin in The Camp*. From this time onward, legal problems of one sort or another became a frequent experience for Dowie.

His next brush with the law came in the form of an arson scandal in which his church building burnt down in suspicious circumstances (thereby enabling him to pay off large debts). In 1888 he left Australia and moved to San Francisco. He quickly built up a following by performing faith healings across the state. He named his California ministry, the International Divine Healing Association. All members were expected to tithe, and if they did, were eligible to request Dowie's aid in healing their ills. Such requests were made by mail or telegram (or later, by phone). Dowie would pray in response to requests by paid-up members. Although Dowie

¹⁵⁸ In contrast to Irving's 6' 4" height, Dowie was 5' 4" tall – about the average of a Scotsman of his generation.

funded his ministry largely through tithes, he also bought up securities of bankrupt companies and sold them to his constituents. Unfortunately for Dowie, two women whom he had defrauded in this way took him to court and successfully sued him. This legal and public relations defeat posed such problems for him in California, that he left the state and moved to Chicago in 1890.

After a few unsuccessful years in Chicago, Dowie gained fame by conducting healing services on property that he had rented, adjacent to the World's Fair in 1893. These meetings were so spectacular that the front wall of the meeting room was covered with crutches, braces, and other medical paraphernalia left by those healed in the meetings. Later investigators claimed that many of these "healings" were staged using audience plants and other dubious methods. By all indications Dowie could cure a range of psychosomatic illnesses with his stagecraft.¹⁵⁹

Even though thousands were drawn to Dowie's ministry, there were major cracks in Dowie's personal spiritual foundations. He began to envision a new church similar to the Catholic Church, where he would be the pope. He disbanded the International Divine Healing Association and in 1896 he organized the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion.

Dowie was extremely antagonistic towards government officials and the medical profession. He regularly preached against using doctors. Some medical professionals began to take legal action to stop his work. They sued him for practicing medicine without a license. At one point, he was taken to jail almost every day over this issue. The publicity from these arrests only served to draw more attention to his ministry and increased size of his congregation. In fact, later, Dowie "declared war" on the medical profession, so that the publicity generated over this issue would distract people from any attention that might be given to his activities of purchasing land outside of Chicago.

With a following of approximately 6,000, he bought up a large amount of real estate north of Chicago. In 1900, he announced the founding the city of Zion, 40 miles from Chicago, where he personally owned all the property. He established a theocratic political and economic structure and prohibited smoking, drinking, eating pork, or any form of modern medicine. He also established a range of businesses, healing homes and a large Tabernacle. Dowie's followers were instructed (some say, "forced") to deposit their wealth in Zion Bank, which had the veneer of being a registered entity but which was in fact an unincorporated entity under his control. He also sold worthless stock in an array of Zion's businesses. The entire structure of Zion was continually in debt.

He began to publish a journal called, *Leaves of Healing*, which went to thousands of people, promoting the divine healing message. Hundreds of people were flocking to his ministry to

¹⁵⁹ R. Harlan, "John Alexander Dowie and the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion," (PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1906), 117; ; J. Swain, "John Alexander Dowie: the Prophet and his Profits," *The Century* 64 (1902): 941.

receive teaching and prayer. Reports of dramatic healing were frequent. Dowie's congregation fed the poor, was highly evangelistic, and had a major impact on a notoriously corrupt city.

Dowie also attacked any church that didn't support him, even those that believed in Divine Healing. He attacked denominational churches and told people that they needed to leave them. He spoke against A. B. Simpson and the Christian and Missionary Alliance, as well as the Salvation Army. He attacked D. L. Moody and R. A. Torrey in their work of the Moody Bible Institute and the Chicago Avenue Church (later known as Moody Church). In 1898, Dowie declared that Moody would die because of his criticism against him. When Moody did die in 1899 Dowie declared it was the judgment of God. Dowie took up the war with Moody's successor, R. A. Torrey, declaring that Torrey, like Moody, would die under the judgment of God. (After Moody's death, Torrey would hold some of the most successful evangelistic campaigns in the history of the Church and outlive Dowie by 20 years).

When internal problems arose and things began to crumble, and Dowie declared himself "Elijah the Restorer" or Elijah III. (First Elijah, then John the Baptist, then himself) He walked around dressed in an Old Testament-like priest's outfit.



In 1905, while recovering from a stroke, he traveled to Mexico where he bought a large tract of land for a "plantation paradise." In April 1906, the community and his family had finally had enough. Zion City was in financial ruins, his daughter had not been healed, but had died, and his marriage had disintegrated. His wife claimed that he was promoting polygamy.

When Dowie was immobilized by a second stroke, he was removed as the head of Zion. As a broken man, he lived few more months, dying on March 11, 1907. His grave was filled with

concrete, after his coffin was put inside, to prevent anyone's taking his body and claiming that he had miraculously arisen.¹⁶⁰ (An idea reportedly promoted by Dowie himself.)

Tens of thousands of people were touched by the truth that God still heals, but Dowie was a seriously flawed messenger. Even though he brought Divine Healing into the national consciousness, he tainted it with the deception and tragic character flaws. In spite of these failures, Dowie left a legacy of men and women of God who carried the truth of God's healing power on into their own ministries. These included: John G. Lake, F. F. Bosworth, Martha Wing Robinson, Raymond T. Richey, Lilian B. Yeomans, Cyrus B. Fockler, and many others.

¹⁶⁰ Some sources claim that Dowie himself had requested the filling of the grave with concrete

ADDENDUM K

Aimee Semple McPherson's Healing Ministry¹⁶¹

Sister Aimee said that she had experienced several of her own personal faith healing incidents, among them one in 1909, when her broken foot was mended, an event which first served to introduce her to the possibilities of the healing power. Another was an unexpected recovery from an operation in 1914 where hospital staff expected her to die, and in 1916, before a gathered revival tent crowd, swift rejuvenation of blistered skin from a serious flash burn caused by a lamp exploding in her face.

Her reported first successful public faith healing session of another person was demonstrated in Corona, Long Island, New York, 1916. A young woman in the painful, advanced stages of rheumatoid arthritis was brought to the altar by friends just as McPherson preached "Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, today and forever", meaning, in part, Jesus had the same power to heal now as in ancient times. McPherson, laid hands upon the crippled woman's head and witnesses looked on as she walked out of the church that same night without crutches. Sick and injured people came to her by the tens of thousands. Press clippings, and testimonials became mountainous. To people who traveled with her, the numerous faith healings were routine. Lubricating her hands with spiced oil, McPherson touched and prayed over the infirm and reporters wrote extensively of what they saw. When asked by a journalist about these demonstrations, McPherson indicated, "the saving of souls is the most important part of my ministry."

Not all healings were successful and McPherson had occasional well-publicized failures. But these were apparently few and people in ever increasing numbers came to her. She was invited back again and again to cities that she previously visited. One of the more dramatic healings occurred starting in late January 1921 at Balboa Park in San Diego, California. The Spreckles Organ Pavilion in the park was site of several earlier revival meetings by many of her predecessors, and there McPherson preached to a huge crowd of 30,000. She had to move to the outdoor site since the 3,000 seat Dreamland Boxing Arena could not hold the thousands who went to see her. To assist the San Diego Police in maintaining order, the Marines and Army had to be called in.

During the engagement, a woman paralyzed from the waist down from childhood, was presented for faith healing. Concerned because numerous, previous demonstrations had been before much smaller assemblages, McPherson feared she would be run out of town if this healing did not manifest. Believing in the reality of the living Christ, filled with sincere passion beyond love for humanity, McPherson prayed, and laid hands on her. Before 30,000 people—and captured for all time by photography—the woman got up out of her wheelchair and walked. The large gathering responded with thunderous applause. Other hopefuls presented themselves to the platform McPherson occupied, and though not all were cured, the sick, injured and invalid continued to flood forth for healing. According to news reporters and other witnesses, among the numerous

¹⁶¹ Most of this material is from: Daniel Mark Epstein, *Sister Aimee: The Life of Aimee Semple McPherson* (Orlando: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1993),

healings that occurred, a goiter shrank, crutches were abandoned, and an abscessed arm was returned to normal. Many hundreds of people wanted her help, more than she could handle and her stay was extended. As with many of her other meetings, McPherson labored and prayed feverishly for hours over the infirm, often without food or stopping for a break. At the day's end, she would eventually be taken away by her staff, dehydrated and unsteady with fatigue; her distinct, booming voice reduced to a whisper. Originally planned for two weeks in the evenings, McPherson's Balboa Park revival meetings lasted over five weeks and went from dawn until dusk.

Denver Post reporter Frances Wayne writes that while McPherson's "attack" on sin was "uncultured,...the deaf heard, the blind saw, the paralytic walked, the palsied became calm, before the eyes of as many people that could be packed into the largest church auditorium in Denver". In 1922, McPherson returned for a second tour in the Great Revival of Denver and asked about people who have claimed healings from the previous visit. Seventeen people, some well known members of the community, testified, giving credence to McPherson's claim "healing still occurred among modern Christians".

Actor Anthony Quinn, who for a time played in the church's band and was an apprentice preacher, in this partial quote, recalls a service:

"I sat in the orchestra pit of the huge auditorium at the Angelus Temple. Every seat was filled, with the crowd spilling into the aisles. Many were on crutches or in wheelchairs. Suddenly a figure with bright red hair and a flowing white gown walked out to the center of the stage. In a soft voice, almost a whisper, she said, 'Brothers and sisters, is there anyone here who wants to be cured tonight?' Long lines formed to reach her. She stood center stage and greeted each one. One man said, 'I can't see out of one eye.' She asked, 'Do you believe, brother?' And suddenly, the man cried, 'Yes, sister, I can see, I can see!' And the audience went crazy. "To a woman dragging herself across the stage on crutches she said, 'Throw away that crutch!' Suddenly, the woman threw away her crutch and ran into Aimee's open arms. I left that service exhilarated, renewed".

ADDENDUM L¹⁶²

Charitable work

McPherson strove to develop a church organization which could not only provide for the spiritual, but the physical needs of the distressed. Though she fervently believed and preached the imminent return of Jesus Christ, she had no idea of how soon that Second Coming might be. Two thoughts pervaded the mind of most devout Pentecostals of the time, "Jesus is coming, therefore how can I get ready," and "how can I help others to get ready?"

For McPherson, part of the answer was to mobilize her Temple congregation and everyone she could reach through radio, telephone and word of mouth to get involved in substantial amounts of charity and social work. "True Christianity is not only to be good but to do good," she preached.

The Charities and Beneficiary Department collected donations for all types of humanitarian relief to include a Japanese disaster as well as a German relief fund. Men released from prison were found jobs by a "brotherhood." A "sisterhood" was created as well, sewing baby clothing for impoverished mothers. Branch churches elsewhere in the country were likewise encouraged to follow the Angelus Temple's example. Even those who considered McPherson's theology almost ridiculous helped out because they saw her church as the best way to assist their community.

In June 1925, after confirming reports of an earthquake in Santa Barbara, McPherson immediately left the parsonage and interrupted a broadcast at a nearby radio station. She took over the microphone from the startled singer and requested food, blankets, clothing, whatever listeners could give for emergency supplies to assist nearby Santa Barbara. As the Red Cross met to discuss and organize aid, McPherson's second convoy had already arrived at the troubled city. In 1928, after a dam failed and the ensuing flood left up to 600 dead in its wake, McPherson's church led the relief effort. Later, in 1933, an earthquake struck and devastated Long Beach. McPherson quickly arranged for volunteers to be on the scene with blankets, coffee and doughnuts.

An unwed mother's home was operated of the parsonage. Roberta Semple Star, McPherson's daughter, shared her room with one troubled or battered runaway girl after another. She recalled they came from all over the country and her mother could spot them in any crowd. McPherson herself would frequently contact the girl's parents, offering to facilitate a reconciliation if needed. If the girl stayed on, after the baby arrived, McPherson made another call to the parents, letting them know wonderful news: their daughter just gave birth to a healthy eight pound baby boy or girl. McPherson's enthusiastically sincere, caring approach tended to result in reluctant parents accepting back their wayward daughter with their new grandchild.

While McPherson, her two children and sometimes visitors shared dinner upstairs, frequently they were interrupted by knocks on the downstairs door. The Angelus Temple parsonage

¹⁶² Much of this material is from http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Aimee_semple_McPherson

received an unknown number of abandoned infants left in all types of containers at its doorstep. People knew a baby left there would be well taken care of. Because many baby abandonments were caused by mothers unable to care for their infants while they worked, she also established a day nursery for children of working mothers.

Drawing from her childhood experience with the Salvation Army, in 1927, McPherson opened a commissary at Angelus Temple which was devised to assist the needy on a much larger, formalized scale. The Commissary was virtually the only place in town a person could get food, clothing, and blankets with no questions asked. It was open 24 hours a day, seven days a week, and became active in creating soup kitchens, free clinics, and other charitable activities as the Great Depression wore on. It is estimated that she fed 1.5 million people. When the government shut down the free school lunch program, McPherson took it over. She acknowledged that her policy of giving first and investigating afterward allowed waste and a certain amount of deadbeats to leech off the program, but it "alleviated suffering on an epic scale".

McPherson got the fire and police departments to assist in distribution. Doctors, physicians and dentists were persuaded to staff her free clinic that trained 500 nurses to help treat children and the elderly. She encouraged individuals and companies of all types to donate supplies, food, cash or labor. To prevent the power from being turned off to homes of overdue accounts during the winter, a US \$2,000 cash reserve was set up with the utility company. Many wealthy upper class people, who otherwise would have nothing to do with the Angelus Temple, would receive a call from McPherson, and end up looting the closets in their mansion or their company stores for something to give. The Yellow Cab Company donated a large building to be used as a meals distribution center and, in the first month, 80,000 people received meals there.

Laboring under a sign "Everybody and anybody is somebody to Jesus", volunteer workers filled commissary baskets with an assortment of food and other items as well as Foursquare Gospel literature and handed them out. Even a complete kit designed to care for newborn babies was available. A reporter writes he had always thought the breadline was a "drab colorless scar on our civilization" but of the Angelus Temple commissary, he observes, was "the warm garment of sympathy and Christian succor." A note, which reflects the sentiment of many of those who received assistance, was left in June, 2010 at McPherson's virtual gravesite:

"My grandpa always talked about when he was a kid, he and his family moved to California from Missouri, during the depression, and his family was starving and they met you and you gave them a bag of vegetables, and some money, he never forgot it." - Anonymous

Establishing an employment bureau as well, McPherson desired to help "the discouraged husband, the despondent widow, or the little mother who wants extra work to bear the burden of a sick husband". She expected everyone in her temple to be involved, 'let us ever strive to lighten our brother's load and dry the tears of a sister; race, creed or status make no difference. We are all one in the eyes of the Lord.' She encouraged members to think of the commissary as widening "the spirituality of the whole church."

In 1932, the commissary was raided by police to allegedly locate a still used to make brandy out of donated apricots. Some sauerkraut and salad oil were purportedly observed leaking from their respective storage areas. As a consequence, the commissary was briefly shut down. The press got involved and the public demanded an investigation. Since no one really wanted to stall the temple's charity efforts, the acceptable solution was to replace the immediate management. The staff was let go and students from her Foursquare Gospel Church's LIFE Bible College filled in. The newspaper media, generally cynical of the Temple and in particular, of McPherson, recognized "the excellent features of that organization's efforts" and "the faults of the Angelus Temple are outweighed by its virtues." McPherson issued a statement declaring, "They have clashed loud their cymbals and blown their trumpets about a still and some sauerkraut,... our work is still before us. If...anybody abused his trust, it must not happen again."

As McPherson tried to avoid administrative delays in categorizing the "deserving" from the "undeserving," her temple commissary became known as one of the region's most effective and inclusive aid institutions. Few soup kitchens lasted more than several months, but McPherson's remained open. A 1936 survey indicated the Angelus Temple assisted more family units than any other public or private institution in the city. Because her programs aided non-residents as well, such as migrants from other states and Mexico, she ran afoul of California state regulations. Even though temple guidelines were later officially adjusted to accommodate those policies, helping families in need was a priority, regardless of their place of residence.

Actor Anthony Quinn recalls:

"This was all during the height of the Depression, when hunger and poverty permeated America. Many Mexicans were terrified of appealing for county help because most of them were in the country illegally. When in distress, they were comforted by the fact that they could call one of Aimee's branches at any time of the night. There, they would never be asked any of the embarrassing questions posed by the authorities. The fact that they were hungry or in need of warm clothing was enough. No one even asked if they belonged to Aimee's church or not."

ADDENDUM M

Salacious Charges Levelled Against McPherson

Aimee Semple McPherson's flamboyant style and unconventional evangelistic techniques offended some people and made her the object of frequent attacks. The charges resulting from her apparent kidnapping and claims that various individuals made that she had extramarital affairs have been the most lasting. This is unfortunate, because none of these charges have proven to be true and most have been completely discredited. Because when one hears her name, these charges still stain her reputation, we will devote these pages to an examination of them.

The aftermath of the alleged kidnapping

The dramatic welcome given to Aimee by the city of Los Angeles did not please everyone.

- Most members of the Chamber of Commerce reportedly were embarrassed by the reception the city gave the evangelist. They considered the behavior of the crowds and the huge parade to be a gaudy display that would cause the city to lose its dignity in the eyes of the nation.
- Her strong stance against evolution and her uncompromising stance in favor of the Bible had brought forth enemies from educational quarters – who, with her disappearance, had hoped to be rid of her.
- Many Los Angeles area church leaders were also annoyed. The “notorious divorcee” had settled in their town and many of their parishioners were now attending her church, drawn to the church by McPherson's elaborate sermons that diminished the dignity of the Gospel.

These groups were not going to miss the opportunity to discredit and get rid of the troublesome evangelist. The Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, the Los Angeles Church Federation, led by Reverend Robert P. Schuler, and the press (always looking for a story) became an informal alliance to investigate the kidnapping story.^{163, 164}

All sorts of newspaper stories began to appear in the daily newspapers – each one more sensational than the previous story. It did not matter if the succeeding story contradicted the previous one, or if the stories were disproved, or contradictory, no correction or apology ever was written, as each day the bizarre nature of the stories grew. The stories sold papers.

Some of those who sought to discredit her story argued that she was in surprisingly good health for someone who had gone through such an ordeal. They pointed out that her clothing did not look like what one would expect from the clothing of one who had just completed such a long walk through the desert. The residents of Douglas, Arizona, where she was taken to recuperate, came to her defense. Expert tracker C.E. Cross, a man with much experience in traversing the desert, testified that McPherson's physical condition, shoes, and clothing were all consistent with an ordeal such as she described.

¹⁶³ Daniel Mark Epstein, *Sister Aimee: The Life of Aimee Semple McPherson* (Orlando, Harcourt Brace and Company) 1993, page 301

¹⁶⁴ Matthew Avery Sutton, *Aimee Semple McPherson and the Resurrection of Christian America* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press) 2007, page 120-122

Aimee's mother, Mildred Kennedy was very troubled by the increased newspaper scrutiny. Given the slander that the newspapers were producing and the notoriety that was developing, McPherson's lawyer advised against pursuing the matter further – he felt that it was best to let it drop, rather than pursue the matter and thus keep it in the press. Since Aimee was the injured party and sole witness to the crime, if she chose not to press her complaint, the case would have to be closed.

Initially, Douglas, Arizona, District Attorney Asa Keyes and Deputy District Attorney Joseph Ryan, accepted McPherson's story and were supportive. Ryan even validated the plausibility of her story, saying that he could make the desert trip without "scuffing or marking his commissary shoes." With this expected cooperation from the District Attorney's office, she presented herself in court as a victim of a crime seeking redress.

When a grand jury was convened on July 8, 1926 various influential Los Angeles business, media, political, and religious interests, put pressure on Keyes and Ryan to change their relationship with McPherson from advocate to adversary. They caved. Instead of receiving Aimee as a victim, they opened the grand jury inquiry with insinuating questions, implying that McPherson and her mother were involved in a deception.

The prosecution produced five witnesses who claimed to have seen McPherson at a seaside cottage in Carmel-by-the-Sea. The cottage had been rented by Ormison, under an assumed name. Their testimony lost credibility when it was pointed out that even though all of them knew of the \$25,000 reward being offered for McPherson's return, and that her pictures appeared in the newspapers, almost daily, none of the five had come forward to claim the reward at the time they now claimed to have seen Aimee.

Several other witnesses stated that they had seen Ormison and a woman at the cottage, but that the woman at the cottage was not McPherson – two of these were witnesses that the prosecution erroneously thought would testify for them.

Ormiston admitted to having rented the cottage but said that the woman who had been with him (whom the press dubbed, "Mrs. X") was not Aimee McPherson but another woman with whom he was having an extramarital affair.

The grand jury adjourned 12 days later, concluding that there was not sufficient evidence to proceed with any charges against her alleged kidnappers nor was there sufficient evidence to charge McPherson with perjury. The prosecutors stated that they would be open to receiving any evidence submitted by her should she desire to further substantiate her kidnapping story.

The grand jury reconvened on August 3. In an effort to discount McPherson's kidnapping story, the prosecution presented documents from various hotels, which they contended would prove that McPherson was staying in hotels, rather than being a captive in the desert. The newspapers reported that the hotel registration documents were in McPherson's handwriting. This claim also was disproven, when it was revealed they were in the handwriting of Elizabeth Tovey, a woman traveling with Ormiston. The handwriting on the documents did not in any way resemble the handwriting of McPherson.

Aimee McPherson steadfastly stuck to her story, that she was approached by a young couple at the beach who had asked her to come over and pray for their sick child, and that she was then shoved into a car and drugged with chloroform.

The prosecution sent investigators back to the Carmel cottage to look for fingerprints. Although fingerprints were found, they did not find any belonging to McPherson.. Two grocery sales slips found in the yard of the cottage were studied by a police handwriting expert and initially were declared to be McPherson's penmanship. Mysteriously, the original sales slips disappeared from the courtroom, but photo copies were available. The defense had a handwriting expert of their own who demonstrated clearly that the grocery slips were not McPherson's but had been doctored to look like hers. The suspicious origin of these sales slips also was questioned – the original slips would have been in the yard for two months, surviving dew, fog, and lawn maintenance before their discovery. Apparently they had been created by someone who was trying to link McPherson to the cottage.

The Reverend Robert Shuler, frustrated by the grand jury's inability to discredit the story of the kidnapping, demanded a disclosure of what was going on in the grand jury's sessions. He was informed California grand jury members are bound by law not to discuss the case. This law was for the protection of the process of determining whether or not there is sufficient cause for a formal juried trial, In spite of the law, through various leaks the proceedings did become quite public.¹⁶⁵

To combat the bad newspaper publicity, McPherson spoke freely about the court trials on the air during her radio broadcasts

The year before the McPherson trial, H. L. Mencken, the *Baltimore Sun* and *The American Mercury* journalist and satirist, had written mocking pieces about William Jennings Bryan's conduct in the Scopes trial. He became a very vocal critic of McPherson and was sent to cover the trial. Everyone expected him to continue his searing critiques against the evangelist – something similar to what he had written about Bryan (she had been a very vocal supporter of Bryan, during the trial). Instead, the opposite happened. Mencken was impressed with McPherson and disdainful of the unseemly nature of the prosecution.¹⁶⁶ In 1930, in retrospect, writing about the trial, Mencken wrote:

¹⁶⁵ Reverend Robert P. Shuler, whose caustic view of McPherson softened over the years, wrote he could not figure out why God chose such a person. The flaws he observed in McPherson, were by his opinion, many, yet she ultimately made a positive impact on Christianity, long lasting and enduring . He recognized her appeal was a combination of identifying with the average citizen as well as an ability to explain the gospel in simple, easily understandable terms, drawing them irresistibly to her services: "...while great cathedral churches closed their doors on Sunday night, the crowds pushed through her portals in one ever-flowing stream." Sutton, page 285

¹⁶⁶ Sutton, pages 120-121 H. L. Mencken determined the evangelist was being persecuted by two powerful groups. The "town clergy" which included Rev. Robert P. Shuler, disliked her, for among other things, poaching their "customers" and for the perceived sexual immorality associated with Pentecostalism. Her other category of enemies were "the Babbits", the power elite of California. McPherson's strong stand on Bible fundamentalism was not popular with them, especially after taking a stand during the 1925 Scopes trial which gave "science a bloody nose." In addition McPherson was working to put a Bible in every public school classroom and to forbid the teaching of evolution. *The Argonaut*, a San Francisco newspaper, warned these

"For years she toured the Bible Belt in a Ford, haranguing the morons nightly, under canvas. It was a depressing life, and its usufructs were scarcely more than three meals a day. The town [he refers to Los Angeles] has more morons in it than the whole State of Mississippi, and thousands of them had nothing to do save gape at the movie dignitaries and go to revivals"

"The trial, indeed, was an orgy typical of the half-fabulous California courts. The very officers of justice denounced her riotously in the Hearst papers while it was in progress."¹⁶⁷

Theories and innuendo of all sorts were bandied about, i.e., she had run off with a lover; she was taking time to heal from plastic surgery; the whole thing was just a staged publicity stunt. Two-inch headlines called her a tart, a conspirator, and a home-wrecker.

One newspaper claimed that she had gone off to have an abortion. The operation that had taken place as a result of McPherson's near-death medical problems in 1914, made becoming pregnant impossible. This surgery and its lasting effects already had become a part of the public record. When her attorney challenged about the newspaper about the abortion claim with a request for the paper to pay for the medical exam to prove its allegations, the newspaper which printed the story backed down.

Some witnesses for the prosecution stated when they saw McPherson in Carmel, she had short hair, and the prosecution claimed that she was currently wearing fake hair swatches piled up to give the impression of longer tresses. When McPherson, as requested by her lawyer, stood up and unpinned her hair, her tresses fell abundantly around her shoulders, shocking the witnesses and others into embarrassed silence.

The grand jury examination ended on October 28. On November 3, the judge ruled that enough evidence had been garnered against the evangelist and her mother for a jury trial in Los Angeles, set for mid-January 1927. The charges were serious: a criminal conspiracy to commit acts injurious to public morals, to prevent and obstruct justice, and to prevent the due administration of the laws, and of engaging in a criminal conspiracy to commit the crime of subordination of perjury. If convicted, the counts added up to maximum prison time of forty-two years.

The chief witness called to testify against McPherson was Lorraine Wiseman-Sielaff. At first she stated she was in Carmel as a nurse for Ormiston's mistress and that because she somewhat physically resembled McPherson, people were misidentifying her as the evangelist. Later, after the Angelus Temple refused to post her bail when she was arrested for passing a bad check, Wiseman-Sielaff changed her story and said that McPherson had paid her to tell that story. Her testimony was fluidly inconsistent, and it changed significantly to the degree that Prosecutor Asa Keyes eventually concluded Wiseman-Sielaff's story was not true. He stated that a "grievous wrong had been done" to McPherson. *The Examiner* newspaper reported that Los Angeles district attorney Asa Keyes had dropped all charges on January 10, 1927.

actions made her a threat to the entire state which could place "California on intellectual parity with Mississippi and Tennessee."

¹⁶⁷ *The American Mercury* magazine, 1930

Regardless of the court's decision, months of unfavorable press reports fixed in much of the public's mind a certainty of McPherson's wrongdoing. Many readers were unaware of prosecution evidence having become discredited. The newspapers always ran the lurid charges on the front page, under prominent headlines, whereas the discrediting of the evidence merited no more than some unobtrusive back column.

The Reverend Robert P. Schuler just wouldn't quit. In a letter he wrote to the *Los Angeles Times* a few months after the case was dropped, he stated, "Perhaps the most serious thing about this whole situation is the seeming loyalty of thousands to this leader in the face of her evident and positively proven guilt."

Some supporters thought McPherson should have insisted on the jury trial and cleared her name. The grand jury inquiry concluded while enough evidence did not exist to try her, it did not indicate her story was true with its implication of kidnappers still at large. Therefore, anyone could still accuse her of a hoax without fear of slander charges and frequently did so.

Because of the harsh treatment that she had been given in the courtroom, and because of being verbally pressured every way possible in an effort to get her to change her story, McPherson chose to not seek a jury trial. Furthermore, her court costs and lawyer's fees were estimated as high as US \$100,000 dollars. A jury trial could take months and she wanted to get on with her life and ministry. In 1927 she published a book about her version of the kidnapping: *In the Service of the King: The Story of My Life*.

The 1926 grand jury case was the largest of its kind in California. Hundreds of reporters tried to find discrediting evidence against the evangelist. Newspapers spent \$500,000 in their investigation, 3,600 pages of transcripts generated. Agencies, officials, and others continued to investigate, even years later, but no one was able to prove her kidnapping story false. In 1929, after a failed request by the state senate to reopen the older 1926 case, Journalist Morrow Mayo noted it was the last chance in California to "ruin that red-headed sorceress", and "she is free to serve the Lord until the Marines are called out."

The Court of Historical Review and Appeal in San Francisco is made up of members of the bench who examine and retry historical cases and controversies. In April 1990, a decision was handed down regarding the matter of McPherson's kidnapping story. George T. Choppelas, the then presiding judge of the San Francisco Municipal Court, ruling for the Court of Historical Review, found the issues involved both serious and fascinating. He concluded his ruling with the interesting statement, "there was never any substantial evidence to show that her story was untrue. She may not have been a saint, but she certainly was no sinner, either."

In September, 1931, on her way to an eight-day revival in Portland, Oregon, she visited former district attorney Asa Keyes, in the San Quentin penitentiary. Keyes, who had been a vigorous prosecutor in attempting to prove her 1926 kidnapping story a fraud, was imprisoned on an unrelated matter. McPherson, with no apparent malice or gloating, wished him well and said he was in her prayers. A grateful Keyes thanked her.

Claims of extramarital affairs

Numerous allegations of illicit love affairs were not infrequent. For the most part, the suspected lovers denied any involvement with Mrs. McPherson.

For example, Kenneth Ormiston (describe above) was a married man with a small son. He could have profited immensely from an exposé about himself and McPherson. McPherson and

Ormiston did have a good working relationship and were friendly with each other, but Ormiston contended that their relationship went no further than that. During the 1926 kidnapping grand jury trial, his privacy was invaded in every way when reporters and investigators tried to link him amorously to McPherson. He told the newspapers that to have his name connected amorously to the evangelist "was a gross insult to a noble and sincere woman."

On June 4, 1936, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that McPherson had received a note demanding \$10,000 or else nude motion pictures of her and a friend would be publicly released. The money was not paid and no photos ever were released. When she was asked about it in an unrelated interview later that year, she tersely stated that nude pictures of her did not exist because none were ever taken.

When McPherson began to change her style of dress and become more involved with Hollywood, one of the Holiness staff members of the Angelus Temple, in 1929, hired detectives to shadow her. They discretely followed her, night and day. Through her windows, they frequently saw McPherson staying up until the early morning hours composing songs, drafting sacred operas and scribbling diagrams of her illustrated sermons. Their intense effort to find evidence of indiscretions, found nothing.

After her death, various individuals claimed to have had an affair with McPherson. In a 1974 autobiography, Milton Berle claimed to have had a brief affair with the evangelist. In his book, entitled *Milton Berle: An Autobiography*, Berle wrote that he met McPherson at the Shrine Auditorium in Los Angeles where both were doing a charity show.

Berle wrote that after the show, the two of them went to lunch in Santa Monica, then to Aimee's apartment where McPherson changed into something "cooler [...] a very thin, pale blue negligee." Berle said he could see she was wearing nothing underneath. She just said, "Come in." Berle said they met for the second and last time at the same apartment a few days later, "This time, she just sent the chauffeur for me to bring me straight to the apartment. We didn't even bother with lunch. When I was dressing to leave, she stuck out her hand. 'Good luck with your show, Milton.' What the hell. I couldn't resist it. 'Good luck with yours, Aimee.' I never saw or heard from Aimee Semple McPherson again. But whenever I hear 'Yes, Sir, That's My Baby', I remember her."

The lie to this tale is seen in the fact that McPherson never did have an apartment and that she did not do charity shows (she had her own charities), and the year in which Berle claims that this happened, she was often ill and bedridden. Berle was known to be a notorious womanizer whose many tales of scandalous affairs were not always true and this seems to be one of those false tales.

Author Raymond L. Cox states: "Mrs. McPherson's daughter, Roberta Salter of New York, told me, 'Mother never had an apartment in her life.' By 1931 she kept herself securely chaperoned to guard against such allegations." During 1930 the evangelist's appearances and whereabouts can be traced almost every day. She was incapacitated with illness a full five months of that year, and there is no place on her schedule as reported in her publications and church and travel records for the benefit Berle alleged. Besides, Roberta also told Cox, "Mother never did a benefit in her life. She had her own charities".¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁸ Raymond L. Cox, *The Verdict is In* (The California Heritage Committee) 1983 page 241