

THE HOLINESS SOCIAL ETHIC AND
NAZARENE URBAN MINISTRY

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	v
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
<p style="text-align: center;">Wesleyanism and the Holiness Churches Social Christianity and Holiness Churches</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">PART I. THE SOCIAL CONCERNS OF THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE DURING ITS FORMATIVE YEARS (1895-1920) AS REFLECTED IN ITS OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS</p>	
II. <u>THE NAZARENE MESSENGER</u> AND PHINEAS BRESEE	12
III. <u>THE HERALD OF HOLINESS</u> , B. F. HAYNES, EDITOR	23
IV. RETRENCHMENT	43
<p style="text-align: center;">PART II. NAZARENE URBAN MINISTRY WASHINGTON, D.C.</p>	
V. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE MINISTRY OF INNER-CITY HOUSING REHABILITATION	50
VI. THE HOUSING CRISIS IN WASHINGTON, D.C.	57
<p style="text-align: center;">Federal Housing Assistance Programs The Failure of Government Housing Subsidies Private Ownership of Low-Income Housing</p>	
VII. THE RESPONSE OF JUBILEE HOUSING	78
VIII. THE FORMATION OF A NEW CONGREGATION	89
<p style="text-align: center;">Confronting Cultural Racism An Alternate Structure for Mission</p>	

PART III. TOWARDS A THEORY OF
URBAN MINISTRY

IX. AN ANALYSIS OF EVANGELICAL SOCIAL CONCERN	107
The National Association of Evangelicals	
The Billy Graham Evangelistic Association	
Writers and Editors	
Politicians	
Christian Radicalism	
X. WHITHER URBAN MINISTRY?	123
Washington Inner-City Mission	
.	
APPENDICES	127
SOURCES CONSULTED	148

LIST OF TABLES

1. Distribution of Persons per Room (Overcrowding)	59
2. Condition of Unit	59
3. Distribution of Renters in Households by Incomes	60
4. Distribution of Gross Rent above 25 Per Cent of Income By Income Group	60
5. Median Family Incomes	61
6. Mean Family Income	62
7. Mean Incomes for Families and Unrelated Individuals	62
8. Section 8--Household Income Limits	63
9. Service Areas	63
10. Black Population Change	65
11. Entitlement Amounts for D.C.	65

PREFACE

The Project-Thesis is an attempt to describe the social concern of the holiness movement as reflected in the formative period of The Church of the Nazarene (1895-1920), and to relate this heritage to the Washington, D.C., inner-city project initiated by the writer and being supported as a pilot project for urban ministry by The Church of the Nazarene. The argument of the Project-Thesis is that within the holiness movement and The Church of the Nazarene there is a vital social ethic which needs to be reappropriated today. Because the holiness leaders, since 1920, have reacted against theological liberalism and the Social Gospel movement, the holiness churches of the twentieth century have been associated with fundamentalism and have appeared to be uninvolved with the problems of society when not informed of their own tradition and theology. The writer seeks to demonstrate that in a reading of the official periodicals of The Church of the Nazarene during its formative period one finds a significant ethical tradition which can continue to motivate response to social problems of society.

In the introduction, the point is made that The Church of the Nazarene, the largest of the so-called holiness churches, maintains a self-conscious theological relationship with Wesley and has thereby been influenced by the social concerns of Wesleyanism. The emergence of the holiness movement in the nineteenth century, however, brought to the holiness churches significant theological departures from classical Wesleyanism. However, the same theological and social forces which brought about the rise of the social gospel encouraged the de-

velopment of a holiness social ethic around the turn of the twentieth century. In the Nazarene archives, the most extensive collection of holiness movement documents, the writer studied the official publication of the Church from 1895 through 1920, after which there appeared a marked retrenchment from the social concern of the early holiness leaders. The conclusion is that there was similarity of opinion on social issues by holiness leaders with those positions taken by advocates of the Social Gospel movement. In addition to support for Prohibition, holiness leaders were outspoken in their support of women's suffrage, were opposed to large corporations, and were strongly anti-war and especially concerned with the plight of the poor, making consistent appeals for relief work in city missions and orphanages.

The Nazarene Inner-City Mission is described as a conscious attempt to reappropriate this theological and ethical heritage in Washington, D.C. The project began with the writer's involvement in forming Jubilee Housing, Inc., as a means of involving the Church in the ministry of inner-city housing rehabilitation. A task force of members in the Washington First Church of the Nazarene joined the effort in 1973. These people became the nucleus of those who have created a new congregation support by The Church of the Nazarene with the specific purpose of ministering to those for whom the inner city is home.

Such a ministry requires a knowledge of the housing crisis, its causes and possible solutions. The Project-Thesis contains an evaluation of the Washington crisis in housing and a description of the objectives of Jubilee Housing. The work of Jubilee Housing is presented as the means by which the Nazarene Inner-City Mission seeks to

accomplish its commitment to create a cross-cultural ministry with a particular focus upon the needs of the poor in Washington.

CHAPTER 3
TRANSMISSION

Methodism and the Holiness Social Ethic

Disposition to change individual or social action is an essential part of the present holiness movement that neither those within nor those outside the holiness churches are aware of the unique social ethic which has characterized the holiness tradition since its origin in the 18th-century evangelical revival. While most holiness people refer to themselves as "evangelists" as well as "holiness" people, the highest remains the single most important period in the tradition, and though the roots of the tradition predate Wesley, so strongly are the holiness movement identified with Wesley, that even, if not even, founders in his work direct constitutional thought are hesitant to claim a close identity with "Wesleyanism." This is not necessarily a new development, for among the first American Methodists there were those who discovered a close relationship with Wesley for his opposition to the American War of Independence. Further, we must recognize the American Methodists a universal loyalty to Wesley's concept of holiness and to his prophetic social structure with socialism, Gandhi and others.

1. The implicitly and explicitly social Wesleyan and holiness. So will see this identification made when those who believe Wesley but who do not find the understanding of holiness necessary remain from calling themselves Wesleyan but the label "holiness" be attached also to their "evangelists" along with the term "holiness." For inadequate reasons, he considered a liability." *Methodism Today* (Spring, 1975), 51.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Wesleyanism and the Holiness Social Ethic

Opposition to church involvement in social action is so much a part of the present holiness movement that neither those within nor those outside the holiness churches are aware of the unique social ethic which has characterized the holiness tradition since its origin in the 18th-century evangelical revival. While most holiness people refer to themselves as "Arminians" as well as Wesleyans, Wesley nevertheless remains the single most important person in the tradition, even though the roots of the tradition predate Wesley. So closely has the holiness movement identified with Wesley, that some, if not most Methodists in his more direct organizational lineage are hesitant to claim a close identity with "Wesleyanism."¹ This is not necessarily a new development, for among the first American Methodists there were those who disavowed a close relationship with Wesley for his opposition to the American War of Independence. Neither was there among the American Methodists a universal loyalty to Wesley's concept of holiness nor to his organizational structures with societies, bands and classes.

¹"We implicitly and explicitly equate Wesleyanism and holiness. So well has this identification been made that those who admire Wesley but who do not find our understanding of holiness convincing refrain from calling themselves Wesleyan lest the label 'holiness' be attached also to them. Wesleyan, along with the term Arminian, for inadequate reasons, is considered a liability." (Mildred Bangs Wynkoop, "John Wesley--Mentor or Guru?" Wesleyan Theological Journal 10 (Spring, 1975): 9.)

Whatever degree of identity with Wesley Methodists have had in the past, it hardly needs proving that those within the holiness Churches claim a more conscious theological identification with Wesley.² The recent merger of the Pilgrim Holiness Church with the Wesleyan Methodist Church to form the Wesleyan Church, and more importantly, the establishment of the Wesleyan Theological Society in 1966, with its publication of the Wesleyan Theological Journal, with articles of interest to "Wesleyan-Arminian Scholars," serve to perpetuate this identity with Wesley among the holiness churches.³

While holiness theologians have claimed an identity with Wesley, they are also aware that this tradition which claims to be Wesleyan has departed consciously and unconsciously from Wesley, especially from his teachings about holiness or sanctification.⁴ Less conscious has been a

²This conscious identification with Wesley was very much a part of the motivation for the formation of the Church of the Nazarene. In 1912, B.F. Haynes, editor of the Herald of Holiness, wrote:

"The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, in point of doctrine, of experience, of evangelistic activity and missionary belief and endeavor, is Mr. Wesley's legitimate and historic offspring and the direct successor of the Wesleyan movement. There is not a single truth in which we believe that was not stressed by Mr. Wesley. We insist upon the same conscious experience of full salvation from all sin which was Mr. Wesley's lifelong message. Like Mr. Wesley we claim the world for our parish. With Mr. Wesley we believe in justification by faith only, insisting that salvation from beginning to end is wholly of God and in no sense or degree the work of man. Let us continue to stand unfalteringly and with passionate devotion for these great truths and principles. Let us prove worthy our great ecclesiastical progenitor." (B.F. Haynes, "The World Is My Parish," Herald of Holiness 1 (December 18, 1912): 3.)

³The purpose of the Wesleyan Theological Society was stated in the first issue. "To encourage exchange of ideas among Wesleyan-Arminian theologians; to develop a source of papers for NHA Seminars; to stimulate scholarship among younger theologians and pastors; and to publish a scholarly journal." (The Wesleyan Theological Journal 1 (Spring 1966): 1.)

⁴The most thorough study of the development of holiness theology in Methodism and the holiness churches is by John Peters. His

shift from Wesley's thought and practice of social concern. Whatever

argument is that in emphasizing Wesley's teachings concerning holiness, the holiness movement developed a rigid, revivalistic definition of how people become sanctified.

"Wesley, for instance, had come to a fairly general tolerance of method. The holiness movement, on the other hand, maintained a strict and unvarying methodology. And opponents of the method were apt to be considered opponents of the doctrine. Wesley had encouraged testimony only when the time, place, and motive were propitious. In the later emphasis testimony was pronounced a duty, to be given however adverse the reaction. And where Wesley had conceived the doctrine as part of the broad, general nurture of the church with a gradual work always preceding and following entire sanctification, it was now being presented as almost wholly comprehended in the specific experience, any prior or subsequent nurture being merely incidental--sometimes irrelevant. There were other differences, but these were most significant." (John Peters, Christian Perfection and American Methodism (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956): 190.)

Donald Dayton claims that a major shift from classical Wesleyanism occurred in the ante-bellum period under the influence of Asa Mahan, president of Oberlin College. Classical Wesleyanism sees sanctification as Christological while the holiness movements from Mahan on viewed sanctification as pneumanological.

"This adoption of 'Pentecostal' and 'baptism of the Holy Ghost' language by holiness and related traditions involved much more than a mere shift in terminology. When 'Christian perfection' becomes 'baptism of the Holy Ghost,' there is a major theological transformation." (Donald Dayton, "Asa Mahan and the Development of American Holiness Theology," Wesleyan Theological Journal 9 (Spring 1975): 64.)

Dayton goes on to claim that this "shift" provided the logical foundation for the emergence of the modern Pentecostal movement.

"It is possible to trace the rise of 'Pentecostal' language through the whole last half of the nineteenth century. It is not surprising that modern Pentecostalism should sprout in this well-prepared ground. It was therefore a 'holiness' evangelist who founded Bethel Bible School near Topeka, Kans., where the doctrine that the evidence of the Pentecostal baptism of the Holy Spirit as the gift of speaking in tongues was first expounded. And in 1906 it was a black 'holiness' evangelist who came to speak in a 'Nazarene' mission and saw the launching of the Azusa Street Revival from which the rise of modern Pentecostalism is usually dated." (Ibid.)

For the Holiness Revival in the Methodist Church, (1865-1885) and the pre-Civil War founders of the holiness movement, see Smith, Called Unto Holiness, Chapter 1, "The Holiness Revival."

George Failing described the variations in holiness teachings in an article found in a series published by the National (Christian) Holiness Association:

"I have reviewed these movements: The Wesleyan movement; the

Wesley meant by "social holiness" there is agreement by those in and out of the holiness churches that those who today call themselves Wesleyans have not followed Wesley's teachings of example of assuming responsibility for the social welfare of individuals or society. It was not always so. Timothy Smith, in Revivalism and Social Reform,⁵ has documented a generally accepted thesis that ante-bellum "perfectionists" following the teachings of Asa Mahan and Charles Finney, as well as the holiness leaders within Methodism, were to some degree social activists. The activism gradually subsided after the Civil War, however, with Prohibition and Women's Suffrage the last social reform issues to be uniformly supported by the holiness churches.

In the series on Methodism and Society, Richard Cameron described the demise of a holiness social ethic following the Civil War.

At the beginning of its career in America, Methodism had proclaimed a double objective: to reform the nation and to spread scriptural holiness. Till the crusading fervors of the fight against slavery had subsided, the perfectionists kept the complementary halves pretty well in balance. But afterwards, they beat a retreat from the responsibility for the state of society as a whole, which

post-Wesleyan movement characterized by Adam Clarke's theology; the movement under the Palmers; the N.H.A. movement; the Keswick movement; the Pentecostal movement. I have chosen these because they seemed to represent to me significant developments in holiness theology since John Wesley.

"All of these linger with us. The holiness movement evidently is in no danger of dying out. Much of the Palmer emphasis may be seen in the Keswick movement. Adam Clarke's emphasis and the N.H.A. position seem to dominate the theological field among Wesleyan-Arminian groups . . . The Keswick movement advances, chiefly among the Baptists and Presbyterians, and others of Calvinistic persuasion. And there can be no doubt that the group making the largest membership gains currently are the Pentecostals." (George Failing, "Developments in Holiness Theology After Wesley," Insights Into Holiness (Beacon Hill Press: Kansas City, 1962), pp. 30-31.)

⁵Timothy Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform (New York: Abingdon Press, 1975).

Methodism at its best has steadily acknowledged.⁶

While theological development within the holiness movement has been somewhat deliberate and necessary, given the imprecise nature of Wesley's own theology, there is a growing awareness within the holiness churches that the holiness movement never consciously intended to retreat into conservative reaction without a sense of responsibility for the moral order.⁷ Writing in the Wesleyan Theological Journal, Edward Coleson speaks for a growing number of those who have become aware of the ethical roots of the holiness movement. Having documented some of the reforms which resulted from the Evangelical Revival, he writes of his own feelings:

Although I attended a Wesleyan church all my life, graduated from one of their colleges, and also took most of their ministerial courses, I did not know this dramatic story myself until I stumbled onto it in connection with my doctoral dissertation on Sierra Leone. If the Blacks have been kept in ignorance of their great achievements because of a white conspiracy, who is keeping us from knowing our own history? Also, if they suffered severe psychological deprivation because of this omission, what about the young Christian who has been taught that the church never did anything over the ages but get in the way and hold back progress.⁸

⁶Richard M. Cameron, Methodism and Society in Historical Perspective, Methodism and Society, Vol. 1 (New York: Abingdon Press, 1961), p. 267.

⁷While there has been a revival of interest within American conservative or evangelical Christianity for social concern, the holiness movement within evangelicalism is unique in that it has a theology and tradition for social action. Donald Dayton wrote a series of ten articles for the Post American on the holiness social ethic in a series "Recovering a Heritage," beginning June 1974. He covered not only those churches which emerged out of the holiness movement after the Civil War, but also the schisms which produced the Free Methodist, and Wesleyan Methodist denominations. He also deals with other groups which have their theological roots in the Wesleyan heritage, but are not generally included in the mainstream of the holiness movement, i.e. The Salvation Army, The Christian and Missionary Alliance Churches, and Volunteers of America. (See Chapter X, "An Analysis of Evangelical Social Concern" for the author's evaluation of evangelical social concern.)

⁸Edward Coleson, "English Social Reform from Wesley to the Victorian Era," Wesleyan Theological Journal 7 (Spring 1972): 22, 23.

It is only within the relatively recent past, and then without a conscious effort to repudiate what can be referred to as the holiness social ethic, that Wesleyanism, or the holiness movement, has been divorced from social action. The causes for this retreat from a social ethic are many and complex, but due in part, if not primarily, to a failure to understand the ethical tradition which began with Wesley. Because holiness leaders have reacted to theological liberalism and the social gospel movement, the holiness churches of the twentieth century have been associated with fundamentalism and have appeared to be uninvolved with the problems of society and uninformed of their own tradition and theology. The argument of this Project-Thesis is that in reading the history and theology of the holiness movement, the holiness Churches represent a significant ethical tradition which can continue to motivate response to social problems of society. An example of this is the ministry of The Church of the Nazarene to the inner city of Washington, D.C.

Social Christianity and the Holiness Churches

For both the holiness churches and the major American Protestant denominations which cooperated to form the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, 1908 is a key date. For the Social Gospel movement, which Hopkins traces from 1865, 1908 was the "climax."

The climax of official recognition of social Christianity was attained in the organization of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in 1908. Not only was the social gospel acknowledged in an impressive manner by this most representative body in American Protestant history, but social action was itself one of the important factors that brought the Federal Council into being.⁹

⁹Charles Howard Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism 1865-1915 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p. 302.

This was also the year that the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church adopted a "Social Creed" which Muelder claims was "substantially the statement of social ideals" of the Methodist Church "taken over"¹⁰ by the Federal Council. For The Church of the Nazarene, the largest of the holiness churches which claim succession from John Wesley, October 1908 is looked back upon as the date of the most significant of a series of mergers which resulted in its official organization.

Contrary to popular assumptions, though, the holiness movement and the churches which grew out of it was not a protest movement, a reaction to the social gospel, or to the conciliar movement which led to the Federal Council. In fact, similar social and theological commitments gave rise to both the holiness churches and the social gospel. The holiness movement, like the social gospel, was nurtured during the post-Civil War time of industrialism and urbanism, and both were responses in some way to the new social problems of industrialism in the growing cities. In his Perfectionist Persuasion, Charles Jones provides a demographic analysis of the people in the early holiness movement, showing that the movement centered primarily in the cities among those who were migrating from rural America.¹¹ Holiness churches and their city missions were motivated by the Progressive ideal of saving people from the evils industrialism had brought upon society, while preparing

¹⁰Walter G. Muelder, Methodism and Society in the Twentieth Century, Methodism and Society, Vol. 2 (New York: Abingdon Press, 1961), pp. 46-51.

¹¹Charles Edwin Jones, Perfectionist Persuasion: The Holiness Movement and American Methodism, 1867-1936 (Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, 1974).

society for the soon-to-come "Christian Century" when America would achieve its destiny of righteousness. Utopianism was shared equally by the advocates of the social gospel and the leaders of the holiness movement. As Smith writes in his history of the formative years of The Church of the Nazarene: "The doctrine of entire sanctification, like the crusades against slavery, drunkenness, and pauperism, appealed to a widespread confidence that all the world's evil could be done away."¹²

It was the same social and theological issues which contributed to the demise of both the Social Gospel movement and the social concern of the holiness churches. The coming of World War I, the failure of Prohibition to reform society, and a theological shift from post-millennialism to premillennialism, all contributed to a retrenchment from the earlier confidence that social reform was possible. Smith describes this shift within The Church of the Nazarene:

Consequently the social work which has inspired so much devotion in the early years suffered from steadily increasing neglect. Rescue homes and missions disappeared from district programs. Pronouncements on social issues, when made at all, were buried in the reports of committees on public morals whose real preoccupation was standards of personal behavior among church people. The order of deaconesses, once a great source of spiritual power in the denomination, declined in both numbers and influence. Even the ancient commitment to prohibitionism was restated in terms of personal rather than social regeneration.¹³

But prior to and during the generation following 1908, The Church of the Nazarene was consciously a church for the disinherited with leaders from the middle-class participating with the poor in the social reform movements of the time. The leaders from the various

¹²Timothy Smith, Called Unto Holiness, The Story of the Nazarenes: The Formative Years (Kansas City: Nazarene Publishing House, 1962), p. 26.

¹³Ibid., p. 318.

groups that formed The Church of the Nazarene were outspoken for the same issues which concerned the Social Gospel movement. It was only after the 1920's that the holiness churches became more or less identified with the fundamentalists for whom the social gospel became synonymous with theological liberalism, "church festivals and Sunday School dances."¹⁴

The theological and ecclesiastical events which combined to give rise to the holiness movement and The Church of the Nazarene are well-documented by historian Timothy Smith in Revivalism and Social Reform,¹⁵ and its sequel, Called Unto Holiness,¹⁶ and in numerous other works noted by Dayton in The American Holiness Movement: A Bibliographic Introduction.¹⁷ Since Revivalism and Social Reform was published in 1957, it has been generally accepted that the holiness movement during its formative period in mid-nineteenth-century America was involved in social reform. What is not so well known, either within or outside the holiness churches, is that this Wesleyan combination of theological conservatism, or piety, and the expression of social concern with involvement in reform movements continued into the first two decades of the twentieth century. Timothy Smith and now Donald Dayton have served to raise the consciousness of the holiness people to their theology and heritage for social activism. An analysis of the most significant representative editorials of the early Nazarene publi-

¹⁴Ibid., 14.

¹⁵Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform.

¹⁶Smith, Called Unto Holiness.

¹⁷Donald W. Dayton, The American Holiness Movement: A Bibliographic Introduction, (Wilmore, Kentucky: B.L. Fisher Library, 1971).

cations confirms the argument that during the formative period of The Church of the Nazarene, (1895-1920), the Wesleyan holiness identification carried with it not only a call to an inward spiritual experience of perfect love but also a call to respond to social problems which call for reform.

CHAPTER II

THE NAZARENE MISSIONS AND MINISTERS BROSSES

(1895-1912)

PART I. THE SOCIAL CONCERNS OF THE CHURCH
OF THE NAZARENE DURING ITS FORMATIVE
YEARS (1895-1920) AS REFLECTED
IN ITS OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

The most prominent early leader of the Church of the Nazarenes was Bishop F. Broese, a self-chosen Methodist minister who moved from the ... of ...

... of his bishops ...

... primarily ecclesiastical rather than theological ...

... true that he was abetted to undignified pulpits by bishops unfriendly to his evangelistic fervor for temperance and prohibition, the break came over the refusal of the Methodist Church to allow Broese to accept an opportunity to lead an interdenominational city mission in Los Angeles.¹ This conflict, added to the unrest which had been

¹One of the chief issues which separated Broese from the Methodists, therefore, was his program for evangelizing the poor. By early June, 1895, the Methodist pastors in Los Angeles had organized an apparently aggressive "City Evangelization Union." They held sessions daily for mission work at various neglected locations in the city. Meanwhile the California Christian Advocate commented that "free reports and comments in the air, it may be inferred that Bishop Hill has not the fullest endorsement of the city's Methodist pastors, and that its influence is not in the highest degree favorable to the work of the churches." The cleavage was primarily ecclesiastical, however, not theological. (Glenby Smith, *Called Into Witness* (Kansas City, Nazarene Publishing House, 1922), p. 128.)

CHAPTER II

THE NAZARENE MESSENGER AND PHINEAS BRESEE

(1895-1912)

The most important early leader in The Church of the Nazarene was Phineas F. Bresee, a self-taught Methodist minister who moved from the Iowa Conference in 1885 to southern California to become a prominent pastor (Los Angeles First and Pasadena First), a presiding elder, and a much-sought-after evangelist. As an outspoken prohibitionist and holiness evangelist, his fortunes rose or fell according to the attitude of his bishops on those issues. Bresee's break with Methodism was primarily ecclesiastical rather than theological. While it is true that he was assigned to undesirable pulpits by bishops unfriendly to his evangelistic fervor for holiness and prohibition, the break came over the refusal of the Methodist Church to allow Bresee to accept an opportunity to lead an interdenominational city mission in Los Angeles.¹ This conflict, added to the unrest which had been

¹"One of the chief issues which separated Bresee from the Methodists, therefore, was his program for evangelizing the poor. By early June, 1895, the Methodist pastors in Los Angeles had organized an apparently competitive 'City Evangelization Union.' They laid ambitious plans for mission work at various neglected locations in the city. Meanwhile the California Christian Advocate commented that 'from reports and comments in the air, it may be inferred that Peniel Hall has not the fullest endorsement of the city's Methodist pastors, and that its influence is not in the highest degree favorable to the work of the churches.' The cleavage was primarily ecclesiastical, however, not theological." (Timothy Smith, Called Unto Holiness (Kansas City: Nazarene Publishing House, 1962), p. 108.)

developing over Bresee's advocacy of holiness and prohibition, led him to sever life-long ties with Methodism to pursue his mission work.

Mission work combining holiness preaching with care for the outcasts of the city reflected his life-long interest in social issues. E.A. Girvin, the California State Supreme Court reporter who recorded this sermon and compiled his letters in a biography, tells of Bresee's early unionist convictions during the Civil War while he was still in Iowa.

He came to manhood before the great Civil War began. During that conflict, he was a radical Union man, and made a practice of draping his pulpit with the American flag, thus offending many Southern sympathizers, who otherwise would have been his friends.²

In 1860 Bresee requested not to be returned to the Grinnell, Iowa, circuit because he said, "I was very strong in my loyalty, and anti-slavery conviction . . . I had already more or less grieved these people by my preaching of what they regarded as Abolition doctrine, and I saw it would be very difficult for me to get along with them."³

Because of an internal leadership conflict, Bresee served the Peniel mission for only a short time prior to organizing The Church of the Nazarene in 1895, which became a center for holiness and prohibitionist preaching in Los Angeles. Bresee's early financial support came from the one hundred-plus members who joined with him, including the wealthy physician, Dr. J.P. Widney, who during this time was president of the University of Southern California, where Bresee had served as chairman of the Board of Trustees while in the Methodist Church. Although Bresee was financially independent, and although

²E.A. Girvin, Phineas F. Bresee: A Prince in Israel (Kansas City: Pentecostal Nazarene Publishing House, 1916), p. 16.

³Ibid., p. 40.

many of his associates were equally prosperous, the avowed intention of the Nazarene work was "preaching holiness, and carrying the gospel to the poor."⁴ As the word of the organization of The Church of the Nazarene spread, others who had similar convictions began to associate with Bresee. New congregations affiliating with Bresee's work were organized until there was a network of Nazarene congregations on the west coast and as far east as Chicago. By 1901, Bresee wrote in The Nazarene Messenger:

Let every one far and near know that the needs of such a work are necessarily great. The ordinary church work, the poor to be cared for, the paper to be published, churches to be built; Not fine things, but room and possibilities for the great work to which God has called us.⁵

Bresee served as the leader and "General Superintendent" for the new denomination and as editor of the paper The Nazarene Messenger, which, from 1895 until the merger of The Church of the Nazarene with the Holiness Churches of Christ in 1908, was the official voice of Nazarene work. Girvin quotes an 1898 editorial in which Bresee set forth the Nazarene mission to the poor.

The needs of the work in so many ways are necessarily considerable. The question is often asked, "How will you get the money necessary to carry it on?" We believe that the work is of God, that we are called simply to co-operate with Him, and that He is not hard up. We believe that He has the means at His disposal for His work, and that He will put it into the minds and hearts of His servants. With this faith we went to this work. We went with the conviction that there should be no assessments or subscriptions; that there should be no outside methods of raising money, no begging, nothing that would discriminate between those who were possessed of the world's goods and those who were not; that there should be no financial classifications or barriers in the way of the poorest to feel as much at home as the richest. We were convinced that houses of worship should be plain and cheap, to save

⁴Ibid., p. 104.

⁵P.F. Bresee, "Editorial," The Nazarene Messenger 6 (May 2, 1901): 2.

from financial burdens, and that everything should say welcome to the poor. We went feeling that food and clothing and shelter were the open doors to the hearts of the unsaved poor, and that through these doors we could bear to them the life of God. We went in poverty, to give ourselves--and what God might give us--determined to forego provision for the future and old age, in order to see the salvation of God while we were yet here. God has not disappointed us. While we would be glad to do much more, yet hundreds of dollars have gone to the poor, with loving ministry of every kind, and with it a way has been opened up to the hearts of men and women, that has been unutterable joy. The gospel comes to a multitude without money and without price, and the poorest of the poor are entitled to a front seat at the Church of the Nazarene, the only condition being that they come early enough to get there.⁶

This early editorial by Bresee highlights the conscious intent of these more or less prosperous leaders to identify with the poor. It is said that "Nazarene" was selected because it was a name used in derision of Jesus, and thereby symbolized their willing identification of this movement with the disenfranchised of society. The July 3, 1899 issue of The Nazarene Messenger carried a picture of the large frame tabernacle which became the sanctuary for the congregation of over 800. Bresee justified the plain, rough surroundings in an accompanying editorial:

We want places so plain that every board will say welcome to the poorest. We can get along without rich people, but not without preaching the gospel to the poor. We do not covet the fine churches of our neighbors; we only long after a richer anointing with the Holy Ghost, that we may be committed to reach the poor and the outcast, for whom some care so little but for whom our Redeemer lived and died. Let the Church of the Nazarene be true to its commission; not great and elegant buildings; but to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, and wipe away the tears of the sorrowing; and gather jewels for His diadem.⁷

These early sentiments were refined into a statement which was repeated in The Nazarene Messenger and later in The Herald of Holiness in

⁶Girvin, Phineas F. Bresee, pp. 161-162.

⁷P.F. Bresee, "The First Nazarene Church Building," The Nazarene Messenger 3 (July 3, 1899): 2.

articles intended to introduce and explain the purpose of The Church of the Nazarene.

This is the test which we desire all men to apply to the Church of the Nazarene.

First, it entered an open door. It did not seek the rich. It remembered the Master's words, "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of God." It has been found that few, very few, rich men and women will pay the price, and give all, to follow Jesus. Some "go away sorrowful," but they usually go away. These Nazarene people heard Jesus say in evidence of His own Messiahship, "the poor have the Gospel preached unto them." They say that there was a multitude of people trying to maintain homes, who were often in affliction and distress, who needed sympathy, and often help, whom it was possible to serve, and that their hearts could be opened to the message of infinite Love, and they could be gathered to the arms of Jesus. To these people they went.⁸

In a way that sounds strangely similar to the new liberation theologies of the 1970s, an article by Mrs. A.P. Baldwin on "The Possibilities of Poverty" in 1899 assured the readers: "There is no deadly sting in poverty. . . ." She concluded:

It is the poor of this world, rich in faith, whom God has chosen. He takes them up ordinary men and women and sets them down princes and priests. They have seen the King of all the earth, the Lord of Glory, and never more will they have glittering jeweled stone, or any earthly title bewilder them; neither can the poorest creature that begs a morsel of bread cause them feelings of revulsion; for was not their Lord without place to lay his head?⁹

Bresee was just as conscious of the danger of riches within the church as Wesley, and knew the pattern that Richard Niebuhr later described as the churches of the disenfranchised become middle-class. In a strong

⁸P.F. Bresee, "The Real Work," The Nazarene Messenger 7 (March 26, 1903): 2. The wording of this editorial reappeared in a later article by the same title on May 18, 1905. By 1912 this seems to have become a commonly used description of the Nazarenes as the same paragraph appeared on a page offering general information to those inquiring about the Church. ("The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene " The Herald of Holiness 1 (October 12, 1912): 15.)

⁹A.P. Baldwin, "The Possibilities of Poverty," The Nazarene Messenger 3 (September 7, 1899): 1.

statement of warning against materialism, Bresee published a sermon in The Nazarene Messenger, 1901, tracing the "strange" history of the church, that: "Becoming strong, powerful, influential, she, in turn, becomes the oppressor and persecutes the same truth for which she has been persecuted. Its triumph becomes the ruin of its spiritual life, its strength becomes the strength of the oppressor."¹⁰ While the later holiness advocates would attack theological liberalism as the enemy within the Church, Bresee and the early Nazarenes were more concerned with materialism and wealth. Speaking of the established church of his time, Bresee felt, "It requires far more courage to preach in many of the pulpits of the great churches, the whole gospel, than it does to preach doubt and heresy."¹¹ The "heresy" Bresee had in mind was not the denial of "orthodoxy" which was the accusation the fundamentalists raised in the debates over "modernism." This message by Bresee confirms Dayton's argument that: "The holiness movement differs from fundamentalism and evangelism in that it is more oriented to ethics and the spiritual life than to a defense of doctrinal orthodoxy."¹²

The Nazarene Messenger served not only as a means for Bresee to communicate his own convictions, but also as a forum for the publishing of views of others in and out of the Church. A 1907 edition carried a reprint from the Ladies Home Journal, "Remember the Sensitive Poor,"¹³ and an article by another holiness evangelist on "The Insomnia of Riches," which

¹⁰P.F. Bresee, "Persecution," The Nazarene Messenger 6 (September 19, 1901): 2. See appendix 1 for excerpt from the article.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Donald Dayton, "The Holiness Churches: A Significant Ethical Tradition," The Christian Century, February 26, 1972, p. 197.

¹³"Remember the Sensitive Poor," The Nazarene Messenger 12 (December 19, 1907): 15.

began: "It is safe to be poor, but dangerous to be rich."¹⁴ The most surprising of the reprinted articles is found earlier in 1902, "The Message of Christianity," in an article by a Rev. Mark Guy Pearse from a larger work identified simply "Christianity of Jesus Christ": "The 'god' of this country is identified as 'Gold'--the thirst for it . . . the means of making it . . . the ways of spending it." A charge is made that the churches have said nothing about the "growing poverty of the poor, this growing wealth of the wealthy." If Christianity has nothing to say to these evils, then it is to be discarded. Pearse is undaunted by the accusation of being a revolutionary or a socialist. He asks: "Does somebody object that such Christianity is revolutionary; that it is setting the masses against the classes; that it is Socialism? Is Christianity a conflict with evil only among the poor, the weak, those who have little choice between vice and starvation?"¹⁵ Pearse goes on to state what had become an unquestioned assumption in these early Nazarene publications, that growing prosperity posed a real threat to vital Christianity, and that the mandate of the Church to identify with the poor was clearly put forth in the Gospel. It would be a mistake to assume from these references that The Church of the Nazarene was primarily concerned with social reform. There was no follow through with a "social creed" or commissions to study the Church's possible response to social issues. Like Wesleyanism of a century before, the church had its own agenda--preaching scriptural holiness. This was not thought of as being separate from or identified with

¹⁴R. Pierce, "The Insomnia of Riches," The Nazarene Messenger 11 (May 30, 1907): 1.

¹⁵Mark Guy Pearse, "The Message of Christianity," The Nazarene Messenger 8 (November 20, 1902): 6, 7.

any particular social reform, other than Prohibition. It was assumed that the Church would naturally be identified with the poor and for any cause which would further the spiritual and material well-being of those denied the rising prosperity of the rich. Thus, in the first reference Bresee makes concerning the strikes which plagued the nation at the turn of the century, he can say, as if there would be no questioning his position: "In the conflict--where there is a real conflict--between capital and labor, Christian thought is naturally on the side of the laborer."¹⁶ The day would come when that assumption would be challenged by many in the holiness movement. Bresee goes on, though, to decry the tactics of labor unions which make it impossible for good men to "approve their course, or sympathize with them in their efforts."¹⁷ Bresee shared the conservative views typical of Wesleyan clergymen of the time calling for capital and labor alike to submit to the golden rule, yet he was nevertheless highly critical of the large corporations. In 1904 he saw the growing conflict between capital and labor related to his prohibition convictions. He quoted another unnamed source to the effect that "The Prohibition party is a friend of labor. It recognizes labor as the legitimate source of all wealth."¹⁸ In a following editorial, he criticized President Roosevelt for not mentioning the issue of liquor in his speech of acceptance of the nomination for Presidency.

Both the President and the party which he represents are as silent as the dead on the question most "vital" to both the material and

¹⁶p.F. Bresee, "The Strikes," The Nazarene Messenger 6 (September 12, 1901): 6.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸p.F. Bresee, "Prohibition Party and Labor," The Nazarene Messenger 9 (November 3, 1904): 5.

the moral welfare of the nation. Business men have been astonished at the magnitude of the assets of the nation's greatest trust, the United States Steel Corporation. Yet its billion and half dollars fall three-quarters of a billion short of our national liquor bill for the last year.¹⁹

While there is little here to support social reforms called for by the labor unions, it is evident that Bresee recognized the inequities caused by unchecked capitalism and called out for thoroughgoing changes. Rather than seeing social reform as outside the province of the Church, he decries the lack of interest in reform within a decadent church. Writing on "Moral Reform" he stated that "It seems evident that the large class of even church people are in no moral condition to receive further truth on reform questions to any advantage." The need is for a revival of the "preaching of righteousness" to "create a moral sentiment in which the need of moral reform can fall and bring forth fruit."²⁰

On the eighth anniversary of The Church of the Nazarene, Bresee reflected again on the nation's need for moral reform. The primary problem is "liquor traffic," but this is related to other needed social reforms. Bresee suggests that the Church is a poor place to begin.

Without the deep breaking up of what is regarded as the Christian conscience in America, and the bringing of a new sense of righteousness, which means intense loyalty to the truth recognized, and obedience to known duty, there can be no real reform. It is this condition which makes the ordinary church today such a hopeless place for securing action on any needed reform.²¹

In the May 14, 1908 issue of The Nazarene Messenger, Bresee

¹⁹P.F. Bresee, "Is It Vital Question," The Nazarene Messenger 9 (November 3, 1904): 5.

²⁰P.F. Bresee, "Moral Reform," The Nazarene Messenger 8 (August 20, 1903): 6.

²¹P.F. Bresee, "Moral Reform," The Nazarene Messenger 12 (May 14, 1908): 2.

wrote as a General Superintendent visiting churches on the east coast, and reported from Harrington, Delaware, on a sermon by L.L. Pickett, a 1907 Prohibition gubernatorial candidate from Kentucky. Of Pickett he wrote: "He seems to us quite as much of a reformer as a preacher of holiness, but they do not lie far apart and we pray that he may be able to bring them together."²² While the vision of holiness preachers serving as reformers was more or less understood to relate to the prohibition issue, even prohibition was not simply a cause to protect individuals from the pleasures of alcohol. Prohibition was understood as a solution to social evil and thus related to all the great reform issues of the times, and on this issue the holiness leaders were in the forefront of those who knew that the multiplication of converts would not necessarily bring about social reform.²³ Neither would social reform come about without a foundation of righteousness faith-

²²P.F. Bresee, "Special Religious Meetings," The Nazarene Messenger 12 (May 14, 1908): 2.

²³Walter G. Muelder describes how Prohibition was closely related to the other social reform movements of the time. The holiness movement, with its strong prohibitionist stand, was identified with many of the same issues which are not described as being a part of the social gospel movement. Muelder is quoting from Paul A. Carter, The Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1954), p. 32.

"At this point something must be said about the relation of Prohibition to the 'social gospel' movement which had already borne fruit in the Social Creed in 1908 and 1912, as we have seen. 'Our mental image of Prohibition,' says Paul A. Carter, 'came down to us from the "roaring 'twenties," and is colored by the notion that Prohibition was exclusively the work of moralizing Puritans compensating for the repressions of their own harsh code in a spurious indignation at the pleasures of their neighbors.' It is easy to forget the multitude of earnest men and women who fought liquor not because it made men happy, but because they knew it made them defeated and unhappy. Prior to the Volstead Act the dry crusade spoke a language of a social and humanitarian reform which had a deep kinship with the social gospel." (Walter G. Muelder, Methodism and Society in the Twentieth Century, Vol. 2, (New York: Abingdon Press, 1961), p. 61.)

fully proclaimed by the preachers of America.

Bresee began editing The Nazarene Messenger in order to promote his work with a single congregation in Los Angeles. While his views were his own, he was nevertheless speaking from within the larger holiness movement of some 150 different groups identified in Charles Jone's Guide to the Study of the Holiness Movement,²⁴ and from 1908 on was the spokesman for the newly formed national holiness denomination, The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene. Bresee, like Wesley, was not primarily interested in social reform however active he was as a prohibitionist. His vision was for a denomination which would unite all the emerging independent holiness churches into a new relationship which could effectively restore to the church spiritual motivation for moral reform. That the vision was never realized, and that those groups that did converge to form The Church of the Nazarene became more interested in individual conversions and the internal needs of the new denomination than the social needs of the nation should not obscure the ideals which motivated the Church during its formative years.

²⁴Dayton, "The Holiness Churches," The Christian Century, p. 197.

CHAPTER III

THE HERALD OF HOLINESS, B.F. HAYNES, EDITOR

(1912-1920)

Bresee's weekly paper, The Nazarene Messenger, along with the other periodicals published by the groups uniting to form The Church of the Nazarene in 1907 and 1908, merged into The Herald of Holiness, the official weekly publication of the Church since 1912. Bresee became one of three general superintendents elected to give overall supervision to this expanding coalition of churches and associations of the holiness movement.

The editor chosen for The Herald of Holiness was B.F. Haynes, a prominent Nashville Methodist, at one time a presiding elder of the Tennessee Conference. Haynes, a Prohibitionist, fell into disfavor with the Bishop of Hargrove in 1891 "as a part of a wholesale effort to discipline the conference for its devotion to the Prohibition party."¹ Haynes devoted himself to the holiness movement by publishing a paper for the Tennessee Conference, The Tennessee Methodist. His relationship with the Tennessee Conference ended, however, when he entered independent educational work, serving for a short time as president of Asbury College, "a struggling institution which Henry Clay Morrison and the second-blessing preachers of the Kentucky Conference were supporting."² In 1909 he

¹Smith, Called Unto Holiness, p. 44.

²Ibid., p. 45.

moved on to the holiness college at Peniel, Texas, where he joined The Church of the Nazarene.

Haynes had developed a pattern of protest and involvement with issues which affected church and society. These inclinations he carried over into The Herald of Holiness, and for the ten years he edited the paper one can identify many of the major national and international social and political events. While Bresee touched on issues which were of concern to Prohibitionists and to those working for the uniting of holiness churches, Haynes brought a broader range of interests, a pattern of involvement with social concerns, and an independence which led him to voice strong opinions which were later modified or even reversed. Unlike Bresee, Haynes was not speaking for the Church when he wrote about corporate evil, disarmament, prison reform, conservation, the media, unemployment, labor, the suffragettes, war, politics, and socialism. Unlike the editors who followed him who were expected to reflect positions less offensive to the majority within the Church, he did not temper his views with the caution normally imposed by institutionalism. Haynes combined a breadth of interest inherited from his former church relationship with a freedom provided by the independent holiness movement.

In the second issue of The Herald of Holiness, Haynes reminds the Church of its identification with "Wesleyan Heroism." Wesleyanism here is not just theological agreement with Wesley's concept of sanctification. Haynes has in mind "self-denial and hardship," which he says makes The Church of the Nazarene very different from the "worldly churches." The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, he wrote, is "analogous to the early Wesleyan movement; and we need a reproduction largely of the Wesleyan plan and Wesleyan heroism." Holiness preachers must be

willing to go to ". . . out of the way places, neglected territory, where others have not entered. . . ." He continued:

The highways and hedges must be our especial care. Our work very largely must be from the ground. Mr. Wesley's work was very largely among the neglected masses. We can find them everywhere. The pay will be very meager. This must be expected. No open door should ever be refused because the pay is small or inadequate. We must have an apostolic spirit with such a quenchless zeal for souls that prison stripes, sufferings or persecutions will be unable to forbid our responding to any Macedonian cry. Recognizing need should be a stern and imperative appeal which never fails a favorable reply.³

This identification with Wesley is even more explicit in the December 18, 1912, issue in the first editorial, "The World Is my Parish." Haynes draws attention to the tribute made by Lecky, that the Wesleyan revival saved England from ". . . a revolution as cursed unhappy France. . ." and he is thankful that "Wesley is now just coming into a recognition of what he and his movement meant to the world." However, Haynes sees a "tragic side" to this, in that "the civic, economic and philanthropic results of the Wesleyan movement abide; but sadly, the religious and spiritual results of Mr. Wesley's work remain only in form." Without depreciating the importance of the Wesleyan social reforms, Haynes contends for the more fundamental spiritual "renovation" Wesley insisted upon.

The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, in point of doctrine, of experience, of evangelistic activity and missionary belief and endeavor, is Mr. Wesley's legitimate and historic offspring and the direct successor of the Wesleyan movement. There is not a single truth in which we believe that was not stressed by Mr. Wesley. We insist upon the same experience of full salvation from all sin which was Mr. Wesley's life-long message. Like Mr. Wesley we claim the world for our parish.⁴

³B.F. Haynes, "Wesleyan Heroism," The Herald of Holiness 1 (April 24, 1912): 1.

⁴B.F. Haynes, "The World Is my Parish," The Herald of Holiness 1 (December 18, 1912): 3.

Wesley's respect for the poor is referred to in an article by I.G. Martin, a Methodist lay preacher who became Bresee's song leader. Martin began "The Care of the Poor" with the statement: "It is not a sin to be poor."⁵ He then went on to call for compassion for both "God's poor"--those who suffer for no fault of their own--and the "devil's poor"--those who sow what they reap. Reflecting the fact that many in the holiness churches at this time were among the recent immigrants to the cities, Haynes wrote of the "Wage-Earners" who were unwelcome in the church because of their poverty.

We can not deny that in the average city church there is little real welcome shown, and almost no fellowship for the poor man. If he does happen to drift into a service, either he is ignored, or made to feel that he is a creature apart from these well dressed worshipers, who sing and preach of a Love, conspicuous for its absence in their lives.⁶

A letter in response to such a call to welcome and serve the poor appeared later to remind the Church that most of the members were themselves poor.

Our people have the cause of Christ and the poor at heart. Perhaps we are behind with orphanage work. Let it be remembered, our church is not soliciting a great membership, and we are the Lord's poor, and little ones, as a church.⁷

In a 1912 editorial the cause of poverty is laid at the feet of those corporations regulated by the 1890 Sherman Antitrust legislation. "The Great Modern Sin," an attack upon "syndicate and corporate business," appeared just a few months after the Supreme Court dissolved

⁵B.F. Haynes, "Reformation Versus Transformation," The Herald of Holiness 1 (March 12, 1913): 4.

⁶Ibid.

⁷G.W. Bugh, "Care of the Poor," The Herald of Holiness, 3 (September 23, 1914): 10.

the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey for violating antitrust legislation. In a strongly worded condemnation, the writer assails the public sense of morality which overlooks social and corporate evil so long as individuals appear respectable.

Among the chiefest sinners are now enrolled men who are moral and kind-hearted, loving in their families, faithful to their friends, and generous to the needy. And the very qualities that lull the conscience of the sinner blind the eyes of the on-lookers, who instead of castigating the modern sins, admire and applaud the sinner.⁸

The nature of sin and corporate evil are then described in terms remarkably similar to Reinhold Neibuhr's thesis in Moral Man--Immoral Society.

Never in our times were children so exploited, workers so driven, consumers so poisoned, passengers so mangled, investors so fleeced, and public servants so tempted. The key to the paradox is that while men are improving in their personal relations the control of industry and business is becoming impersonal.⁹

A few months later, Haynes followed with an equally strong-worded condemnation of church members who profit from corporate investments. With such "Achanism in the Church," wrote Haynes, the Church "can never recover strength and vigor until cleansed of all such guilty alliances."

He continued:

The giant corporations of the day, grown fat and ferocious on the flesh of the innumerable small fish they have ravenously consumed, whose bones they have flung to the wayside, are seldom found without their stock-books, their directory and officinary well represented by members of the church.

Church members are not infrequently the agents for conceiving the plundering schemes of these modern monsters and the executors of their schemes. Not infrequently church members are the paid agents for corrupting the legislatures, the judges and the juries of the country for the successful consummation of their designs of oppression and greed.

Among the vast army of millionaires of this country how very

⁸Andrew Davis, "The Great Modern Sin," The Herald of Holiness 1 (June 26, 1912): 6,7.

⁹Ibid.

many churchmen you will find; and yet how many such fortunes have been acquired without sin? I do not believe that one in ten thousand has ever been innocently acquired except by inheritance.¹⁰

In 1915, following years of labor unrest, Haynes wrote of the industrial revolution whereby individual productivity had increased up to "one hundred fold."

The question is whether the mass of the nation's workers have materially benefited by the increase. Have they shared equitably with the capitalistic class? The workers say not, and we agree with them. Their effort to get the proper share has brought about what is termed the modern "Labor Question."¹¹

He recognized the unequal distribution of wealth. "About one-half of one per cent of our population possess more than the other ninety-nine and a half per cent."¹² He was aware of the social evils which resulted from these inequities: ". . . these millionaires and paupers; these castles and caves; this vulgar display of superfluous money, and this desperate hate and opposition of the oppressed and wronged."¹³

The solution, though, is not to be found simply in economic or political reform. Unlike the generation of holiness leaders who follow, claiming that the church must not become involved in such issues, Haynes claims that the problem is "essentially a religious one," and that the church must "admit the facts, and fairly and squarely meet the matter."¹⁴

What the church can do he does not say, but there is no doubt on which

¹⁰B.F. Haynes, "Achanism in the Church," The Herald of Holiness 2 (June 25, 1913): 2.

¹¹B.F. Haynes, "An Industrial Revolution," The Herald of Holiness 4 (September 15, 1915): 2.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

side of the struggle the church must be found. "There are thousands of church people who are in the keenest sympathy with the oppressed and over burdened and willing to do everything in their power to bring relief in all proper and possible ways."¹⁵

Generally speaking, the holiness leaders did not agree with social gospel advocates who suggested that the only proper response to the inequities of the industrial revolution was unionism and socialism.¹⁶ Timothy Smith claims that Haynes, in fact, reversed his sympathy toward labor after the War because of the "pervasive influence of rural fundamentalism."¹⁷ In 1919, Haynes charged labor leaders with contributing to social unrest. "Labor has been pampered and spoiled by those in authority when it took advantage of the war to make its encroachments until it now feels sufficiently safely ensconced to make the most audacious demands it has ever made in American history."¹⁸ However, in

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶"It has been repeatedly pointed out that the two foci of social gospel interest during the fifty years covered by this study were socialism and the labor situation. Prior to 1890 socialism was rejected unanimously by the clergy, although the validity of certain of its claims was admitted. The utopian Christian Socialism of the 'nineties proved in practical terms to be little more than a minority emphasis upon the social aspects of Christianity. However, with the advent of the new century, left-wing Christian Socialism became both Marxist and political. The central feature of radical social Christianity during the prewar years of the twentieth century was a group of enterprising clergymen who organized the Christian Socialist Fellowship both to obtain the adherence of the churches to the principles of international socialism and to secure their allegiance to the Socialist party of America as the political means of accomplishing the Christian revolution." (Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, p. 233).

¹⁷Smith, Called Unto Holiness, p. 318.

¹⁸B.F. Haynes, "Is History To Be Repeated?" The Herald of Holiness 8 (August 27, 1919): 2.

the same article it is clear that he does not equate the goals of "these in authority" in labor with the best interest of the poor. Working class people were the victims of "labor" who contributed to unconscionable high prices. "Men on ordinary salaries are bound to suffer hunger in this land of abundance and the poorer are in worse plight."¹⁹ Revolution, says Haynes, is inevitable. This is not the reversal that Smith suggests, but rather a consistent awareness of the working class poor, who Haynes thought were not benefiting from the gains of labor. In the 1919 General Assembly of The Church of the Nazarene, "delegates from several districts renewed an old proposal that the Manual equate labor organizations with secret societies and outlaw Nazarene membership in them. Though the measure did not pass, anti-union pronouncements became more commonplace as years went by." Whatever the reason for such anti-unionism, it was not to support "the capitalist class" against the "nation's workers."²⁰ In one issue, Samuel Gompers is praised as a "good labor leader" who "has served the labor cause faithfully."²¹ He is criticized for approving a constitutional amendment enforcing Prohibition. To suggest that such a law would restrain or abridge constitutional guarantees of personal freedom is to encourage anarchism, says Haynes.

Opposition to socialism can be anticipated from Haynes and the early Nazarenes, but even on this issue, the opposition is not because the socialist leaders themselves were anti-Christian. In a 1914 article,

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹B.F. Haynes, "Anarchistic Teachings," The Herald of Holiness 8 (August 20, 1919): 1.

"Socialism vs. Christianity," the writer gives mild approval for socialism.

It is not our purpose to ridicule the doctrines of Socialism. So far as we have examined their economic features, we find there is much in them that appears sane, just and eminently practicable. Indeed, some of these principles have been worked out in practical form to a most successful issue.²²

He goes on to describe in detail the inequities of unregulated capitalism: ". . . vast wealth in the hands of a few, and bitter, grinding poverty for the many. . . ." ²³ The fundamental problem is the sin "entrenched in the human Heart" and while "wise and just legislation would do much toward ameliorating the hard situation," nothing short of spiritual renewal will change the basic problem. He goes on: "The weakness of Socialism is in the fact that God is left out of its system. Its advocates boldly declare that it has nothing to do with religion."²⁴ There is no support here for the existing economic structures, just a warning that far-reaching change can come only through spiritual renewal.

Another article that year developed the same theme. In "Christianity and Socialism," socialism is described as something which belongs to the "economic and political side of men's lives" and as such, "Christians may properly take an interest in them and work with others for the betterment of conditions among working people."²⁵ Again

²²A. G. Burlingame, "Socialism vs. Christianity," The Herald of Holiness 3 (July 8, 1914): 8.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵H. G. Cowan, "Christianity and Socialism," The Herald of Holiness 3 (November 11, 1914): 6.

the socialist leaders are criticized for rejecting Christianity. "I do not say that all Socialists have done this but it is a well-known fact that many of their leading speakers and writers have repudiated Christianity in whole or in part, those who are not open unbelievers, interpreting Christianity in terms of Socialism."²⁶

Haynes, as the other holiness leaders of the time, pinned his hopes for social reform on the Prohibition Party rather than on the Socialist Party. In 1913, after Congress passed the Kenyon-Webb Bill over the veto of President Taft, Haynes saw this as a part of "great world-movement on the liquor-license infamy." He called this action a "veritable revolution." He acknowledged that there would be temporary setbacks, but the "trend is and has been for years onward and progressive" with a constitutional amendment assured. With unabashed confidence in the direction America was taking, he wrote:

Our country settles every question which it makes up its mind to settle. The lottery was once deeply and seemingly immovably rooted in our republic. The beginning of the movement for its destruction was scoffed at as a Utopian dream of fanatics, but the lottery was utterly destroyed. The nation made up its mind to abolish slavery, an institution hoary with age, heartily endorsed and practiced by half or more of the states of the Union, and with countless millions of money invested in it. It certainly seemed an impossible achievement, but the nation's conscience was aroused and was never satisfied until slavery was utterly and forever abolished.²⁷

Finally, it seemed to Haynes, the nation's conscience was sufficiently aroused, and the Congress alert enough to act for the people, refusing to license the sale of liquor. Prohibition was thought of as a sweeping social reform, the last great national moral issue to

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷B.F. Haynes, "The Revolution," The Herald of Holiness 1 (April 2, 1913): 1.

eradicate the source of social evil.

While the holiness people were insisting that personal transformation was fundamental, they nevertheless were involved in the social reform movement of the time. Numerous references are found in these early periodicals which remind the readers that social reform must not become a substitute for personal transformation. "Men may be great reformers and know nothing about God. It requires no salvation to belong to the Prohibition party. Socialism does not recognize the importance of the new birth."²⁸ In a similar editorial, Haynes would write: "If after, and while relying exclusively upon the direct power of the Holy Spirit for the individual and personal and radical salvation of men, the church encourages all human and benevolent and philanthropic endeavors for the betterment of society's condition, then the church will be felt potently in this work."²⁹

At the same time, Haynes knew that effort spent on moral persuasion and individual conversions would be of little lasting effect without social reform. In fact, he suggests that the "saloonists" welcome the efforts to clean up the "drunken victims" of alcohol because "this helps to remove the grosser and baser fruits of their business and thereby tends to render it more tolerable and less offensive to the public."³⁰ In an appeal for political activism he suggests a basis for social reform with which few advocates of the social gospel

²⁸B.F. Haynes, "Reformation Versus Transformation," The Herald of Holiness 1 (March 12, 1913): 1.

²⁹B.F. Haynes, "Christ More Than a Reformer," The Herald of Holiness 3 (September 23, 1914): 1.

³⁰B.F. Haynes, "Do the One and Do Not Neglect the Other," The Herald of Holiness 6 (May 23, 1917): 1.

would argue.

Keep up the moral persuasion work, but along with it make a ceaseless and desperate warfare against the legalization of the deadly traffic. Reform the drunkard, but remove and utterly and forever destroy by the strong arm of the law the infamous business which made him a drunkard and robbed his wife of a husband and his children of a father.³¹

Looking back, it is difficult, if not impossible, to appreciate the principle of social reform used to support prohibition. The judgment of history would suggest that the Prohibitionists were wrong in their diagnosis of the problem--at least, wrong in thinking social evil could be eradicated by a law forbidding the sale of alcohol. The point is, however, that the holiness movement in its own way was involved in social reform and often on the same side of the issue as the Social Gospel advocates. Haynes expected the Church to be involved in politics, not to gain power (as the Roman Catholics) but "to effectuate some great moral reform for the need of which the church and the world generally are suffering egregiously."³² And so The Herald of Holiness during its first decade included editorials and articles relating to a wide range of reform and political issues--a call for a constitutional amendment to prohibit polygamy,³³ opposition to home rule for Ireland,³⁴ and support for immigration restrictions.³⁵

The holiness churches were outspokenly in favor of both the

³¹Ibid.

³²B. F. Haynes, "The Church in Politics," The Herald of Holiness 2 (April 16, 1913): 4.

³³B. F. Haynes, "A constitutional Amendment Needed," The Herald of Holiness 2 (June 4, 1913): 1.

³⁴B. F. Haynes, "Home Rule, Rome's Trick," The Herald of Holiness, 3 (April 15, 1914): 2.

³⁵Ibid.

Constitutional amendments which took effect in 1920--not only Prohibition (Eighteenth), but also Women's Suffrage (Nineteenth). A 1912 article, "Women, the Secret of National Prosperity," is a Biblical and historical defense of equal rights for women in the interest of the nation's economy. More importantly, "prosperity consists not so much in material gain as it does in the gain received from the physical, intellectual and moral development of every member of society."³⁶ In November 1913 Haynes defended the English suffragette, Mrs. Emmeline Parkhurst, who had been under attack by the "American daily press" for encouraging violence and anarchy.

While we disavow and oppose anything like anarchy for even good purposes, believing that the end does not justify the means, we must express abhorrence at the distortions of the facts in this case of a righteous uprising against unparalleled outrages on defenseless women, and we wish the greatest success to these good women in their laudable endeavors. If they have been betrayed into intemperate acts of speech we say that there was tremendous provocation, and they would have been more than human not to have erred under such phenomenal temptation, and that those responsible for the outrages combatted can not undertake to cast any stones at such blunders as have been made.³⁷

The Church of the Nazarene could speak out, for it had from the beginning encouraged women to enter the ministry, and while there were few in leadership positions, there were no ecclesiastical restrictions to prevent ordination. At the time of the suffragette movement, nearly twenty per cent of the Nazarene ordained ministers were women. In 1917 a writer rejoiced:

We praise God that the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene has opened wide the door to the woman preacher and certainly there should not be any one in our denomination who would try to hinder

³⁶Frida Marmberg, "Woman, the Secret of National Prosperity," The Herald of Holiness 1 (June 26, 1912): 5.

³⁷Ibid.

her in her work of love for the Master. . . .³⁸

In the next issue, Haynes spoke out against "The Double Standard"³⁹ by which women are caused to suffer the hardship resulting from "white slavery" while men go on unaffected.

A year before the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified, Haynes reviewed the struggle for women's rights as "A Slow Journey" away from heathenism. "There is no reason under the sun," he wrote, "why a woman should not have the same pay a man receives for the identical work performed absolutely as well as a man can do it."⁴⁰ Comparisons in salaries are offered to prove that discrimination exists. He wrote: "One of the cruelest and most diabolical relics of heathenism is this very difference made between the sexes." The cause is again "the greed of men in business."

They treat human labor as a commodity, like flour or potatoes, and will get it at the very lowest figure possible with a brutal disregard for the wants or needs or expenses of living of these injured and imposed-upon women.⁴¹

While supporting the prohibition and suffragette movements, war was on the horizon. In a lengthy 1914 editorial, Haynes wrote of the "Horrors of War," describing the various political and social alliances which were then converging to engulf all Europe in war. At this time it was not apparent that America would be drawn into the conflict, so

³⁸ Linda Brandyberry, "Woman In The Pulpit," The Herald of Holiness 3 (April 25, 1917): 6.

³⁹ B. F. Haynes, "The Double Standard," The Herald of Holiness 6 (May 2, 1917): 1.

⁴⁰ B. F. Haynes, "A Slow Journey," The Herald of Holiness 8 (July 30, 1919): 1-2.

⁴¹ Ibid.

that Haynes could theologize about the cause of war from a distance. "It is but the outward expression of the principle of war within which grace must expel before society ceases to be cursed with these outbreaks. Christ must come and take possession of men, and control them, and do away with war."⁴² A year later he wrote of "A Lesson From the Great War" in which he attributed the German involvement to the rise of rationalism. "Behold the flowering forth and fruit of German rationalism and infidelity. . . . Is not the lesson plain that culture is not Christ, that scholarship is not salvation, reason is not revelation, and learning is not the liberty wherewith Christ can set us free?"⁴³

In September 1915, four months after the sinking of the Lusitania, an anti-war article appeared which placed The Church of the Nazarene on the side of President Wilson's Secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan, who questioned the need of Americans to venture into the danger zone of the Atlantic.

One thing that should be attended to at the General Assembly is a declaration of our stand, as a church, against war. Most of us admire Mr. Bryan for his heroic stand for peace, and say Amen! to the advances of the peace conferences over the country. We are equally grieved to know of the effort of others to force us into the great war.⁴⁴

The grief expressed here is over the fact that, should the nation go to war, Nazarenes, too, would be called upon "to murder our fellowmen." The article goes on to appeal to the next General Assembly that the church go on record as being against the war in order to support

⁴²B.F. Haynes, "The Horrors of War," The Herald of Holiness 3 (August 12, 1914): 1.

⁴³B.F. Haynes, "A Lesson From the Great War," The Herald of Holiness 4 (December 12, 1922): 2.

⁴⁴S.L. Flowers, "An Important Issue," The Herald of Holiness 4 (September 22, 1915): 4.

conscientious objectors who refuse military service. The "Dick Military Bill" is printed with the statement:

The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene stands for peace and against war, and further preparedness for war, as preparedness invites war, and we do not want it.⁴⁵

A war resolution was passed by the General Assembly and referred to in this brief but explicit statement by Haynes in the July 4, 1917, issue, two months after Congress declared war on Germany.

We are asked what is the position of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene with reference to the question of war. We would reply that the attitude of our Church on the matter of war is the correct one, in our opinion, and we are glad that the Church has expressed her opinion through her highest legislative body. Her position in regard to war will be found in the Report of the State of the Church adopted by the General Assembly at Kansas City, Mo. (pages 58-59), in which the Church emphatically stated that we are opposed to war, especially as a means of settling international disputes.

This utterance is distinct and clear and emphatic. It also carries all the force on the official and authoritative expression of the highest lawmaking body of the Church. We are glad that this position has been assumed, for we believe it the sane and religious attitude.

Such is the plain and emphatic position of our Church on the war question. It is left for the members of the church to see to it that they maintain the answer of a good conscience toward God in the matter. The Church does not forbid our entering the war; much less does it encourage us to do so. Each is left to decide this for himself.⁴⁶

While this statement did not associate The Church of the Nazarene with the historic peace churches, it did express a more pacifist view than other mainline churches of the time.⁴⁷ To be sure, Nazarenes did go

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶B.F. Haynes, "The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene and the War," The Herald of Holiness 6 (July 4, 1917): 4.

⁴⁷"The transformation from peace sentiment to war as a holy crusade happened overnight. In January 1915, a questionnaire sent to ten thousand clergymen by the Church Peace Union showed that 95 per cent were opposed to an increase in armaments. But by March 11, 1917, 158 out of 210 New York clergymen who answered an

to war, and they were patriotic in their support of the nation during the war, but it was qualified support, with a guarded interest in "winning."

In 1917 Haynes wrote about "The Real Cause" of war, which he traced to a German rationalism which caused an otherwise civilized nation to "descend to the lowest bottom which the meanest and most beastly savages ever reached." He went on: "The very essence of German philosophy teaches that the supernation rules by divine right and can do anything which is to its advantage."⁴⁸ In February of 1918 another article appeared in which Haynes reviewed his attack upon theological liberalism in Germany, which he claimed spawned the War. According to this teaching, "Humanity was glorified as the finest thing in the world. Humanity was altogether too refined and sublime to have such a gross thing as sin to be charged against it."⁴⁹ The war changed all that.

A few years ago when the world was at its zenith of exalting man, and when the millennium was on the tapis, according to the teachings of such men, all at once, there was thrust upon the theatre of the world the most atrocious war the world ever had seen.⁵⁰

It was, of course, the end of millennialism, or post-millennialism as it was referred to among the dispensationalists. The holiness churches, as well as the so-called liberal churches, were forced by the war to

inquiry from the Federation of Churches favored going to war. A Methodist bishop in Detroit guaranteed either to regenerate or to eliminate all recalcitrant ministers from his conference." (Muelder, Methodism In The Twentieth Century, p. 80.)

⁴⁸ B.F. Haynes, "The Real Cause," The Herald of Holiness 6 (December 5, 1917): 1.

⁴⁹ B.F. Haynes, "Disarmament," The Herald of Holiness 10 (June 22, 1921): 2.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

give up their illusions about the prospects for human progress.

Another editorial to appear during the war spoke of the "Appalling Shame" of "profiteering by certain individuals, companies and corporations."⁵¹ Legislation was called for to ensure that no one would become wealthy from the war. Haynes went on to call for public sentiment against "these despicable people." He declared, "There ought to be a sentiment to dominate the country that would remand any man to the realms of oblivion who comes out of this war richer than he went into it."⁵² After the war he returned to a similar theme, this time charging that the entire country was becoming militaristic.

Our appropriation for army and navy purposes for this year totals nearly one billion and a half dollars, which is more than four times as much as Germany spent on her army the year before the war began. We had better cease blaming the militarist spirit of Germany with causing the recent atrocious war, until we as a nation reduce our enormous expenditure in preparing for war. So it appears to us.⁵³

Three editorials in the year following the armistice were written to support disarmament, urging preachers and churches to exert pressure on the government to cooperate in encouraging the international dismantling of existing war material. Haynes expressed pleasant surprise at the naval reduction agreed upon by the great powers, but also sorrow that Mr. Root's "proposed outlawing of the use of poisonous gases in all future warfare was not promptly and unanimously accepted and put in treaty

⁵¹B.F. Haynes, "Appalling Shame," The Herald of Holiness 7 (October 30, 1918): 2.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³B.F. Haynes, "Our Country Becoming Militaristic," The Herald of Holiness 10 (April 13, 1921): 2.

form."⁵⁴ He went on to warn:

We will simply add here that we have never regarded it practicable for any kind of a Conference, or international League, or Treaty to abolish war, or make war impossible. We see not how any intelligent reader of the Bible could believe this.⁵⁵

During the formative years of the Church, there was significant involvement in a variety of social relief ministries, primarily through city missions, orphanages, and rescue homes for the victims of "white slavery." Committees and boards were established to encourage local churches to organize relief ministries and to support financially the independent city missions, orphanages, and rescue homes being operated by Nazarene members. In its first year The Herald of Holiness devoted an entire issue to "Rescue Work" in which Seth Rees, who would later become the founder of the Pilgrim Holiness Church, said that "If we fail in lifting the fallen, by giving the gospel to the poor, ours is a lamentable failure." He went on to describe the social conditions which allow young girls to be sold into prostitution.

They are held in stockades, and sold from the auction block to the highest bidder. During the month of November, 1911, seventeen hundred girls disappeared from trains running between New York and Chicago. Since the life of a girl in sin is about five years, one hundred thousand recruits must march to the Slaughter every year.⁵⁶

A 1915 issue repeated the recent General Assembly report of "City Mission and Rescue Work." Churches were urged to hold annual services in which the rescue ministry of the denomination could be presented and offerings taken. Encouragement was given to those who would be

⁵⁴B. F. Haynes, "The Disarmament Conference," The Herald of Holiness 10 (March 8, 1922): 2.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Seth Rees, "Why the Church Should Engage in Rescue Work," The Herald of Holiness 1 (March 19, 1913): 3.

inclined to open missions in the United States or in "foreign fields."⁵⁷ The Deaconess order, women officially recognized to engage in relief and rescue work, was given prominence with a training program outlined in the Manual and uniforms described to set such volunteers apart for special respect.

Orphanage work, while never as widespread as the Rescue Work, held a prominent place in the interest of Nazarenes. The November 10, 1920, issue of The Herald of Holiness is devoted to the support of orphanages supported by the Church. A series of articles followed in which the justification for the Church's involvement is set forth. In 1915 the General Assembly appointed a general church committee on orphanage work and later appointed a permanent Orphanage Board (1923) to oversee the financial and legal needs of the work. Churches were urged by the general church to support the orphanages with yearly offerings.

When B. F. Haynes retired as editor in 1923, The Herald of Holiness changed almost immediately, reflecting the turn the church was taking from social concern toward more institutional interests of education, missions and overall membership growth. Never again would The Herald of Holiness editorialize on a broad spectrum of national and international social and political concerns. The new editor, J. B. Chapman, was more interested in defining the meaning of entire sanctification for growing numbers of church members than in developing the social implications of Wesleyan theology for an age generally disenchanted with the prospects of social improvement. In subsequent years The Herald of Holiness became a tool to refine and reflect upon the development of a denomination growing up with its primary purpose to perpetuate the Wesleyan theology of Christian perfection.

⁵⁷"City Mission and Rescue Work," The Herald of Holiness 4 (October 13, 1915): 9.

CHAPTER IV

RETRENCHMENT

The involvement of The Church of the Nazarene in relief work can be traced by following the committee reports to the General Assemblies. During the first General Assembly in 1907 at Chicago, when The Church of the Nazarene from the West joined with the Association of Pentecostal Church of America of the East, there were reports on the work of the deaconesses and a Committee on Prohibition. A year later when the recently formed Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene joined with the Texas-based Holiness Church of Christ for the second General Assembly at Pilot Point, Texas, a "Rescue Work" Committee was added. The 1915 Assembly in Nashville, Tennessee, recommended that the Rescue Committee be expanded to include "City Mission" work and that a committee on orphanages be added. The 1919 General Assembly in Kansas City, Missouri, had five different official committees reporting about ministries which dealt with social welfare. In order to control the overwhelming need for rescue work and the growing involvement of the Church, a recommendation was made that each District should approve and supervise relief work through a "District Board of Social Welfare." A committee recognized publicly for the first time that the Church did not include American blacks in its membership.

Whereas, We have no work among the colored people in this country, especially in the South where the need of the gospel is as imperative as in many places in Africa; therefore we respectfully

Memorialize, That provision be made in our General Foreign

Missionary Board instructing them to send missionaries to work among the negroes of the South, and that, as occasion demands, organize them into colored Churches of the Nazarene. The need of such a missionary enterprise can not be overestimated. There are some ten million negroes in the southern states, and with a few rare exceptions, nothing is being done to reach them with the gospel of full salvation. While we are sending missionaries to far-away Africa, we are sadly, or wholly, neglecting thousands of the African race in our midst.¹

The Orphanage Work Committee brought a report which called the attention of the Church to the plight of homeless children, saying:

"The church or movement that, under the Holy Ghost, gives proper attention to the children, gains strength, while those neglecting the children, of necessity weaken and decay."² Five Districts had recommended that the General Assembly take steps to build a large institution to replace the rather limited home at Peniel, Texas. For this purpose the creation of a General Orphanage Board was recommended.

The Deaconess Work Committee recommended upgrading the status of women who served by asking local churches to provide financial compensation for their services and make them ex officio members of District Assemblies, just as pastors. Their purpose within the Church is re-emphasized: "We urge that our deaconesses keep in constant mind the great object of getting souls saved, and as ministering to the sick, comforting the sorrowing, nursing the dying, and caring for the poor and neglected are main avenues to hearts, we must by all means try to save some."³

The success of the Prohibition movement was recognized and

¹Fifth General Assembly, Official Minutes . . . 1919, p. 112.

²Ibid., p. 112.

³Ibid., p. 114.

praised in the reports of the committee on the "State of the Church and Country" and "Temperance and Prohibition." The "State of the Church and Country" Committee recommended that the Church actively participate in the support of the "Christian Amendment" being initiated by the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America "to the effect that Jesus Christ should be acknowledged in the Constitution of the United States of America."⁴

After 1919 these committees began to merge and narrow their interests. By the seventh Assembly in 1928, only three committees remained: Social Welfare and Orphanage, Deaconess, and State of the Church and Public Morals, the latter of which had assumed the interest of the Prohibition cause. In 1932 there was just one committee reporting about social welfare or rescue work. The real interests of the orphanage work had passed from the committee to the "Orphanage Board," whose responsibility it was to deal with the "problem" of the Peniel, Texas, property and withdraw the Church from direct involvement. The Committee on Social Welfare, Orphanage, and Deaconess work continued to function with declining interest until dissolved after the 1948 Assembly. From 1948 on, during the time of greatest growth for The Church of the Nazarene, there were no General Assembly reports on social welfare or relief work. One committee, "State of the Church and Public Morals," continued to report on issues regarding personal ethics, i.e. alcohol, tobacco, etc. In 1972 this committee became the Christian Action Committee, whose report dealt primarily with concern over separation of Church and State.

Although the transition from the formative period of the first

⁴Ibid.

generation to the second was somewhat gradual, and the changes were complex, by the early 1920s The Church of the Nazarene was taking on a new and different identity. By 1922 the early leaders who had won and retained their independence were gone. Bresee and the General Superintendents who had forged the merger of the eight independent holiness groups were dead by 1915. Haynes retired as editor of The Herald of Holiness to be succeeded in 1922 by a younger man, J. B. Chapman, who became a General Superintendent, but as editor was expected to promote consensus within the denomination rather than reflect independent or controversial opinions. Gone were the free-wheeling outspoken comments of Bresee and Haynes.

In Called Unto Holiness, Smith has told the story of the Nazarenes during "The Formative Years" from the Holiness Revival of 1858-88 until 1932. The history deals primarily with a recounting of the persons and events through which Smith traces the relationship of The Church of the Nazarene to the holiness movement and to the broader stream of American religious and social history. The character of the holiness movement, especially its interest in social reform, was developed during the "progressive period" in American history (1890-1910), a time of "intellectual crisis" when middle class Americans, due to their fears of mass immigration, to new ideas in religion and science, and to conflicts between the farm and city, capital and labor, "supported the reform of municipal government, discussed ways to 'Americanize' the immigrant, engaged in social work in the urban slums, and fought for prohibition, the graduated income tax, and the enfranchisement of women." This was the time of the social gospel, too, which "was inspired as much by the desire to preserve traditional values in

an age of change as by any plan to plot a new or radical course."⁵

Just as the development of social concern within the holiness movement was intertwined with the prevailing cultural attitudes of the nation at that time, so was the demise of this concern closely related to events outside the Church as well as within. Had the founding fathers of The Church of the Nazarene been younger or lived longer, one may speculate that the Church would have retained some of its initial interest in relief work and social reform. As Smith suggests:

The passing of an older generation of leaders, steeped in Methodist and other churchly traditions, encouraged this tendency. The reins of authority passed to young men who had known neither bishops nor councils, nor a church broadly responsible for the welfare of society. And the situation was incredibly complicated, as we shall see, by the religious upheaval called fundamentalism, which reached its apex at the close of the first world war.⁶

The second generation of Nazarenes, after the passing of their founding fathers, tended to be more conservative, sectarian and preoccupied with the internal life of the denomination, including educational and missionary interests.

The second generation emerged during a time of general retrenchment and isolationism in American society. There developed after the First World War a kind of Wesleyan fundamentalism with its reaction to "modernism, science, and public education, and with the expectation of an imminent Second Coming. Christian social service was explicitly rejected."⁷ The alienation of the farmer from urban culture, the sense of human tragedy which resulted from the War and its aftermath, "aroused and inflamed the strains of puritanism and pessimism which in

⁵Smith, Called Unto Holiness, p. 200.

⁶Ibid., p. 271.

⁷Ibid., p. 306.

other days had yielded first place to the perfectionist idealism dominant in Wesleyan faith."⁸

During the fifty years from the end of the formative period until the 1970s, The Church of the Nazarene moved quickly from a rather loose association of people and independent congregations into an organized denomination with all the earmarks of an established church. Denominational colleges increased their enrollment, training ministers as well as laymen in the liberal arts until gradually but inexorably, the church moved from the influence of the camp meeting evangelists to the influence of pastors and educators. A publishing house began printing the literature and music of the holiness movement. The church which began with a strong interest in the welfare of the disenherited had quickly turned its attention to the nurture of a second generation and the evangelization of those who would benefit from the prosperity which rose from the great depression.

In many ways The Church of the Nazarene reflects the same attitudes toward social issues as the majority of those within American evangelicalism. Since World War II, this has included reaction to theological liberalism and associated social activism. Retrenchment from the social concerns of the formative period, however, should not be implied as a denial of the Wesleyan heritage and theology. Whatever the changes during the years, there have been no signs of retrenchment from the fundamental Wesleyan concerns for holiness of heart and life. While the focus of theology shifted from social to more individualistic interests, the fundamental precepts which formed the social concerns of the eighteenth-century evangelical revival and the nineteenth-century

⁸Ibid., p. 307.

holiness movement remain with the holiness churches. As Smith wrote in 1962, ". . .the devotion of the denomination to its distinctive belief in the doctrine and experience of entire sanctification and the commitment of its people to the firm discipline of the General Rules are as great as ever."⁹

While identified with evangelicalism, The Church of the Nazarene has not voiced strident demands for biblical literalism; nor has it professed pessimistic dispensationalism. Though emphasis on sanctification has often created unfortunate tendencies toward legalism, on the positive side it has preserved within the holiness churches an optimistic view of human nature and society. When translated into a theological ethic, such theology provides some motivation for social action. While Wesleyan theology has been disassociated from social action within the holiness churches during the last fifty years, there remain many within The Church of the Nazarene who are little more than a generation away from those like Bresee and Haynes, who understood earlier the implications of the holiness social ethic.

Whether or not this heritage can be recovered, and whether the holiness churches can be motivated by their theology to respond to the critical social issues of the present remains to be seen. The writer's judgment is that many within The Church of the Nazarene are wanting to recover and reappropriate this heritage and thus see the project of urban ministry described in the following chapters as an expression, perhaps as a model, of ministry which embodies Wesley's concern to spread scriptural holiness and reform the nation.

⁹ Smith, Called Unto Holiness, p. 349.

PART II. NAZARENE URBAN MINISTRY,

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Reports from the various departments of this Division indicate that by 1973 the 400,000 Nazarenes in North America were concentrated in rural areas and small towns, with only 25 per cent living in the urban areas where 75 per cent of the population was found. Even this could be taken as a conservative estimate since many Nazarene churches express the central idea of the Nazarene faith in their worship.

Churches and members in the urban areas have tended to the suburbs of the cities or the eastern seaboard, for instance, Washington, D.C. is the only locality where a Nazarene congregation has remained in the city since its original organization. For the most part, the Nazarene churches which were strong here in the central city have followed their members to the suburbs.

It is not altogether accurate, though, to say that Nazarene churches have left the cities. Some churches have remained in the suburbs as the members have moved, but for the most part, there have never been many city congregations. While missions preaching during the formative years of the Church did appeal to rural immigrants in the cities, from the beginning there have very few Nazarene churches organized in the cities and almost none which would stay there.

James P. [Name]

An honest appraisal of our day's 40 years of Nazarene ministry

CHAPTER V

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE MINISTRY OF INNER-CITY

HOUSING REHABILITATION

Reports from the Nazarene Department of Home Missions indicate that by 1975 the 400,000 Nazarenes in North America were concentrated in rural areas and small towns, with only 25 per cent living in the urban areas where 75 per cent of the population was found. Even this could be somewhat misleading, for if the urban areas are divided further between the central inner-city and suburban areas, most Nazarene churches and members in the urban areas were located in the suburbs. Of the cities on the eastern seaboard, for instance, Washington, D.C. is the only location where a Nazarene congregation has remained in the city since its original organization. For the most part, the Nazarene churches which were at one time in the central city have followed their members to the suburbs.

It is not altogether accurate, though, to say that Nazarene churches have left the cities. Some churches have relocated in the suburbs as the members have moved, but for the most part, there have never been many city congregations. While holiness preaching during the formative years of the Church did appeal to rural immigrants in the cities,¹ from the beginning there were very few holiness churches organized in the cities, and almost none among ethnic minorities.²

¹Jones, Perfectionist Persuasion.

²"An honest appraisal of our first 40 years of existence reveals

During the time of the greatest growth for The Church of the Nazarene, following World War II, membership gains and formation of new churches took place primarily in Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and California; even in these states, the establishment of churches usually took place in the small towns and in suburbia.³

By 1975, 25 per cent of the Nazarenes were located in world areas outside North America, with the greatest growth taking place in Latin America, South America, the Caribbean, and Africa, as a result of aggressive missionary activity since the origin of the Church. Several of these world areas now have indigenous leadership, using the few missionaries present in an advisory role only. While an international constituency has developed, the American Church has remained primarily white and middle-class.

The organization, then, of a Nazarene congregation in Washington with the expressed intent of ministering within the inner city is unique, in that The Church of the Nazarene since 1920 has been less and less involved with the people of the cities--the poor, the minorities, and the oppressed of American society. While it is the argument of this

that our first black church was not officially organized until 1914, even though we were already doing missionary work in India, China, Japan, Mexico, South America, and South Africa. We early planted work among tiny minorities such as Chinese, Japanese, and American Indians. Records show over 700 organized white churches before our first black church came into being. During the first 40 years of our denomination, only four black churches were organized (in New York, West Virginia, and Louisiana)." (Roger Bowman, Color Us Christian: The Story of the Church of the Nazarene among America's Blacks, (Kansas City: Nazarene Publishing House, 1975), p. 31.)

³Ken S. Armstrong, Face to Face with the Church of the Nazarene (Boulder, Colorado: Johnson Publishing Co., 1958).

Project-Thesis that within The Church of the Nazarene and the holiness movement there is a unique social ethic which can continue to motivate response to the social problems of society, it is nevertheless true that Nazarenes have generally not been aware of this heritage. In Donald Dayton's article, "The Holiness Churches: A Significant Ethical Tradition," he claims that the "holiness movement differs from fundamentalism and evangelicalism in that it is more oriented to ethics and spiritual life than to a defense of doctrinal orthodoxy."⁴ He goes on to refer to the nineteenth-century abolitionists as examples of holiness leaders who raised "ethics to the status that fundamentalists have accorded doctrine."

The distinction which Dayton drew between the holiness movement and the evangelicals or fundamentalists in terms of social concern must be accepted with a bit of credulity. While it is true that the theology and heritage for social concern in the holiness movement has "re-emerged," as Dayton suggests, one would nevertheless be hard-pressed to find evidence in the last fifty years within The Church of the Nazarene or any of the other smaller holiness churches for either less concern with doctrinal controversy or more concern for social justice than is found among other conservative Christians. While it is true that the holiness churches have not been in the fight for biblical inerrancy, they nevertheless have developed their own kind of fundamentalism.⁵ Most holiness ministers would gladly acknowledge

⁴Dayton, "The Holiness Churches: A Significant Ethical Tradition," The Christian Century, February 26, 1975, p. 197.

⁵Timothy Smith traces the beginning of "Wesleyan Fundamentalism" to the entrance of the Dakota-based Laymen's Holiness Association into the Church of the Nazarene in 1922. The unique characteristics of this

themselves as evangelicals and most lay members of the holiness churches would identify with the fundamentalists within conservative Christianity.

From this mixed tradition of holiness pietism and Wesleyan social concern, a small group of members within the First Church of the Nazarene, Washington, D.C.--including the writer as pastor--co-operated with members from Washington's Church of the Saviour to organize Jubilee Housing, Inc. in 1973 as a means of ministry in the city. Housing management and rehabilitation became the focus of this mission, following years of involvement in a variety of inner-city ministries such as tutoring, youth work, and foster care for children. Concern for housing grew among those who organized Jubilee, as it became more apparent that, for all the good intentions of government programs to provide decent, affordable housing for the poor, the housing crisis

group became typical of the entire denomination.

"A comparison of the sermons, reports, and exhortations of this group with those of the holiness associations which flourished in the 1890's turns up some striking differences. In the earlier period the twin passions seem to have been evangelism and social work. The North Dakota group, by contrast, combined the idea of sanctification with attacks upon modernism, science, and public education and with the expectation of an imminent Second Coming. Christian social service was explicitly rejected. . . . Here, then, was a new form of agrarian revolt, calling the nation to otherworldly piety rather than, as in the 1890's, to social reform. Not the economic power of Wall Street but the godless influence of universities, not the sufferings imposed by an unjust system but the spiritual bankruptcy of an unfaithful church alarmed these plainmen. The mood of protest and withdrawal evident in all farming communities was to dominate evangelical religion in America for the next thirty years. Whenever praying families moved from the countryside to the city, they identified themselves with Bible-believing congregations, adding new thrust to the force of urban fundamentalism. Such Christians, whether of Wesleyan, Baptist, or Presbyterian persuasion, thought of life primarily in terms of the pilgrims' heavenly journey; and they expected even that to be cut short by the coming of the Lord." (Smith, Called Unto Holiness, pp. 305-310.)

was worsening. Contacts with the residents of the city who had no alternative other than substandard, overcrowded housing had convinced those who formed Jubilee that there were indeed resources within the inner-city communities and among committed persons in religious and civic organizations which could be contributed to the rebuilding of the city.

The Nazarene involvement began with a conscious borrowing from the Wesleyan tradition of both 18th-century England and the holiness movement of the last century. This ministry has been interpreted to those within The Church of the Nazarene as a legitimate and necessary outgrowth of Wesleyanism. Ministry through housing is viewed as a means to an end, although not in the usual understanding of relief concealing an evangelistic hook. The end in mind is simply that of bringing together those resources which are needed to provide decent, affordable housing and through housing, to respond to the whole range of needs which converge upon the poor.

Jubilee began with the purchase of two seriously deteriorated apartment buildings in the Adams-Morgan area of Northwest Washington. These 50-year-old buildings, in an advanced state of disrepair, are located in an area of the city where land values are rising, where single family houses are being restored, and where apartment buildings such as these are being converted to expensive condominium units. All of these factors force the displacement of existing low-income households and, with the critical shortage of low-income housing, add to the critical problems already confronting the poor in the city. The people who formed Jubilee Housing had been involved for several years in a variety of community projects in this area and were aware that,

should the trend continue, it would only be a short time until these tenants would be displaced in favor of the conversion of their housing units to middle- to upper-class housing accommodations. In the meantime, the owner of the buildings was making only minimal repairs, allowing the properties to deteriorate, and looking to some future sale or conversion to make a profit.⁶ Jubilee began to rehabilitate these buildings in order to provide decent, affordable housing for the present low-income families, and thus preserve the heterogeneous economic mix of the community.

Since November 1973, Jubilee has managed and rehabilitated the 90 units in the two buildings at 1631 Euclid Street, N.W., and at 1630 Fuller Street, N.W. The buildings were acquired for Jubilee's operation under a sale and leaseback arrangement with a local individual. The Jubilee Board began with four objectives:

- (1) Moderate rehabilitation of all units and public spaces without the displacement of tenants.
- (2) No increase in rent. Existing rents average 25 to 35 per cent below comparable units in the area.
- (3) Conversion of the rehabilitated buildings to tenant-owned and -managed co-operatives.
- (4) Establishment of a model for voluntarism and replicability.

⁶In 1975 the District of Columbia City Council enacted temporary legislation to prevent condominium and cooperative conversion where tenants would be displaced. Condominium and cooperative conversions are allowed only when at least 50 per cent of the tenants of a building participate. This legislation followed a thorough study: "Condominiums in the District of Columbia: The Impact of Conversions on Washington's Citizens, Neighborhoods, and Housing Stock," by Development Economics, A Division of Raymond, Parish and Pine, Inc., Center for Urban Policy Research, 1975.

On April 15, 1975, Jubilee Housing purchased a third building, the Cresthill Apartments, 48 units at 1430 Belmont Street, N.W., in the Cardoza area of the city, which is sometimes referred to as the "riot corridor." Jubilee Housing then expanded its operation, with members of the Church of the Saviour continuing with their primary responsibility for the two original buildings, and the members of The Church of the Nazarene assuming responsibility for the Cresthill Apartments. These individuals were organized into a separate Board of Trustees responsible to the Jubilee organization for accomplishing these stated objectives. The writer serves on the executive committee of the Jubilee Board and as chairman of the Cresthill Board.

CHAPTER VI

THE HOUSING CRISIS IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

A 1975 study prepared for the District of Columbia Development Corporation, a government-sponsored private corporation created to contract for publicly funded rehabilitation projects, found in Washington an "existing need to provide assistance to some 80,000 lower-income households."¹ This need remains even after the assistance provided by the various housing and rent subsidy programs of the government is taken into consideration. The report indicated that there are over 70,000 households--more than 200,000 people--in Washington living in units which were considered physically deficient or overcrowded. In the 1974 "Application for Federal Assistance for a Community Block Grant Program," the city listed 65,481 occupied living units, either single family homes or apartments, as physically unsound, lacking some plumbing, heating, or other essential facilities. In preparation for the 1975 application, the Department of Housing and Community Development offered the following analysis of need:

Some 77,000 lower-income Washington households live in substandard,

¹A Strategy for the Development of Housing in the District of Columbia, Corral Harvey Associates and Bill Johnson Associates, May 1975, p. ii. This study was prepared for the District of Columbia Development Corporation to define its housing role in the District of Columbia. Primary sources of information to analyze the need for low-income housing were the 1970 Census and the 1974 application for Community Development Block Grant Funds under the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act.

overcrowded or too costly housing, including:

- 24,000 lower-income households in overcrowded units, of which 8,600 are seriously overcrowded, with more than 1-1/2 people per room;
- 12,000 lower-income elderly households paying over 25 per cent of their income for housing;
- 41,000 non-elderly lower-income households paying over 25 per cent of their income for housing.²

According to the 1970 Census, Washington had 278,439 living units for 324,215 households, but since many of the units are unoccupied or abandoned, there existed an actual shortage of 61,677 living units.³ There were 188,484 renter-occupied housing units in the area which represented 67.7 per cent of all units. The age of the District's housing units (47 per cent of them were built during or before 1939) would indicate the probability of a large number of units being in need of rehabilitation or replacement.

The existence of overcrowding and deficiencies was confirmed by the 1970 Census, which indicated that nearly one out of every eight units in the city--31,734 units--were occupied by more than 1.01 persons per room (see table 1). While a complete detailed analysis of the condition of occupied units is unavailable and the data nearly impossible

²Statement of Interim Housing and Community Development Policies for the District of Columbia by the D.C. Department of Housing and Community Development, December, 1975, p. 4. This statement was prepared as a "draft" of the policies under consideration for the development of a "Comprehensive Plan for the District." Individual citizens were invited to respond to the statement as the first step in developing a plan to be submitted to HUD for the allocation of the District's second year appropriation under the Housing and Community Development Act.

³A Strategy for the Development of Housing in the District of Columbia, p. 22. All the statistics and tables which follow in this chapter including 1970 data, information for the District's 1974 application for Community Development Block Grant funds are taken from this study prepared for the District of Columbia Development Corporation.

to obtain, certain key indicators of need could be derived from the Census data. Some 36,224 cases were reported where housing units lacked some or all plumbing facilities, lacked adequate kitchen facilities, lacked adequate heating facilities, lacked adequate toilets, bathtubs, or showers (see table 2).

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS PER ROOM (OVERCROWDING)

	Less Than 1.01	More Than 1.01	1.01 - 1.51	1.51 +
Owner	69,429	4,625	3,593	1,032
Renter	161,675	26,809	16,337	10,477
Total	231,104	31,434	19,925	11,509
Percentage	88.03	11.97 (12%)	7.59	4.38

TABLE 2

CONDITION OF UNITS

	Number	Percentage
Total Units	278,439	100.00
Standard Units	212,958	76.50
Sub-standard Units	65,481	23.50
Deteriorating Units	61,400	22.05
Dilapidated Units	4,381	1.00

The socio-economic condition of the people in the city indicated that if rental housing were to be built with the needs of the residents in mind, roughly 41 to 48 per cent of the units should be built for moderate income renters or higher, and roughly 52 to 59 per cent should be built for those who need rent supplements in some form. According to the guidelines set by the 1974 Housing and Community

Development Act, between 86,372 and 98,127 (52 to 59 per cent) of the renters in the District were eligible for public housing or rent subsidy assistance. In the 1974 application for Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) funds, 38.1 per cent of the renters in the District were listed as earning less than \$5,000 per year and nearly all of these were paying more than 25 per cent of their income for rent (see tables 3 and 4).

TABLE 3
DISTRIBUTION OF RENTERS IN HOUSEHOLDS BY INCOME

	Total	Income		
		Below \$5,000	\$5,000- 9,999	\$10,000 or more
Number	165,035	62,861	70,533	31,641
Percentage	100.0%	38.1%	42.7%	19.2%

TABLE 4
DISTRIBUTION OF GROSS RENT ABOVE 25 PER CENT
OF INCOME BY INCOME GROUP

Income	Total Household	Total Households Paying 25%
Below \$5,000	62,861	56,809 (90.4%)
\$5,000 - \$9,999	70,533	19,159 (27.2%)
\$10,000 - \$14,999	31,641	1,537 (4.9%)
Total	165,035	77,505 (47.0%)

This means, of course, that it is virtually impossible for low-income households to find adequate housing which would cost only 25 per cent of their income in Washington. The housing crisis is aggravated by the high cost of living in the metropolitan area.

According to the 1970 Census, the mean and median annual income for families and unrelated individuals in Washington is considerably below that of the greater metropolitan area (see tables 5, 6, and 7). While incomes have been rising annually since 1970, recent information published by the Urban League would indicate that the income gap between black and white, suburban and inner city poor has been widening. The study would suggest that the Washington percentage of the mean and median income for the metropolitan area is less in 1975 than it was in 1970.⁴

TABLE 5

MEDIAN FAMILY INCOMES

Metropolitan Area	\$12,930	
District of Columbia	9,583	74.1%

⁴"In 1974 (the last full year for which income statistics are available) the median income for black families was \$7,808, while the median income for white families was \$13,356. Thus black family income was only 58 per cent of white family income. This is the same ratio that existed in 1966 and represented a drop from 61 per cent in 1969.

"Even during 1974, before the full impact of the 1974-75 depression was felt, the number of poor people increased by 1.3 million (including 139,000 blacks) to 24.3 million, the greatest growth since the government began recording poverty statistics in 1959.

"Moreover, the actual extent of poverty in America is much greater than governmental figures indicate. Although 24 million persons are classified as poor, according to official poverty statistics, a more realistic definition of poverty that sets a higher income figure than the government, reveals that about twice as many persons (over 40 million) are in fact poor and in dire need today, as a result of the cumulative effects of inflation and recession/depression." (The State of Black America Issued by the National Urban League, January, 1976, p. 4.)

TABLE 6

MEAN FAMILY INCOME

Metropolitan Area	\$14,833	
District of Columbia	12,189	82.17%

TABLE 7

MEAN INCOMES FOR FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS

Metropolitan Area	\$11,691	
District of Columbia	8,917	76.30%

The definition of "low" and "very low" income households eligible for housing assistance under the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act varies according to the economic indicators of each metropolitan area. Lower-income households are those with less annual income than 80 per cent of the median (middle) family income for the metropolitan area. Those with incomes under 50 per cent of the median are considered "very low" income. The "lower" income limits are roughly comparable to the limits for moderate income households under previous Federal housing programs, and the "very low" income limits are comparable to the low income limits of the older programs. A family of three earning less than \$13,050 is considered "lower income" while the same family earning less than \$8,150 is "very low income" (see table 8).

When this standard is applied in the Washington area, it means that more than one-half of the households in the District are potentially eligible for assistance under the new Section 8 rent subsidy program. The median income in Service Area 8 (upper Northwest) is the

only area in the District that exceeds Section 8 lower income limits. Median incomes in Service Areas 1, 2, 8, and 9 are the only areas that exceed Section 8 "very low" income limits. The Jubilee projects are located in Service Area 7 (see table 9).

Table 8

SECTION 8--HOUSEHOLD INCOME LIMITS

No. of Persons in Household	"Lower Income"	"Very Low Income"
1	\$ 9,050	\$ 5,450
2	11,600	7,250
3	13,050	8,150
4	14,500	9,050
5	15,400	9,800
6	16,300	10,500
7	17,200	11,250
8+	18,100	11,950

TABLE 9

SERVICE AREAS

Service Area	1970 Median Family Income by Service Area	Section 8 Limits	
		Lower Income	Very Low Income
1	\$11,000	\$14,500	\$9,050
2	12,000	14,500	9,050
3	7,830	14,500	9,050
4	8,300	14,500	9,050
5	8,000	14,500	9,050
6	5,500	14,500	9,050
7	7,700	14,500	9,050
8	19,000	14,500	9,050
9	11,500	14,500	9,050
District Totals	9,538	14,500	9,050

Since the 1970 Census, significant population changes have been occurring in Washington which make low-income housing even more critical. Several areas of the city such as Adams-Morgan, Dupont Circle, Logan Circle, and Capitol Hill are experiencing economic revitalization with increasing land values and extensive renovation in progress. While such changes contribute to the upgrading of these areas, and thereby of the city as a whole, the poor are again the victims because of displacement. The high rate of black population increase into central city Washington from 1960 to 1970 (30.6 per cent) has decreased significantly in more recent years. The four-year period from 1970 to 1974 revealed a 5.0 per cent decrease in the black metropolitan population. This trend is likely to continue unless the availability and acquisition of housing in the District is brought within the range of the District's black population (see table 10).

Federal Housing Assistance Programs

The 1974 Housing and Community Development Act is the primary government source of assistance for low-income housing.⁵ An urban area like Washington is allocated a certain proportion of the total funds appropriated by Congress through a complicated formula which takes into account the level of government subsidies under previous federal programs and indicators of need such as the condition of the

⁵Community Development Block Grants: Eligible Activities Department of Housing and Urban Development. Office of Assistant Secretary for Community Planning and Development, January 19, 1976. References in this chapter to the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act are taken from this bulletin and from interviews with officials in the District of Columbia Department of Housing and Community Development.

TABLE 10
BLACK POPULATION CHANGE

	1960		1970		1974		% Change	
	Total Population	Black Population	Total Population	Black Population	Total Population	Black Population	1960-1970	1970-1974
Metropolitan Area	2,001,987	485,117	2,867,723	717,040	3,065,517	800,100	-39.1	+11.6
District of Columbia	763,956	411,737	756,510	537,712	719,436	510,800	+30.6	- 5.0

TABLE 11
ENTITLEMENT AMOUNTS FOR D.C. (\$ MILLIONS)

Location	Annual Entitlement						
	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	Six Year Total
Washington, D.C.	42,544	42,224	40,824	31,759	23,509	16,427	197,317

housing stock for low-income households and the number of low-income households in the area. Under Title I of the Act, Washington receives "Entitlement Funds" to be administered by the City government. These funds provide for the programs meant to replace the federally controlled programs which have been discontinued (i.e. Model Cities, Urban Renewal, and HUD Open Space). During the first two years of the new Act, Washington will receive approximately 42 million dollars, which is about the same amount that the City received from all the categorical programs of the past. By 1980, these "Entitlement Funds" will reduce to 16 million dollars (see table 11).

The Housing and Community Development Act was meant to change and reduce the Federal Government's role in funding low-income housing projects. Under the new program, local communities are required to set their own priorities and to submit requests for these programs to HUD for the approval to spend the funds allocated. The Act is intended to equalize the total federal subsidy for low-income housing throughout the nation. In the past, certain communities, including Washington, received more than their share of federal housing assistance, due to the work of aggressive local officials who know how to lobby for specific programs. Within the guidelines set by the Act as administered by HUD, local officials now may spend their funds as they wish. Some communities will receive a decreasing amount until they are in line with equal distribution throughout the nation, while others will receive an increasing subsidy until equality is achieved in 1980. The total amount of money provided nationally, though, is less under the 1974 Act than the total provided by the previous categorical programs. In Washington the prospect is especially bleak as

the funding level of 42 million dollars will be reduced by about two-thirds unless new housing legislation is passed before 1980.

Title I Community Development Block Grant funds are not available for new housing. They may be used not only for low-income housing rehabilitation but also for a variety of other community development projects related to housing rehabilitation, such as social services, historical preservation, site improvement, and administration. It is unlikely that a very large amount of the funds will be used for housing rehabilitation. The priorities for the CDBG funds are established first by the local Department of Housing and Community Development after a series of public hearings. The City Council must then approve the application, including the specific projects and expenditures to be funded. Finally, the mayor sends the completed application to HUD each year for final approval and authorization.

Section 8 under Title II of the Act provides a rent subsidy program for low-income families who rent rehabilitated units. Some Section 8 funds are available to developers who construct low-income housing. In this case, the government will subsidize the difference between the actual unit cost and the rent potential of the tenant (25 per cent of income). Section 8 becomes, in effect, a kind of substitute for the 235 and 236 Programs of the National Housing Act. Under 235 and 236, the government provided direct mortgage subsidies to developers by reducing interest to 1 per cent on the construction of single family residences and apartment buildings intended for low-income residents. While these programs remain, they have been effectively discontinued through impoundment or lack of funding by Congress. The 235 Program for single family residences has recently been funded

on a limited basis with interest reduction to 5 per cent rather than 1 per cent.

The inadequacy of the funds available under this program, when compared to the needs, leaves the District with little promise of any immediate solution to the housing crisis. If the entire amount of the Community Development Block Grant funds were used to provide rehabilitated units at present construction costs, less than 1,000 units could be rehabilitated during the first year--hardly enough to replace the normal amount of deterioration. The District's Section 8 allocation for the year 1976 is sufficient to provide rent subsidy to only 750 of the 90,000 households in the District which are eligible for assistance under the 1974 Act.

An article in the December 27, 1975 Washington Post indicates something of the dilemma city planners face in the allocation of the Community Development and Section 8 funds. By the end of the year the District Department of Housing and Community Development had spent only \$508,000 of the \$33.3 million available. The problem is not only "red tape" as the article indicates, but also the difficulty that the city's Department of Housing and Community Development has in determining how that money can be spent to make any measurable impact on the housing needs of the city. The first major rehabilitation project in the "14th Street riot corridor" was described in a Washington Star article, December 12, 1975. Under an old "236" Program, 218 units are being "gut-rehabilitated" at a total cost of over five million dollars. Following rehabilitation, the government will provide an annual subsidy of up to \$642,000 in rent supplements so that tenants will not pay more than 25 per cent of their incomes for rent. At

this rate, the entire District annual allotment under the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act could be spent in one city block, with little effect on the city as a whole. Various plans are being considered for using the Community Development funds as a revolving loan fund to provide a permanent source of financing for low-income housing construction or rehabilitation. But given the costs of rehabilitation, these funds will do very little to alleviate the crisis of housing in Washington.

The Failure of Government Housing Subsidies

It is not altogether accurate to say that the government has failed to provide housing by its subsidy programs. The whole suburban sprawl has resulted from government involvement in housing assistance. Federally financed mortgage insurance and income tax deductions for interest payments have provided a lucrative incentive to middle-income Americans to become property owners. Little of the billions of dollars represented by these two forms of subsidies has benefited the poor. Not until the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 was there a serious and concerted effort to provide better housing for the poor. The Act proposed a ten-year plan to construct 26 million units, six million of them to be subsidized to serve low- and moderate-income families. In spite of the substantial increases in federal government subsidies, the housing patterns in the city remain unchanged. Whatever has been gained for the poor seems to have been lost because of increasing population and substantial housing demolition and abandonment. The present result of many federally financed projects is described by the National Urban Coalition Report on the cities in terms which can be confirmed by a visit to Washington's Valley Green complex.

Entire neighborhoods housing hundreds of thousands of central city dwellers are on the way to a state similar to that caused by war--utter desolation. Estimates of the total number of abandoned units in New York City run up to 100,000; in Baltimore, it is estimated there are 7,000 vacant structures, in Philadelphia, 25,000. The pace seems to be quickening. This is a gross indictment of our national housing policy and the absence of a national land policy.⁶

M. Carter McFarland, formerly with HUD and now the director of urban affairs and housing programs for The American Institute of Architects, writes of the "Unlearned Lessons in the History of Federal Housing Aid," in a past issue of City, a magazine published by the National Urban Coalition. He mentions the following four unlearned lessons:

1. Good Housing Cannot Do It All: In this criticism, McFarland speaks to the fragmented, piecemeal attempts of welfare programs to serve the needs of the poor. The government has seemed to believe that if only adequate numbers of units could be provided, then slums would disappear.

Indeed, bad housing is as much a symptom of slum conditions as it is a cause. Unemployment, poverty, and lack of marketable skills cannot be solved by housing. Good housing alone will not solve social maladjustments of broken families. Racial discrimination, drug addiction, vandalism, crime, social alienation are problems of human behavior over which the provision of decent housing has little or no influence. They must be solved by education, training, jobs, motivation, social and psychological counseling and perhaps other remedies as yet undiscovered.⁷

He concludes that in 1972, four years into the goals period of the 1968 Act, it should not be surprising that inner-city problems are worsening despite high levels of housing production.

⁶Senator Fred R. Harris and Mayor John V. Lindsay, The State of the Cities, Report on the Commission on the Cities in the '70s (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), p. 70.

⁷M. Carter McFarland, "Unlearned Lessons in the History of Federal Housing Aid," City, Winter 1972, p. 31.

2. Excessive Emphasis on Volume Alone Leads to Abuses: The national goal of six million subsidized units in two years has led to a variety of abuses. McFarland documents the abuse of Section 235 and 236 funds, whereby developers were able to take advantage of construction funds only to provide the low-income purchaser with a defective home and hardly enough money to keep up the payments and none at all to pay for expensive repairs. The result is often that the purchaser soon abandons his new house, the mortgage is foreclosed and the house comes back to HUD. Such programs seem to be more a subsidy to the contractor than to the poor

3. Home Ownership Is Not Necessarily Uplift: Much of the failure of government policies has been due to the persistent myth that home ownership will solve slum deterioration. This was the motivation behind the housing legislation of 1968 and the passage of the Section 235 program. The purpose of this legislation was to make home ownership available to low- and moderate-income families.

The theory was very simple. Home ownership is something good in itself. It has the capacity to change human behavior, generate hope, ambition, and responsibility. If the family does not appear ready for ownership, then provide them with counseling in money management, home making, and related virtues and make them home owners anyhow, in the expectation that the experience will cause them to develop and expand their middle-class habits, thus breaking the poverty cycle.⁸

As good as the theory is, HUD failed to carry out the home-owner counseling program provided for by the legislation.

McFarland's final point in this critique is that repeated reorganizations of government housing policies will not change the basic problems if those administering the programs continue with the same

⁸Ibid., p. 33.

assumptions.

Due to frustration with past attempts to resolve the growing low-income housing crisis, the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act was passed to replace previous legislation and to lessen the Federal government's control and support of local projects. In some ways this has been an improvement, allowing for more local control. But even so, the bureaucratic detail is so complicated that by the end of the first year of the Act, the District government was able to spend less than \$1 million of the \$42 million already approved by HUD. Delays have resulted primarily from the inability of the District government to administer the funding under HUD guidelines. While there are advantages to local involvement in deciding how the funds are to be spent, the same government procedures for approving and allocating funds apply under the new Act. Thus, there is nothing fundamentally new about the administration of housing funds under the 1974 Act.

Private Ownership of Low-Income Housing

A study of housing cooperative conversions in New York City states that investor-owned and managed housing for low-income households is no longer feasible.⁹ Jubilee's experience confirms that

⁹This study is the most complete and helpful source of information about low-income housing cooperatives in New York. It provides legal and financial data related to the case studies of several cooperative conversions as well as others in various stages of development.

"This Study evaluates cooperative conversion both as a means of salvaging housing already abandoned, and as a way of preventing abandonment where it is threatened. . . .

"Among these principles the first is that new housing alone cannot solve urban housing problems and that the standing stock is a resource that must be preserved. Second, is a provisional acknowledgement that private, profit-oriented ownership of much of the existing housing for low and moderate income families is not working and that the likelihood it can again be made workable is

mortgage financing from commercial or private sources for inner-city low-income apartment housing is non-existent. Even if some kind of mortgage guarantees would encourage banks and other loan institutions to consider such loans, the management costs without debt service would amount to more than the rental income for most low-income housing properties. The three profit and loss statements for the buildings Jubilee purchased, and for others presently under consideration, all indicate an operational loss before debt service. The cost of utilities, maintenance, taxes, insurance, personnel and equipment replacement add up to more than the potential income from rent. The owners of such buildings are no longer able to realize a profit, and with rent control regulations limiting increases, there is no incentive to improve properties.

The stereotype of a slum lord reaping large profits from the renters does not apply with the inflationary costs of management. However, while a building itself may be deteriorating, and losing money on operations, the owner is often wealthy enough to profit from depreciation or to speculate on the value of the land. In Washington there are few if any locations where land values are decreasing.¹⁰ So again

small. (It is assumed that even if the economic problems can be resolved, social and cultural antagonism between landlord and tenant will remain.) Neither of these two propositions is altogether new nor universally accepted by those concerned with the city's housing problem, but for the first time they are being adopted as working assumptions by some public officials and housing professionals." (Robert Kolodny, Self Help in the Inner City: A Study of Lower Income Cooperative Housing Conversion in New York (New York: United Neighborhood Houses of New York, Inc., September 1973), pp. 1, 2.)

¹⁰The study prepared for the District of Columbia Development Corporation provides records of real estate sales since 1970 to document the rising land values in areas of the city experiencing revitalization and rehabilitation. The study also cited information indicating

the poor suffer by the owners for whom it is unprofitable to provide adequate housing at low rents, but who nevertheless sustain annual operational losses in order to gain an income tax advantage or a future windfall profit from disposition to a government renewal project or perhaps a condominium conversion. In New York, where strict rent controls have been in effect for some years now, property values in deteriorating areas have decreased. The result is that owners who can neither profit from the operation of the building nor expect to receive a return on their investment from a sale, are abandoning apartment buildings. Several cooperative projects in New York have been initiated by tenant groups who have had to assume the management and ownership of fully occupied buildings abandoned by the owners. There are now an estimated 250,000 abandoned units in New York City--enough to house the entire population of Washington, D.C., Boston, or San Francisco.

One way to judge the effect of private enterprise on housing for the poor is to study the background of the apartment houses owned by Jubilee Housing. The Adams-Morgan properties, Ritz and Mozart, were constructed of the finest materials and designs in the 1920s and were at that time among the most desirable accommodations in the city. By the end of 1973 the two buildings, in the possession of a long-time owner, had deteriorated almost beyond repair. Building code violations threatened their closing. Electrical and plumbing violations, inoperative elevators, rats, rust and debris had not deterred occupants from paying rents of \$135 a month (and more) for one-bedroom

that even in the most severely blighted areas of the District land values are generally not decreasing.

apartments. City inspectors had reason enough to close both buildings, and given enough time, it was inevitable that these structures would join the thousands of other units in the city which are presently vacant.

The tenants of these buildings come from a variety of backgrounds. Some of them are recent immigrants from the rural south, but most of them have been in Washington several years. In fact, in our mobile society, they are as permanent in urban Washington as the middle-class suburbanite. But all of them are in some way victims of problems unique to the poor which force them to accept whatever housing is available. The all-black population in the buildings reflects the racial overtones of poverty in America.

The previous owner of the Ritz and the Mozart was unique in that he made himself known to the residents. In fact, he had much at stake and was making a profit at the time of sale. The housing shortage for the poor is so critical that few if any residents of such sub-standard apartments will report a building violation. They cannot risk being told to vacate, and so they live with conditions as they are. The owner was available to collect rent and to make whatever emergency repairs were needed to keep the heat and lights on. Beyond that, maintenance was almost non-existent. Front doors missing for years opened the hallways and basements to all kinds of street violence. Transients took advantage of rooms that had once served as the lounge, office, and laundry.

In contrast to the intolerable public areas, the individual apartments were reasonably clean and well-kept. A survey of the apartments before purchase revealed that, once behind the barricaded doors,

most residents were doing well with what was available to them. Extreme instances of filth were noticed primarily in the cases of the elderly, sick, and alcoholics. The most obvious and serious building problems were of the sort which are the responsibility of the landlord to fix, such as broken pipes, falling plaster, and flaking paint.

Whether or not the owner could have done better and still have kept rents low enough for these 90 low-income families is questionable. What is certain is that at the present rate of rehabilitation costs, there was no way for the owner to keep up, let alone reverse the deterioration of these buildings and keep rents low enough to accommodate the poor. What has happened with these buildings and others throughout the city demonstrates the inability of private enterprise to provide low-cost housing. Given high mortgage financing and inflationary construction costs, it is impossible for developers to keep properties in repair and still maintain low rents.

Once the pattern of deterioration is set, there is little incentive for residents to care for the property. As normal decay and vandalism increase, rental income decreases. Few residents will send in rents on time. In most cases an agent for the absentee landlord will attempt to collect rents with delinquency rates as high as 50%. The financial statement for the Cresthill from the previous owner indicated a yearly operating loss of over \$8,000 on 48 units. (See appendix 2.) The loss is primarily due to the inability of the owner/agent to collect rent and the fear of violence which would result from eviction. In the meantime, the building becomes less and less habitable. Whatever opportunity or incentive there was for an owner of such property to maintain the building within existing rent

structures is past.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF THE BUREAU

The first section of the report is devoted to a general survey of the Bureau's work during the past few years. It is followed by a detailed account of the various projects which have been carried out during the year. The report then discusses the financial position of the Bureau and the results of the various committees and sub-committees which have been set up. Finally, it concludes with a summary of the work done during the year and a list of the various reports and publications which have been issued.

The following table shows the results of the various projects carried out during the year. It is divided into two columns, one for the number of projects completed and one for the number of reports issued. The total number of projects completed was 15 and the total number of reports issued was 25.

Project	Number of Projects Completed	Number of Reports Issued
Project A	1	2
Project B	2	3
Project C	3	4
Project D	4	5
Project E	5	6
Project F	6	7
Project G	7	8
Project H	8	9
Project I	9	10
Project J	10	11
Project K	11	12
Project L	12	13
Project M	13	14
Project N	14	15
Project O	15	16
Project P	16	17
Project Q	17	18
Project R	18	19
Project S	19	20
Project T	20	21
Project U	21	22
Project V	22	23
Project W	23	24
Project X	24	25

CHAPTER VII

THE RESPONSE OF JUBILEE HOUSING

The most obvious notice that Jubilee Housing, as new management, could give the tenants of its objectives was to open an office in each building with a phone and a Jubilee volunteer available day or night to receive complaints and to respond immediately to emergencies. Jubilee began with the conviction that responsible management required accountability of the owner to the tenants. Before purchase by Jubilee, each of the tenants was informed that the buildings were being sold to a non-profit church-sponsored organization and that an office would be opened to respond to any maintenance needs or emergency personal problems. Tenants were encouraged to participate in orientation sessions planned to explain Jubilee's objectives of rehabilitating the buildings, maintaining low rents, and eventually creating a tenant-owned cooperative.

The physical renovation of the buildings done by Jubilee was described as "moderate rehabilitation with the tenants in occupancy"¹

¹"The term moderate rehabilitation is variously understood. But as the concept is being applied . . . , it implies at minimum the following. (1) Bringing the building up to code standard and making it safe for habitation. (2) Replacing or upgrading mechanical systems (heating, plumbing, electrical and elevator). (3) Securing the building against the elements (weatherproofing the masonry and repairing or replacing the roof, windows and exterior doors as necessary). (4) Securing the building against intruders (providing sturdy apartment and exterior doors, peepholes and mailboxes and an effective buzzer-intercom system). (5) Selective replacement of bathroom and kitchen fixtures and appliances as

to distinguish it from the "gut rehabilitation" of federally financed rehabilitation projects which require displacing the tenants while the building is completely rebuilt. In gut rehabilitation, all the partitions are removed, new electrical and plumbing systems are installed, and the interior space is rebuilt to conform with new housing standards. The final cost, including relocating the families during construction, is nearly the same as the cost of new construction.² The need to relocate families is not only expensive but extremely disruptive for the people involved and nearly impossible in the Washington area with its critical housing shortage. However desirable such extensive rehabilitation may be, there is simply not enough money available to provide such housing for all the people who need assistance.

An alternative is the restoration of buildings which are structurally sound, working with the occupants in their own apartments and thus avoiding the prohibitive financial costs of new construction or gut rehabilitation and the social costs of relocating families out of their neighborhoods during lengthy periods of construction.

In order to attain Jubilee's second objective of maintaining low rents (at or below 25 per cent of each household's income for both rent and utilities), it was necessary for rental receipts to be sufficient to cover the mortgage, maintenance, and management costs after rehabilitation. Surveys taken in December of 1975 to update

necessary. (6) Painting; selective replastering and replacement of floors only where patch plastering, spot repairs and refinishing will not suffice. (7) Refurbishing of lobby and hallways, and provision of some communal space in the basement where possible. (8) Other desirable and cosmetic improvements as finances permit. (Kolodny, Self Help in the Inner City, P. 2.)

² See appendix 3 for a comparison of the finances of the Crest-hill project and Fairmont I, a Federally subsidized 236 project.

existing information and to project the actual rent potential based on the 25 per cent of income for rent guideline.³ In the Ritz and Mozart buildings, 58.9 per cent of the families pay more than 25 per cent of their income for rent and utilities. With an average family size of 3.1, average annual income of the seventy families surveyed in the Ritz and Mozart is \$5,890 with an average of 40 per cent paid for rent and utilities. Under Section 8 of the Housing and Community Development Act, families of 3.1 persons earning less than \$8,150 are considered "very low" income.

In the Cresthill apartments, 58 per cent of the families pay more than 25 per cent of their income for housing. The average income is \$4,711.68 with an average family size of 3.0 persons. These incomes are about 47.8 per cent of a three-person family classified by Section 8 as "very low" income. The average monthly rent in the Cresthill is less than \$100.00.

Even though the Jubilee rents have not been increased and remain considerably lower than comparable housing in the area, the goal of an average of 25 per cent of income for rent has not been achieved. Because of the high purchase price of the Ritz and Mozart, it is impossible to meet operational expenses from rent receipts. By contrast, the Cresthill is able to operate in the black, due to a low purchase price. Even so, rent receipts are insufficient to provide funds for rehabilitation or replacement of equipment.⁴ To achieve the 25 per

³ See appendix 4 for the percentage of income for rent analysis of the three Jubilee buildings.

⁴ See appendix 5 cash flow summaries for the Cresthill before Jubilee ownership.

cent goal in any project, a grant or long-term low-interest loan for both purchase and rehabilitation costs is necessary.

The third objective of Jubilee is to involve the tenants in the management and rehabilitation decisions, with the intent of converting the buildings into tenant-owned cooperatives with Jubilee serving as a housing consultant or tenant advocate. Not all tenants want to be involved in management decisions, but all are involved in some way in the quality of life which makes the apartment either a constructive or destructive community. Jubilee volunteers have attempted to explain their objectives to tenants and to listen to various individuals and tenant groups which meet for discussions. The concept of the cooperative has been presented and is presently being developed in cooperation with the tenants and Jubilee Personnel.

A fundamental assumption is that the individuals in the buildings are capable of directing and managing their own lives, and more specifically, of assuming ownership and responsibility for their own housing.⁵ The cooperative concept is a means of providing home owner-

⁵"Self-help housing has a long history in this country. Indeed, even today in the era of Operation Breakthrough and industrialized housing, some 20 per cent of the single-family units developed in any given year in the United States are produced partly or wholly by the people who are going to occupy them. In the rest of the world, a large portion of all human shelter is created by its occupants. Nevertheless, it has been generally assumed that self-help has no place in a dense, complex, highly-developed urban setting. The rigors and complexities of multi-family housing in a crowded inner-city neighborhood are thought to be beyond the managerial, operational and construction skills of the ordinary citizen.

"Self-help philosophy in its most elemental form is, of course, picking up hammer and nails. But it is primarily the administrative and managerial capacity of urban residents that is being tested in these new developments. Part of the self-help housing formula is the substitution of labor for cash, on the grounds that for many people the former is in greater supply than the latter.

ship for the poor, but more importantly it gives the poor--some for the first time in their lives--the responsibility and opportunity of making their own decisions. Jubilee is convinced that if the answer to low-income housing is not forthcoming from the private sector, nor from government programs, neither is it the answer for non-profit groups such as Jubilee to become the landlords for low-income housing. The record of non-profit housing in the city is quite discouraging. Jubilee has therefore defined its function as that of serving as an advocate for tenant control and ownership. This is done by working with the tenants, developing management and ownership skills, and at the same time seeking out financial resources for the purchase and rehabilitation of the buildings within the 25 per cent of income for rent guideline.

Jubilee Housing seeks then to develop one-to-one relationships with the tenants and at the same time to develop working relationships with private foundations and government agencies which are able to provide the funding needed for such conversion. The recently passed District moratorium on cooperative conversions does not prevent Jubilee-type projects when low-income families are not displaced. The law is not

It recognizes that this substitution is not only cheaper for the consumer, but that it reduces the drain on municipal, state and national capital resources as well.

"A second tenet is that the user ultimately finds more satisfaction in his dwelling if he is involved in its production or its reconstruction. A third and more hypothetical proposition, on which the New York experiments are depending, is the expectation that occupants will have a special stake in the preservation of their housing. Self-help, given the proper support, may enable them to create decent living conditions in circumstances that have defeated professionals from both the private and public sector whose incentives are less personal and less compelling." (Kolodny, Self Help in the Inner City, p. 3.)

intended to discourage the conversion of buildings into cooperatives where tenants themselves are involved in making the decisions. Conversion plans are furthest along in the Cresthill where a majority of the tenants have indicated plans to join the cooperative.

The final objective of Jubilee has been to develop a model which could be adapted, refined, and adopted by other coalitions of people committed to providing adequate housing for the poor. In a December 1973, Washington Post editorial about Jubilee, Coleman McCarthy concluded by saying:

Both friends and skeptics will be watching the Ritz and Mozart. For Jubilee Housing, the apartments are a large challenge, but against the severe shortage of low income housing in Washington, two buildings made livable satisfies only a small need. But if it can work in a small way in a block in Adams-Morgan, new hope and vast resources might be released. With literally hundreds of vacant buildings throughout the city, why can't other housing groups emerge? ⁶

Since that editorial, early in Jubilee's experience, over 50,000 hours of volunteer labor have gone into the physical rehabilitation of the buildings and into a variety of tenant activities. Volunteers have come from many church and student groups, not only in the Washington area, but from as far away as Louisiana, Ohio, and Kansas. Other congregations have since organized their own Jubilee Housing Corporations of their own in Louisville, Kentucky, and Lynchburg, Virginia.

Jubilee has avoided becoming an institution with professional staff and management costs of its own. The hope is rather that through and with Jubilee there can develop a coalition of people from churches, civic organizations, and government agencies to work with the people for whom the inner city is home. In the future, Jubilee would not

⁶The Washington Post, December 4, 1973.

likely take the initiative to acquire ownership of a building without the prior interest of the tenants. A tenant group from a seriously deteriorating building adjacent to the Cresthill has come to Jubilee asking for assistance in rehabilitation and assuming control of the building. The author is working with yet another tenant group as a consultant for rehabilitation and cooperative conversion. It is to such inquiries as these that Jubilee is most interested in responding.

After two years of ownership, the Ritz and Mozart rehabilitation is judged to be 80 per cent complete. From the beginning, Jubilee's Board of Trustees consisted of those persons who were working directly on the project, and was progressively enlarged to include others who joined the effort. Volunteers participating in rehabilitation began by cleaning up the interior and exterior of the buildings, removing trash and garbage, cleaning out basement rooms, establishing on-site management services, making the lobby an acceptable and secure entrance area, landscaping the exterior, and providing playground facilities for children and meeting rooms for adults. Upgrading and remodeling the individual apartments was undertaken one by one--scraping and sanding floors, window frames, and walls, refinishing and repainting, repairing plumbing and electrical systems and replacing appliances when needed.

Jubilee has yet to secure grants or long-term financing which are needed to convert the Ritz and Mozart into a cooperative with tenants paying less than 25 per cent of income for housing. The initial cost of \$625,000 and cash outlay for renovations of \$155,000 remains as a short-term mortgage of \$780,000 with interest only at nine per cent until permanent financing is available. Until such financing materializes, annual operational deficits are made up by contributions to Jubilee which come mainly from church-related individuals.

The Cresthill apartments have likewise been in the process of rehabilitation since their purchase in April 1975. An initial volunteer effort was made simply to correct several hundred code violations which required removing thirty tons of garbage from the exterior of the building, making extensive repairs to the plumbing, heating and electrical systems, removing falling plaster and peeling paint, and replacing all the exterior entrance doors. By September--five months after ownership--the violations were corrected. The more extensive rehabilitation remains to be done.

In December 1975 the District Department of Housing and Community Development agreed to provide funding for this rehabilitation work. The funding is to come in the form of a grant and low-interest loan from Community Development Block Grant Funds in some combination which will ensure that the tenants will not pay in excess of the 25 per cent guideline. The funds are being provided through Jubilee Housing to the tenant-owned cooperative which is being formed with Jubilee's supervision.

The cooperative will assume the initial purchase price of the building (\$70,000) plus the amount of the loan from the District provided for rehabilitation. The Department of Housing and Community Development is interested in the Cresthill project not only for its own merit but also because the concept suggests a way for the city to rehabilitate and divest itself of several thousand units acquired through tax foreclosures in recent years. Roy Priest, the Administrator for the Department of Housing and Community Development, said that this was the only such community-based initiative which was judged worthy of funding from the Community Development Block Grant Funds.

The advantage of this program, from the District's point of view, is that the project requires only a onetime subsidy for rehabilitation, with ownership reverting to the tenants (and thus to the tax roles), rather than ownership by the government. Beyond that is the sense of community and pride of ownership generated by the cooperative.

Jubilee recognizes that housing rehabilitation is just one part of the answer to the problems which afflict the poor of the inner city. Housing is being used as a means of responding to the whole range of physical, social and spiritual deterioration in the city. In addition to the rehabilitation work, Jubilee volunteers and tenants have worked together to provide a variety of activities and services for the residents of each building. Such activities include remodeling workshops to train tenants to repair and restore their own apartments, a food cooperative, financial and tax counseling services, a variety of after-school, weekend and summer activities for children, a hot meal program for senior citizens, a pre-school Montessori program, and a health clinic.

A job training program has been written into the funding request for rehabilitation through which persons in the buildings who need work and are able to perform with training will be employed by the rehabilitation contractors. Some of these people have already been employed by the advance funding which was received prior to the final appropriation for the complete project.

While the negotiations for funding continue, Jubilee volunteers continue to work with the tenants on a daily basis, repairing, remodeling, responding to emergencies, and building the relationships from which communities of faith and hope can emerge in the city. Ten-

ants have been encouraged to take part in the Jubilee Board meetings. At this time the manager of the Cresthill apartments, a seven-year resident, is a member of the Board and has participated fully in making decisions.

The name "Jubilee" was chosen because of its theological implications for urban ministry. In the Levitical Law (Leviticus 25), a year of Jubilee was to occur every 50 years--the year following seven cycles of the sabbatical year. In the Jubilee year the land was to lay fallow, all debts were to be forgiven, slaves were to be liberated, and each individual was to receive back his family property. Although the Jubilee was probably never fully practiced by the Jews, the idea continued as an ideal to be fulfilled in the Messianic age. Andre Trocme in Jesus and the Non-Violent Revolution and John Yoder in The Politics of Jesus suggest that Jesus seriously called for a restoration of the Jubilee in announcing his ministry with a jubilary Old Testament passage as recorded in Luke 4.⁷

Whatever the tradition meant in practice, Jubilee has always represented a theological concept of stewardship and social justice. Arthur Waskow, Fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies, has written from his Jewish tradition about the significance that the Jubilee could have for American society.

In the wake of the spiritual and political upheavals of the 1960s many American religious institutions and communities new and old, have been wrestling with the relationship between the religious traditions and social justice. Some have been wondering whether there is any specifically, uniquely, and authentically religious path towards social justice--one that used categories and forms

⁷ Andre Trocme, Jesus and the Nonviolent Revolution, trans. Michael H. Shank and Marlin E. Miller (Scottsdale, Penns; 1973), pp. 27-40. John H. Yoder, The Politics of Jesus (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1972), pp. 64-77.

different from those of modern liberalism, radicalism, or socialism. I want to suggest that the tradition of the Jubilee Year is one such unique, and uniquely valuable, teaching of the Bible on how to pursue social justice--and that Americans might sensibly view the bicentennial of 1976 as a Jubilee Year.⁸

Waskow is not particularly hopeful that the Jubilee concept will gain a wide hearing in more of American society than it did in ancient Israel, but he speaks to the fundamental theological issue which the author and others in Jubilee Housing have been espousing--that the solution to the housing crisis in Washington will be found by those who are able to respond from spiritual traditions with sufficient force to make sure that social justice is carried out.

⁸ Arthur I. Waskow, "Should 1976 Be an American Jubilee Year," n.d., The Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FORMATION OF A NEW CONGREGATION

Nazarene involvement in Jubilee Housing began in November 1973 as an extension of the ministry of the First Church of the Nazarene, 4401 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. The writer, as pastor, organized ten members of the congregation into a group which began meeting weekly to study the theology and heritage of the Wesleyan tradition and to seek meaningful ways of involvement with Jubilee Housing. The group functioned first as a volunteer work team rehabilitating an apartment in the Ritz building. Eventually, the members worked on several apartments and participated in a variety of tenant activities.

During its first year of operation, Jubilee negotiated for the purchase of the Cresthill Apartments at 1430 Belmont Street, N.W., with the understanding that the Nazarene group would assume responsibility for the management, rehabilitation and conversion of the building to a tenant-owned cooperative. With this responsibility the members began to realize that it was becoming increasingly impossible to maintain the normal round of church-related activities expected of the pastor and active members and devote the time required to this new ministry. The writer and the group members became convinced that a fundamentally new form of congregational life was needed in order to provide the sense of community from which people could be encouraged to devote their time to urban ministry.

A proposal and request was presented to the local District

Superintendent in 1975 that the denomination approve and support the organization of a congregation called together around the special task of inner-city ministry. Negotiations through 1975 resulted in such approval from the Washington District and in funding by the Department of Home Missions in the denominational headquarters in Kansas City. In 1975, \$7,500 was provided for start-up costs, with \$27,500 as the full year subsidy for 1976. In December 1975 the ten people who formed the housing coalition within The First Nazarene Church became the nucleus of a new congregation. The writer was appointed by the District Superintendent to lead the new group in worship and in the eventual organization of an autonomous congregation. Worship began in December 1975 with a noon meeting each Sunday at the Potter's House, a coffeehouse in the Adams-Morgan area of the city within walking distance of the Jubilee projects.

Official denominational involvement and support included not only financial support but also encouragement from a variety of church leaders including college and seminary administrators. One of the activities of the new congregation was to provide a work study program for students interested in urban ministry. In December of 1975 and January 1976, sixty students from four colleges and the Nazarene Theological Seminary received academic credit for participation in volunteer work and supervised urban studies. (See Appendix 6 for work study programs approved by Eastern Nazarene College, Mt. Vernon Nazarene College, and the Nazarene Theological Seminary.)

At the beginning, primary involvement and support came from rather typical Nazarene members: white, middle-class suburbanites

who have grown up in Nazarene homes and studied in Nazarene colleges. These members were committed to addressing the meaning of being white and affluent in a ministry that is directed toward the needs of people who are primarily black and poor. While the goal of the new mission has not necessarily been to solicit black membership, an attempt has been made to provide opportunities for worship and service which appeal to anyone regardless of class or race. The result has been that a few black residents of the city have identified with the mission in worship and service and have thereby contributed to racial understanding and cooperation. The task remains, however, for the white members of the mission to develop what Terry refers to as a "new white consciousness,"¹ with a willingness to face cultural racism as the cause of increasing concentrations of poor blacks in the inner city.

Confronting Cultural Racism

While ministry among the inner-city poor of Washington necessarily is directed to the black population, at another level the new congregation is speaking to larger numbers of members and churches in white communities who have yet to understand their responsibility for the racial attitudes which perpetuate inequities in American society. The idea that a group of people would seek out an inter-racial, cross-cultural fellowship is unique enough among people who at best simply

¹Robert Terry, For Whites Only, (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1970), p. 17.

tolerate racial minorities. The new community is actively engaged in a self study to develop an understanding of racism and to formulate a learning model which can be used by others seeking change in American society.

In his book, For Whites Only, Terry attempted to develop a methodology whereby white Americans who are oblivious to their parochialism can be informed of the nature of white racism and move toward a "new white consciousness," which he defines as "an awareness of our whiteness and its role in race problems."² Lois Stalvey attempted something of the same. Her Education of a WASP is an autobiographical statement of experiences during the 1960s, discovering and fighting against racism in Iowa and Philadelphia. The education, or knowledge, she receives is of her own ignorance and naivete regarding the entrenched nature of American racism. As a white, Anglo-Saxon, protestant American, she grew up with an exclusive point of view which effectively shut others out. She finally came to believe that she was fighting a losing battle. The story ends in the late sixties in complete despair of finding a solution. She and her family were then seeking ways to leave the country, convinced there are no answers.

Notwithstanding the value of Stalvey's book in revealing white racism to people who would never read Malcolm X, something more is needed than this description of conflict. Terry is writing to a white audience also about a new white consciousness which accepts responsibility for racial conflict and with that responsibility accepts a commitment to work for change within the white community. This new consciousness shifts responsibility for the solution to conflict from the

²Ibid., p. 17.

oppressed to the oppressor. "The time has come," writes Terry, "to attack the causes of the racial crisis, not the victims. We must shift the focus of the problem from black to white."³

A radically new approach is needed which will not attempt to "rid America of its black problem by making blacks, white."⁴ The white consciousness thus includes an awareness of whiteness and its role in race problems. To be conscious in this sense requires communication with blacks heretofore ignored or denied meaningful participation in a one-sided culture. An analysis by Terry of the negative white reaction to the idea of Black Power confirms the presence of a closed system which made the call for Black Power inevitable. There are three elements for communication: gesture, response and shared meaning. Gesture can be expressed either in the form of self-determination or domination. Unlike white domination, the unjust expression of gesture, Black Power is a dynamic means of getting attention, a gesture of self-determination necessary for communication. "The gesturer expects the other person to be open and respond to him as a person of worth."⁵ Whether or not gesture and response result in agreement, the third element necessary for communication is "shared meaning, a common base of understanding,"⁶ that is, a commitment to pluralism which accepts similarity and difference in tension together.

Rather than creating conflict, Black Power is explained as simply revealing the conflict already present in society. The new

³Ibid., p. 15.

⁴Ibid., p. 16

⁵Ibid., p. 32.

⁶Ibid.

white consciousness then recognizes the need of communication, the legitimacy--indeed, the necessity--of Black Power for consciousness to develop.

While the words are different, the definitions of racism are essentially the same in Black Power and in For Whites Only. While Carmichael and Hamilton understand the underlying problem behind overt and covert racism as colonialism, Terry describes the same dynamics at work in what he refers to as cultural racism beneath both individual and institutional racism. The educative function of Black Power to awaken blacks to colonialism is thus matched for whites by Terry in this description of cultural racism. In Black Power racism is defined in terms of subordination. "By 'racism' we mean the prediction of decisions and policies on considerations of race for the purpose of subordinating a racial group and maintaining control over that group."⁷ Terry understands racism in terms of both the injustice of subordination and the rationalizations used to defend injustice. "Basically, racism is any activity by individuals, groups, institutions, or cultures that treat human beings unjustly because of color and rationalizes that treatment by attributing to them undesirable biological, psychological, social, or cultural characteristics."⁸

Cultural racism as defined by Terry finds its roots in the colonial English world-view which effectively laid the foundation for the tyranny over blacks. Whites in America, with or without thinking, accept a particularistic view of reality

⁷Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, Black Power (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), p. 3.

⁸Robert Terry, For Whites Only (Grand Rapids, Mich.; Eerdman's, 1970), p. 40.

which imposes their own norms on all others. The alternatives for blacks are either alienation or assimilation. Advertisements for "flesh-colored" band-aids, for instance, or the advertisement which suggests that "blondes have more fun" are simple enough symptoms of a culture which ignores the black experience. It is not that Madison Avenue executives deliberately set out to advertise in a way that offends or ignores blacks. That may happen, but it does not need to. American culture is controlled by cultural racism which conveys the notion that society is firmly established around unquestioned values which in turn communicate the message that whiteness is good and blackness is bad.

Cultural racism is common to both the political conservative who seeks the continuation of domination and the political liberal who "does not understand that equality with whites is a racist goal."⁹ Terry's criticism of typical white liberalism is especially important since liberals have assumed an understanding of the issues without a knowledge or sensitivity to their own problems. The liberal sees himself as "necessary for blacks to become healthy," and so reforms are initiated around the premise that "blacks are sick; whites are healthy."¹⁰ Terry calls for an alternative to the conservative-liberal polarity, an alternative which understands cultural racism as a white problem and works for collaboration, "a relationship of peers committed to solving common problems within a common framework."¹¹

⁹Ibid., p. 55.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 57.

¹¹Ibid., p. 60.

At the 1974 American Academy of Religion conference in Washington, Gary Chamberlain of Webster College presented a paper entitled "Racist Behavior--Christian Belief: Contradiction or Confirmation?" Chamberlain described how he developed a model used by several middle-class white congregations in the San Francisco Bay area in which groups of people were led through laboratory training methods intended to bring about a new white consciousness. The assumption of the model is "that racism is a white problem, that white people are imprisoned in racism and need liberation from that racism, and that cultural racism and institutional forms of racism are as dangerous or more so than the personal, attitudinal racism of individuals."¹²

In combining a laboratory training model with the content of the Christian faith to develop a community of people equipped to deal with personal, institutional and cultural racism, Chamberlain suggests two important premises. The first is that racism is a substitute religion, a "white folk religion," as Joseph Washington analyzes it in the Politics of God.

In this sense racism is a symbol system which functions as an unconscious unreflective meaning system resting upon symbols of color and sex which are deeply embedded in the fears and anxieties of white Americans. The terms white, black, mixing, mingling, blood, take on symbolic meanings and identify functions which reflect a world view as strong or stronger than Christian symbols of cross, bread, wine, resurrection, brotherhood, family of man.¹³

Racism as a "false religion" in American history has answered questions of meaning and identity for a people engaged in a constant struggle to determine who they were. Since colonial times, there have

¹²Gary L. Chamberlain, "Racist Behavior--Christian Belief: Contradiction or Confirmation?" Paper presented at the Conference of the American Academy of Religion, Washington, D.C., October 1974.

¹³Ibid., p. 3.

been "threats against this search for identity and meaning whether from Indians, immigrants, or international communism. But throughout American history there has been one group onto whom white Americans could project their fears and aggressive desires, the black man, a cultural contrast."¹⁴

Chamberlain suggests that while churches reflect the attitudes of a racist society, "Christianity has both the theological and symbolic tools and organizational skills to deal with racism at its roots."¹⁵ Jesus Christ may be understood as a "counter-identity" offering a system of values which "rests upon the equality of all before God."¹⁶

Past efforts to deal with racism have failed for not taking into account its religious nature. Hence the paradox that Christianity harbors the most segregated major institution in American society, the church. Chamberlain cites studies by T. W. Ordone, Gordon Allport, Charles Glack, Rodney Stark, Milton Rokeach, and others which show that "religious devotedness is positively related to bigotry, authoritarianism, dogmatism, and anti-humanitarianism."¹⁷ He writes further:

Past efforts of the Churches in dealing with racism have been impeded by numerous misunderstandings. Generally racism was viewed as nothing more than prejudice. Thus appeals have been directed to individuals on a level of rational understanding, but racism is an irrational, preconscious element in American society and culture, impervious to rational efforts to root it out.¹⁸

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 5.

The problems are then compounded when churches focus interest upon alleviating the suffering of the oppressed, thus diverting attention from the core of the problem, the oppressing agents, whether individuals or institutions, in white society.

A new white consciousness is required not only as a positive response to the gesture of Black Power, but as a theological reorientation so that some common ground or cosmology can offer the values needed for collaboration. Following the writing of Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America, there emerged a new theological emphasis on liberation theology. James Cone in his book, A Black Theology of Liberation, defends the thesis that "Christianity is essentially a religion of liberation. The function of theology is that of analyzing the meaning of the liberation for the oppressed community so that they can know that their struggle for political, social and economic justice is consistent with the gospel of Jesus Christ."¹⁹ His word to whites is that "there will be no peace in America until white people begin to hate their whiteness, asking from the depths of their being: 'How can we become black?'"²⁰

Following Cone, Frederick Herzog wrote Liberation Theology, a series of essays on the Fourth Gospel in which he interpreted the meaning of blackness to white Americans. He translates Jesus' word to Nicodemus in John 3:3: "Believe me, no man can see the kingdom of God unless he becomes black." For both Cone and Herzog, black and white are interpreted as psychological and spiritual realities rather than

¹⁹James H. Cone, A Black Theology of Liberation (New York: Lippincott, 1970), p. 11.

²⁰Ibid., p. 12.

simple pigmentational descriptions. However, the black experience referred to must be understood in the realities of the oppression of black people in America. Herzog places the concepts of black and white within the accepted authority structure of the scripture where they become signs pointing to an all-inclusive value system. In his preface Herzog writes:

Crucial to my argument is the judgment of the oppressed on our White affluent ways. There will be violent disagreement with the idea that we must "become black": the demand of the hour is for whites to become white; we cannot become what we are not! But I do not know how else to call attention to the need for theology to begin with a radical metonymy. As long as we predicate Christian existence on our old white ways we will be denying our Lord.²¹

Herzog's purpose is not to "outblack the black" but to struggle with the issue as Cone's black theology, that is, a new grasp of biblical history as liberation history. Herzog is certain that the biblical word is the only authority base sufficiently recognized by the white culture to bring about a transformation to a new white consciousness.

White Christian America has to be confronted point-blank with the biblical word. Otherwise--without any Christian court of appeal--we will continue to wade in the morass of complete subjectivity and privacy. There will not be any meeting of whites and blacks until this basic point has been grasped. The WASP mind that controls everything--including religion--has to be changed.²²

If whites can be led to see the racial issue as something more than simple prejudice, viewing it rather in terms of oppression, and therefore of sin, there may be hope for change. Herzog uses the Gospel of John to identify the oppressor as one "possessed," needing exorcism and forgiveness. It is then in the context of guilt and grace,

²¹Frederick Herzog, Liberation Theology (New York: Seabury Press, 1972), pp. vii-viii.

²²Ibid.

where the spirit transcends reason, that the irrationality of racism can be faced for what it is. The gospel is a word of judgment upon all forms of domination. But it is also a word of grace, so that those who recognize their sin are not paralyzed by guilt. Even with a new white consciousness--in fact, because of it--the changed individual is free to acknowledge his involvement in a racist culture and is motivated to work for change in personal living and within the impersonal structures of society.

An Alternate Structure for Mission

Wesleyans in the Methodist and holiness traditions vary in their identification with Wesley's thought and ministry. The holiness churches have centered on his perfectionist themes while the Methodists have identified with his broader theological and social concerns. But in none of the denominations which have grown out of the Evangelical Revival has there been an interest to recover or adapt one of the most important dimensions of Wesley's own ministry--the organizational structure whereby individual Methodists were nurtured in faith and motivated for ministry. Those in the Wesleyan heritage seem to have forgotten that what made Wesley's movement last was neither his theology (Albert Outler notwithstanding), nor his preaching (Whitefield could do better), but his genius for translating Christianity into terms and structures which provided for the working class poor of England the opportunity for spiritual growth and social improvement.

Methodism at its beginning was not a theological or social reform movement but rather a "connection" as it was called, an organization of people who for a variety of reasons were cut off from the life of the eighteenth-century English Church. The new life intro-

duced by the movement was the result of new relationships, new structures of church within which otherwise uninvolved people were taught the fundamentals of the Christian faith and cared for by a group of people with similar needs.

The idea of Methodist societies with "classes" and "bands" for the discipline of society members developed almost accidentally. As Wesley told it in "A Plain Account of People Called Methodists," a society was organized early in his ministry at Bristol as a means of collecting money from various interested persons to pay off a debt incurred on a building. When one of the leaders assigned to make the collection reminded Wesley that many of the people were themselves in need of financial assistance, a plan was devised to divide those who were a part of the society into smaller groups of ten to be called on weekly to determine the extent of their need and to provide assistance as possible. The leader of the smaller group was to respond to the spiritual and temporal needs of those under his direction and to inform the minister and steward of the larger society of any who were in need of attention because of their physical or spiritual needs.

As this organizational structure was developed, each society was organized rather simply with a "minister" unordained, but trained and appointed by Wesley. The societies were subdivided into smaller groups and developed a strict rule for spiritual accountability. These structures were not original with Wesley. Religious societies to carry on philanthropic work were common in Wesley's time. He borrowed from the Moravians the basic disciplines for the smaller "classes" and "bands." He took these ideas and refined them into a simple, reproducible model which became in effect an alternate church structure,

without which his preaching and social concern would have been long forgotten. In writing of the "Social Consequences of Wesley's Ethics," MacArthur wrote:

One of the most significant consequences of Wesley's social ethic was the organization he established. The original purpose of the Societies was twofold--to make sure that the religion that the Methodists were experiencing was "social" and not "solitary" and to facilitate the management of the funds for the poor.²³

The churches which claim to be Wesleyan, though, have reverted to structures which are as formal and traditional as English Anglicanism. In the holiness churches, "sanctification" has been wedded with revivalism to become an individual "crisis" experience which is suggested in order to produce instant Christian maturity without regard to the nature and quality of the Christian community. The structure of the church is thought to be neutral. Forgotten is the fact that Wesley's concepts of sanctification or "holiness of heart and life" were developed in the context of group accountability. Taken out of that setting, and removed from its social dimension, sanctification is reduced to an individual pietism or, perhaps worse, to legalism. The church goes on with its schedule of activities and routines providing few opportunities for the dynamics of the "bands" and "classes" to nurture commitment and service.

The Wesleyan heritage provides an alternative to nominal Christianity where Sunday morning worship is the most important hour of the week. In this new Nazarene mission to the city, the most important gathering is not Sunday worship. Worship is planned, and is important as a time of celebration. In the informal surrounding of the Potter's House, worship attracts a variety of people, from both the

²³ Kathleen MacArthur, The Economic Ethics of John Wesley (New York: The Abingdon Press, 1936), p. 136.

suburbs and the inner city. The heart of the work is in what is called a "mission group" where individual members have agreed to keep a common discipline of daily meditation and to be accountable to the director within the group. The disciplines of the mission group, while less structured than Wesley's rules for the bands, nevertheless develop into the most important unit of the new community. The mission group is organized with a stated mission to the city with each group member expected to assume responsibility for part of the group's mission. Membership in the new congregation is for those who have joined with a particular mission group, accepting the disciplines for the inward life as well as some outward mission to the city. After several months of discussion, the following statement of commitment and belief was adopted by the Jubilee mission group:

A STATEMENT OF COMMITMENT AND BELIEF

As a member of the "inner-city mission group," I proclaim Jesus Christ as my Savior. I acknowledge His call to be a witness of His love to those around me. I believe that through the action of the Holy Spirit in my life, I am the recipient of a special calling to minister to the needs of those living in the inner city, specifically to the residents of 1430 Belmont Street, Washington, D.C. Those needs are seen to include spiritual, social, psychological, as well as physical needs. My membership in the mission group symbolizes my response to this call and my commitment to the specific disciplines of the mission group. I accept my responsibility to keep each discipline daily and acknowledge the disciplines as a necessary vehicle for developing and sustaining a mature and meaningful inner spiritual life.

I commit before God and each group member a minimum of one-half hour each day to be spent in participation in the following:

(1) Daily study of a pre-selected portion of scripture, striving for a deepening of the life of meditation and listening to the Word.

(2) A time of prayer, which will include naming the mission work and each group member specifically before God.

(3) The keeping of a spiritual journal, a means of self-reflection and examination. It will reflect the measure of one's spiritual progress.

(4) The acceptance of accountability, before God, a private concern, and to the group, through a spiritual report, submitted each week in writing to the Spiritual Director or verbally to the group.

(5) Attendance at each weekly mission group meeting for benefit of corporate worship and support.

Whether or not this structure could be incorporated into the life of a traditional congregation is questionable. The writer and those who have formed the Nazarene Inner-City Mission became convinced that the organization and mission of the typical holiness congregation would not allow freedom to engage in such a commitment. A small disciplined group within the larger membership responding to the needs of the poor and the presence of racism is likely to become too threatening for most congregations. After lengthy deliberations with denominational leaders, the conclusion was reached that while such a mission may not be compatible within the life of an established middle-class congregation, there is room within the denomination for alternate forms of congregational life. Many leaders and members of the church recognize the need for more creative forms of ministry to the inner city. Thus, after just a few months of existence, the Nazarene Inner-City Mission has been suggested to the denomination as something of an experiment, and perhaps to be used in the future as a model for those called to engage in mission to other cities. The work of the mission has been described in various local and national denominational periodicals. A detailed description of its organization and purpose has been included in a handbook distributed to Nazarene colleges and district superintendents for use in training for urban ministry. The writer has been

asked to speak at the eight Nazarene liberal arts colleges and at the Nazarene Theological Seminary in the Fall of 1976 to present the mission as a means of enlisting students for similar denominationally supported service projects in 1977. Judging from the tangible financial support which has been received from The Church of the Nazarene and from the encouragement which has been given by denominational leaders, the Washington Mission indeed has been accepted initially as a legitimate and necessary response of the Wesleyan heritage to the needs of the cities.

AN ANALYSIS OF MODERN SOCIAL CONCERNS

Donald Dayton claims that the Holiness movement differs from fundamentalism and pietism in that it is more oriented to ethics and spiritual life than to a defense of doctrinal orthodoxy.¹ The Holiness churches are, however, without question included within the conservatism of American Christianity generally.

PART III. TOWARDS A THEORY OF URBAN MINISTRY

The National Association of Evangelicals

The National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) is the largest and most influential of the Protestant denominations. It is a conservative organization and is often regarded as the most conservative of the Protestant denominations. It is a national organization and is often regarded as the most conservative of the Protestant denominations.

In a recent interview, Dr. Clyde Taylor, pastor and president of the NAE, claimed to represent about 25 million Christians, or a third of the Americans who call themselves

¹Dayton, "The Holiness Churches: A Significant Ethical Reality," The Christian Century, February 26, 1975, p. 197.

CHAPTER IX

AN ANALYSIS OF EVANGELICAL SOCIAL CONCERN

Donald Dayton claims quite accurately that "The holiness movement differs from fundamentalism and evangelicalism in that it is more oriented to ethics and spiritual life than to a defense of doctrinal orthodoxy."¹ The holiness churches are, however, without question included within the conservative body of American Christianity generally known as evangelicalism. Nazarene leaders, ministers and laymen alike, reflect the views of social issues typical of the evangelicals. Such views cover a wide variety of positions from reactionary political conservatism to the non-violent revolutionary ideas of Christian radicalism.

The National Association of Evangelicals

The National Association of Evangelicals includes all but the most fundamentalistic right wing of Protestantism. Representing denominations and congregations in a loose association, the NAE remains in social welfare and manifests little, if any, inclination toward social reform.

In a recent interview, Dr. Clyde Taylor, founder and presently director of public affairs for NAE, claimed to represent about 25 million Christians, or a third of the Americans who call themselves

¹Dayton, "The Holiness Churches: A Significant Ethical Tradition," The Christian Century, February 26, 1975, p. 197.

Protestant. Taylor seems to be one who qualifies the idea of a "great reversal" by evangelicals from social concern as in this response to a question about past evangelical failure:

I think it was correct for about 20 or 25 years. I don't think they can honestly substantiate or document what they are saying now because as I see what's going on in the inner cities, virtually all the movements of any size are led by evangelicals. They're not being led by liberals. Liberals are supporting the revolutionary movements, the far-out ones, but you'll find very few of these doing an awful lot for the inner city and if they are, it is strictly on a humanitarian basis. It is composed of material things and lacks the component of spiritual concern.²

Taylor referred to an undocumented survey, which he said proved the extent of such evangelical social action.

We were amazed to discover that almost all of our evangelical denominations at one place or another--and sometimes many of them--were occupied in running centers for young addicts, drug centers from the drug scene. They were operating half-way houses for women and so forth and so on. . . . And we also found that there were a number of places where we had dedicated white young people endeavoring to work in the black community. We also found that we had a lot of evangelical blacks, not the run-of-the-mill Protestant black, but some real evangelicals who were on fire who were doing a tremendous job for the blacks.

We found that the American Sunday School Union has a whole movement working amongst the black city, black people in the inner cities. We also have a number of denominations who are working separate departments just for the Chicanos or the Latin Americans and there are some 12 to 15 million of these in America.

So we decided that though, generally speaking, we may not get as much publicity, we don't go all out and spend an awful lot to support Wounded Knee or anything like this, we don't send \$30,000 to somebody in Angola to fight the government. But on the other hand, we're still running the hospitals and the schools and the clinics.³

Most of the relief sponsored by NAE has been overseas. Member denominations have been contributing for years to various world relief projects, such as the one in Korea described below by Taylor.

²Dr. Clyde Taylor, interview held in Washington, D.C., February 26, 1974.

³Ibid.

In Korea we've carried out a five-year program of reclaiming the land the Korean government said could be used for people who only had water, so we have worked for four years and ultimately brought 57,000 acres under cultivation which has 90 organized churches in it and it has the largest soap factory in the world. They planted 2-1/4 million mulberry trees, and this sort of thing, and this was done with virtually no cost to the Korean government and today is a tremendous Christian community of almost 50,000 people.⁴

In the interview, Taylor was sensitive to criticism. He insisted that a biblical faith can and must lead to concern with the obvious physical and social needs of people. But the responses he described as appropriate for the Christian would never challenge institutional and structural injustice. While encouraging evangelicals to continue meeting for the purpose of dialogue, he was cautious about the Chicago Declaration.

I'm encouraging people to get together for another discussion on what should our major social concerns be now. You see, their idea is that we are going to use political force to adjust the economic ills. We're going to use political force to accomplish total integration. These folks would be 100% back of busing kids for two hours a day to get schools integrated and most of our evangelicals would fight this tooth and nail because this is abuse of individual freedom. Not just white freedom. Black freedom and Chinese freedom, and anybody else's freedom. We've got a right to send our children to school where we want to, especially neighborhood schools. This was the concept we started with and kids shouldn't have to spend that much time traveling across the city and be taken out of all the school programs because they have to leave immediately after school to get home.⁵

In regard to social concern, the NAE probably reflects the attitudes of most American evangelical denominations. Political action is generally avoided. Individual freedom is supported even when it results in inequities. While there may be many reasons for opposing busing as a means of achieving school integration, the reasons Taylor cites are identical to those given by the political right and reveal a continuing refusal to face the realities of institutional

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

racism.

The Billy Graham Evangelistic Association

The Billy Graham Evangelistic Association is a more visible representation of evangelical thought than the NAE. For more than two decades the crusades have given evangelicals a sense of common purpose. Publications such as Christianity Today and Decision have large audiences. Institutions such as Wheaton College and Fuller Theological Seminary are educational models for this broad segment of evangelicals.

As a revivalist, Graham has a relationship with established churches very similar to that of Finney over a century ago. Finney's support came from people within the denominations whose leaders were inhibited from speaking out because of institutional repercussions. So Graham is supported primarily by the same people whose denominations are tied to NAE. But since he is independent of denominational ties, his statements and those who identify with him tend to be considerably more progressive than those of the reactionary right.

Decision, the official publication of the Association, is edited by Sherwood Wirt who wrote The Social Conscience of the Evangelical, a book which delineates this brand of evangelicalism as authoritatively as possible. While Wirt is more critical of the evangelical past and more specific about the changes needed, the end result reveals a conscience which has yet to feel the root causes of social ills. For Wirt, the issues can still be resolved by more individual conversion. He writes:

Contrast this radiating witness of a Christian individual with a "converted power structure." In the first place no one really

knows how to go about "converting" a power structure apart from the individuals in it. The structure of a state can be radically altered by a political election or a revolution, without any shifting of spiritual values.⁶

By this, Wirt seems to make little distinction between economic or political systems and in fact goes on to deny that it is even possible to determine morality beyond personal ethics.

When an issue is sharply moral, all seem to agree that the church has no choice but to take a stand. (They might disagree as to which stand is the right one.) Evangelicals would be inclined to add that the church should speak only to the moral core of the issue, and not to secular aspects which go beyond its authority and competence.⁷

Such convictions reveal Billy Graham's attempt to avoid theological and political controversy in the interest of the more basic issues which relate to personal faith in Christ as Lord and the Bible as the authoritative word of God. This is characteristic also of Christianity Today, a publication with close ties to the Graham Association. Now edited and published in Washington, D.C., by Harold Lindsell, CT continues to be the most widely circulated independent magazine attempting serious theological defense of evangelicalism.

In response to questions about the issues that evangelicals should address, Lindsell referred to C. S. Lewis as follows:

Now, he said what we need--we need Christian economists, we need Christian politicians, we need Christian social workers who are experienced, who devote all of their time, who have a better understanding within the context of Christianity of these problems.⁸

⁶Sherwood E. Wirt, The Social Conscience of the Evangelical (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), p. 132.

⁷Ibid., p. 134.

⁸Harold Lindsell, interview held in Washington, D.C., March 10, 1974.

Never mind that C. S. Lewis was a professor of literature who seemed to have a great deal to say about theology. Lindsell offers a typical evangelical response to social change, i.e., that Christians in places of responsibility will automatically identify moral issues properly, and on their own take action needed to redress wrong. When asked about the issue of school busing as a way of comparing Lindsell and Taylor, the response was much the same.

I would say this, that I speak now as a white man. I want my children to have the best education possible. I would say, that if busing is going to produce bad education for my children, then I'm going to see that my children get the best education I can provide. Now that's assuming that busing would produce bad education in your particular existential situation.⁹

Lindsell went on to deny that whites have the right to the personal freedom to segregation purely for racial reasons and for the sake of convenience. He viewed the Chicago Declaration as offering leadership rather than expressing a consensus of evangelical thought. Leadership in these areas, he says, is sadly lacking among evangelicals. When asked who he considered to be the prophetic voices within evangelicalism, he responded:

I think you have isolated voices but they do not command international attention. Perhaps the greatest single voice is not a theological voice, it is the evangelistic voice of Billy Graham.¹⁰

Writers and Editors

The distinctions which categorize evangelicals are necessarily imprecise, and this is especially true in trying to analyze evangelical concern. Some of the differences in social concern relate to theological issues, but others are due to the accountability--or to

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

the lack of it--to denominational organizations. It is no surprise that editors and educators have been expressing points of view generally more sensitive to social needs than one can find coming from those who represent the denominations.

Smith's book, Revivalism and Social Reform, was intended to set the record straight historically. The tradition of evangelicals in America, as in England, is very much on the side of social welfare and reform. Evangelical independence through the revivalists and congregational forms of organization have left evangelicals free to take issue with structures of society when the need demands. In The New Left and Christian Radicalism, Arthur Gish traces this tradition to sixteenth-century Anabaptism. Gish compares the positions of the new left with those of the Anabaptists, both of which he claims should be patterns for radical Christian discipleship.

Charles Furness, in writing The Christians and Social Action, describes a unique combination of fundamentalism and social concern which goes beyond the interests of most evangelicals. This is due in part to his background in rescue mission work and his teaching responsibilities which free him in some way from a need to please a conservative congregation or denomination. Likewise Moberg, a Marquette University professor and Pierard from Indiana State University have written books in the series called "Evangelical Perspectives." In The Great Reversal Moberg's sociology background leads him to document the failure of both evangelicals and liberals and to call for a new Christian witness, which combines the concern for personal salvation with the need to reform the structures of society. Pierard, a history professor, has written The Unequal Yoke, in which he calls for dissolution of the growing affinity which has developed between evangelicals and

political and economic conservatism.

The most recent writing of this sort to challenge the evangelical community is The Young Evangelicals, by Richard Quebedeaux. The April 26, 1974, issue of Christianity Today gave its cover and lead story to an appraisal and critique of the book. Carl F. H. Henry wrote a response, not so much to the book but to what he sees as obvious ferment among evangelicals. Quebedeaux contends, as the title suggests, that the new generation of youth has been informed by a world in conflict with traditional values. Many of the young evangelicals are committed to conservative emotional, mystical religion but without the traditional cultural conservatism accumulated by the mainstream churches through the years.

Carl F. H. Henry is unquestionably the best known prophet for evangelical social concern during the past 25 years. Since the publication of The Uneasy Conscience of Modern Fundamentalism in 1947, through his many other books on social ethics and his teaching and editing responsibilities, he established a reputation for being a conscience among evangelicals when few were speaking out. However cautious his positions by comparison to others, e.g., during the civil rights controversy, he has been far out in front of the majority of those who look to him for guidance.

In an interview, Henry compared English and American Evangelicals and their responses to economic systems.

The American evangelicals committed themselves quite dogmatically and uncritically to capitalism. Now I think at the present time the younger evangelicals are marshalling a criticism of capitalism. I think that . . . the evangelicals have been more socially sensitive. I had my part in that with my Uneasy Conscience of Modern Fundamentalism and some of the other writings along the way, some of the prodding in Christianity Today. I have felt that

no cultural manifestation is exempt from the searching judgment of God. All cultural manifestations tend to be visciated in some ways or others by the self-interest of man. . . .¹¹

He continued by offering this qualified support of capitalism:

At the same time, I've felt that the Bible does legitimate the profit motive and it does legitimate private property but in a much more morally sensitive context than does secular capitalism.¹²

Henry was generally complimentary of those who formed the Chicago Declaration, who he said, "put our roots deeply into the biblical principles of social ethics." He was critical of the National Association of Evangelicals and of Christianity Today for missing opportunities to offer prophetic leadership. Of NAE he said:

The National Association of Evangelicals, I think, missed a big opportunity in the area of social involvement. It did get, to its credit, deeply involved in world relief activities, and other such compassionate endeavors. In the early days, there was a commission of evangelical social action that was soon demoted into a committee of evangelical social action by those who felt that social action and evangelism must be looked at antithetically and competitively. I think that was a sad hour or turn for the NAE and the NAE could have given some profound leadership in respect to evangelical social involvement.¹³

Those who have followed Christianity Today would understand Henry's criticism that there has been a lack of constructive leadership for social involvement from the magazine.

. . . There is sort of a revolt against the evangelical establishment on the part of some of the young evangelicals who wanted to move beyond the commitments represented by even Billy Graham, as an example, or of evangelical evangelism and Christianity Today and its formulations and the NAE and its commitments and who want aggressively to move into an involvement in the power structures as evangelicals without formulating an evangelical political party but throwing their weight behind legislation and improved legis-

¹¹ Carl F. H. Henry, interview held in Washington, D.C., March 10, 1974.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

lation and behind specific programs of justice.¹⁴

In the concluding comments of the interview, Henry seemed encouraged by evidence that the younger evangelical conscience is more sensitive to social injustice than his own. But throughout the interview he repeatedly took up what has been his life-long battle against theological liberalism. In spite of his encouragement to take stands on specific issues, he was quite reluctant to identify those issues other than traditional welfare programs for the poor and disenfranchised. In response to a final question about the need for prophetic leadership, he summarized his dual criticism of evangelical social failure and liberal theological apostasy.

I think the evangelicals have missed and are missing the most glorious opportunity that has been given to them this side of the Protestant Reformation. They could have taken the initiative. Liberal theology is dead and neo-orthodox theology has collapsed and the non-evangelicals are in a chaotic plight theologically. The evangelicals have missed the opportunity for a great theological initiative.¹⁵

In spite of the uneasy conscience among a few evangelicals, Henry seems to know that the great mass of evangelicals have been scarcely moved. These writers and educators have served as a conscience and some have been heard, but the influence has been minimal with the extreme right of evangelicalism gaining as much or more ground than those toward the left.

Politicians

As Governor of Oregon and now as United States Senator, Mark O. Hatfield has consistently maintained a reputation for supporting

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

evangelical theology and selected liberal policies toward politics and social action. Until the Viet Nam war he was relatively non-controversial and widely accepted by most traditions within evangelicalism. But his outspoken support for an end to the war cost him the admiration of the conservative right of American politics and religion. In spite of the vulnerability of political life, Hatfield continues to champion causes which until now have been thought heresy by persons of his theological persuasion. In Conflict and Conscience, a compilation of speeches in which he assumes positions on issues of war and peace, poverty and wealth, these more or less liberal views are explained.

Hatfield is joined in this combination of theological conservatism and political liberalism by Representative John B. Anderson, author of Between Two Worlds, who also attempts to offer an evangelical conscience on a wide range of current issues. Both Hatfield and Anderson are considerably to the left of center and have forced evangelicals to re-examine political loyalties. In the interview, Harold Lindsell commented on Hatfield:

I would say that we have Christian freedom and Christian freedom includes the possibility of being wrong. Now I'm not supposing that anybody who is sociologically liberal is therefore wrong. I am simply saying there is room for me to be wrong on my side, whatever my side may be, whether it is liberal or whether it's conservative. But I think it's perfectly possible for any Christian to be a member of the Republican or Democratic party. I think it's perfectly all right for Mark Hatfield to entertain his particular viewpoints with respect to social, economic and political matters which would be quite a bit to the left of center as far as traditional evangelicalism has been concerned.¹⁶

For Lindsell to concede that a Christian can be a Democrat or a liberal Republican represents a degree of openness and tolerance not

¹⁶ Lindsell, interview.

shared by many of his readers. The concession comes, however, in the context of a judgment which reduces all political decisions to a matter of opinion without moral overtones. Hatfield, though, is now clearly presenting his challenge to reactionary conservative economics on the basis of his evangelical faith, and is said to be receiving moral guidance from another tradition within evangelicalism represented by John Howard Yoder.

Christian Radicalism

"Radical reductionism" is a phrase used to describe, if not to dismiss, another evangelical tradition which until now has been known primarily for its pacifism. The Quakers and Mennonites, small groups with conservative theologies, have had influence beyond their numbers but have hardly been taken seriously by large numbers of evangelical Protestants. Especially during the Viet Nam war when most evangelicals would have considered themselves "hawks," the isolation of this tradition was pronounced. But as the opposition to the war increased the theological ethics of these pacifists proved to be more adequate for developing a response, not only to the war, but to the whole range of social problems caused by militarism, materialism and technocracy.

The most articulate spokesman for the theology of this tradition is John Howard Yoder. He is joined by others, including Arthur Gish, who have re-interpreted pacifism from silent compliance to active non-violent involvement in society. The idea for The Politics of Jesus, especially for the section on "The Implications of the Jubilee," Yoder credits to the French pacifist and resistance leader Andre Trocme, who wrote Jesus and the Nonviolent Revolution as an explanation

of an appropriate non-violent response to the Second World War. Yoder's writings reveal an acquaintance with contemporary biblical scholarship and theology, but his unique contribution is to force a serious consideration of his tradition for non-violent resistance as a theological ethic.

Yoder begins by refuting most of the recent and traditional interpretations of Jesus' ethic which remove teachings such as the Sermon on the Mount from application in other than one-to-one relationships. In various ways this type of teaching has taught us that Jesus' "apocalypticism and his radical monotheism may teach us to be modest; his personalism may teach us to cherish the values of face-to-face relationships, but as to the stuff of our decision-making we shall have to have other sources of help."¹⁷

It was precisely because of his social ethics that Jesus was opposed and finally put to death. He was seen as a revolutionary and led his followers in non-violent resistance to all forms of political and religious coercion. Yoder suggests that Jesus' selection of a Jubilarly Old Testament Scripture as recorded in Luke 4 "states the messianic expectation in the most expressly social terms."¹⁸ He concludes the chapter on "The Kingdom Coming" with a paragraph which is a summary statement of the thesis of The Politics of Jesus.

Men may choose to consider that the kingdom is not real, or relevant, or not possible, or not inviting; but no longer may we come to this choice in the name of systematic theology or honest hermeneutics. . . . No such slicing can avoid his call to an ethic marked by the cross, a cross identified as the punishment of a

¹⁷ John Howard Yoder, The Politics of Jesus (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1972), p. 19.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 35.

man who threatens society by creating a new kind of community leading a radically new kind of life.¹⁹

Lindsell and Henry, who complained that no voice was commanding widespread attention and respect for evangelical positions, indicated that Yoder has not been taken seriously by many evangelicals. A growing minority is listening, though, and the influence of these teachings has spread beyond the traditional pacifist groups. Christian radicalism has become a live option in a day when timid tamperings with institutions which perpetuate oppression have failed to bring change for the better.

The effect of this kind of radicalism is yet to be seen in the denominations. Mainstream evangelicals are offended by such attacks on the status quo and the Mennonites and Quakers, with a few exceptions, have interpreted their pacifism as non-involvement. The case for Christian radicalism is taken up by a few independent congregations and communities such as Washington's Church of the Saviour. Elizabeth O'Connor's books Call to Commitment and Journey Inward, Journey Outward describe the Church of the Saviour as an alternative to the accepted forms of Church communities which work against radical discipleship.

The seventies have seen the beginning of some new magazines circulated for the purpose of articulating Christian radicalism from an evangelical point of view. Inside is published to encourage more serious evangelical involvement in the inner cities, while The Other Side is dedicated to finding Christian solutions to American racial conflict. The most widely distributed new magazine of this sort is the

¹⁹Ibid., p. 63.

Post-American, which by its title gives a clue to its point of view.

Henry made this comment:

Now the Post-American takes a radically critical view of the American scene. For my money, sometimes excessively so. It seems to reflect a position, too generously, I think, of the political left. I think this again is a penalty that evangelicals have paid for their lack of social criticism in the past and I think that the title Post-American for their publication represents an excessive judgment that makes a judgment on America that God Himself has not made. But it at least has the merit . . . it has shock value of reminding Americans that the great powers of the past have become ruins that have been visited by tourists from abroad long before those who thought those nations had immortality showed evident signs of marching off the map.²⁰

The early issues of the Post-American, published during the height of the Viet Nam war conflict, were filled with anti-war rhetoric with perhaps little more than the "shock value" Henry refers to. But recent issues have included articles of more penetrating theological and social analysis. Senator Hatfield, William Stringfellow, and John Yoder are contributing editors with articles in most monthly issues. To reverse Henry's comment, Christian radicalism suggests that God has, in fact, made a judgment on American society and upon all who give themselves to materialism and militarism. While Christian radicalism would not support violent revolutionaries, they would point out the violence of those who hold power and call for changes which are revolutionary, however non-violent. If the April 26 issue of Christianity Today is a correct assessment of the influence of Christian radicalism, the evangelicals have a "revolt" on their hands with far-reaching consequences.

This analysis has attempted to survey evangelical involvement

²⁰Henry, interview.

and interest in social welfare and reform. The question remains, Who speaks for evangelicals? Evangelicals tend to be separatists loyal to denominations or, in the instance of the largest Protestant denomination, the Southern Baptists, rigidly loyal to congregationalism. There are no effective evangelical cooperative movements other than the revivalism of Billy Graham and the publications which bear his name or support. But he has gained this support by avoiding theological and political controversy, which means saying practically nothing about social ethics.

The pulse of evangelicalism remains within these denominations divided and driven to "manifest destiny" illusions in little kingdoms of their own creation. Membership loyalty and growth have been maintained by convincing people that only within a certain tradition, denomination or congregation can one be sure of salvation and heaven. These competitive groups have preserved the best and the worst of Protestantism. They remain loyal to a biblical tradition while often falling prey to exclusivism, always a scandal to the Gospel.

Whatever the extent of evangelical social concern among the educators, editors, and radicals, the dominant feelings are still expressed by the traditional elements of denominational leadership associated with middle-class American conservatism. One must turn to countless denominational publications to understand the reluctance of most denominational representatives to speak out on controversial issues. The typical evangelical gospel presentation still involves a judgment upon personal immorality with an unexamined endorsement of existing social and political systems.

CHAPTER X

WHITHER URBAN MINISTRY?

Soon after the members of the Nazarene inner-city mission began meeting as a congregation, they initiated a process of study and exploration to define the structure of urban ministry which would fit their overall objectives. With none of the programs and expectations of traditional congregational life, the group was free to allow the objectives of the mission to determine the structure of the congregation. From the first meetings the following statement of purpose and objectives was developed which set forth the fundamental concepts which the group saw as being important to urban ministry.

Washington Inner-City Mission

The Mission exists as a cross-cultural ministry among the inner-city poor of Washington, D.C. Sponsored by the Church of the Nazarene, this ministry grows out of a conscious effort to provide a means of ministry for those who are "called" to serve the needs of people for whom the inner city is home. The fundamental motivation for the mission and its members is the Lordship of Jesus Christ and the conviction that unconditional commitment to Christ as Lord leads to the formation of Christian community and service to the people of the city.

Cross-cultural ministry

The Mission seeks to become a cross-cultural community, welcoming into its membership people of all racial, ethnic and social backgrounds, reflecting the pluralism of the city and the bond which unites people together in Christ. The particular focus of service is the poor within the city who are denied the critical minimums of decent housing and adequate opportunities for educational and vocational development. As a ministry among the poor, however, the mission seeks to unite both rich and poor in a caring community whereby those who have accumulated wealth, including social and

educational privileges, may be encouraged toward responsible stewardship of life and resources.

The inner life

The Mission confronts both the need for service to the city and also the development of a cadre of disciples who have internalized a life of spiritual awareness. While each member is expected to be committed to Christ as Lord, this individual commitment is expressed corporately in the context of agreed-upon group disciplines including the meditative use of Scripture and prayer and accountability to the community for spiritual growth.

Ministry to the whole person

The Mission shall seek to fulfill the Gospel commission of ministry to all the needs of people and society. This "whole person" approach seeks to respond to whatever needs are apparent in the lives of the inner-city poor. The ultimate objective of the Mission is to be instrumental in the creation of a community of faith within the city within which people can hear and respond to the Gospel as they seek to find solutions to the causes of injustice and oppression. While the Mission members engage in ministries which are social and thereby political, these ministries are complementary to the awareness of the need for the personal transformation whereby people become new creations in Christ.

Calls, community and confirmation

While the Mission functions as a congregation with worship, education, evangelism, sacraments, and observance of the rituals of birth, marriage and death, it is consciously designed as a community for those especially "called" to urban ministry. Each member comes into the community to clarify and identify a place of ministry and service in the city. The mission exists as an environment in which prospective members may explore their individual callings and grow into the fellowship of a group consciously designed to support a variety of ministries.

Stewardship

The membership commitment includes an acceptance of a life-style which grows out of this concept of Christian stewardship. Proportional giving, with tithing as the minimum base of contribution into the Mission budget, is required for membership. Proportional giving and Christian stewardship assumes that members voluntarily maintain a modest standard of living., giving away that which would ordinarily be accumulated or spent on unnecessary luxuries. This concept of stewardship is extended to the corporate budget of the community. Internal expenses are kept at a minimum in order that the financial resources of the Mission may be used to support the various ministries of the community within the city.

Although this statement is brief and somewhat tentative, it embodies a theory of urban ministry which has guided the thinking of those engaged in Nazarene mission to the inner-city of Washington. The theory is that authentic ministry requires that the church address itself to all the needs of the poor and struggle with the poor to change those structures of society which perpetuate injustice. To accomplish this requires alternate forms of church which are not building- or sanctuary-centered experiences. The idea of an alternate church is not to break with existing institutions, much less with the historical traditions which communicate faith. It is to suggest that in the context of the complex, desperate needs of the poor in the city, an alternate church experience is needed.

Perhaps John Wesley, the theological mentor of the holiness churches, needs to be studied so that those who identify with him can more clearly appreciate who he was and what he was about. He offered to eighteenth-century England an alternative to the stuffy, pretentious Church of England which had lost touch with the common people. However inevitable the separation of Methodism from the Church of England may have been, what remains important for this study was Wesley's ability to communicate with people unfamiliar with and uninterested in the Gospel and further, the way in which he directed the Methodists to the pressing spiritual and social needs of his day. Wesley contended that he had not concocted some new wine. He knew the need for the church to offer new wineskins for vast numbers of people who had lost touch with the church as it was structured.

Likewise, this idea for an alternate church is a search to find new wineskins, to find a structure of church which may communicate

to some of those who are either unfamiliar with or uninterested in what has become traditional church life. An alternative is needed not only for those on the outside, but if the response of evangelicals to renewal literature means anything, it suggests that there are many within the church who are searching for new wineskins--ways of nurturing the call to urban ministry.

... bleeding, dying, she drew strength from her own blood, and by the hand of God, she rose in the midst of weakness. But, becoming strong, powerful, influential, she, in turn, became the oppressor and persecuted the same truth for which she has been persecuted. Her triumph became the ruin of the spiritual life, its strength became the strength of the oppressor. Thus her history over and over again repeated itself.

The church today is as it has been. It requires far more courage to preach in many of the pulpits of the great churches, the whole gospel, than it does to preach sin and heresy.

What are the underlying causes of all this? I verily believe that first among these is avarice which says, "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God," "Such the words which shall smite on the back of the rich young ruler who 'went away'."

The only way to save a rich man is to take his goods. Every man who would have Jesus Christ must have him at the end of all his possessions. Every dollar must be given to God, to be so like him that the beggar's in the street. In my opinion, if God wills, the duty and burden of administering it, but for every penny a strict account must be rendered to him when it is.

"Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth" is just as
 ...
 ...
 (September 19, 1901): 2

APPENDIX 1

"PERSECUTION" BY P. F. BRESEEL

There is something marvelously strange in the history of the Christian Church. Persecuted, bleeding, dying, she draws strength from her own blood, and, by the hand of God, puts on power in the midst of weakness. But, becoming strong, powerful, influential, she, in turn, becomes the oppressor and persecutes the same truth for which she has been persecuted. Its triumph becomes the ruin of its spiritual life, its strength becomes the strength of the oppressor. Thus has history over and over again repeated itself.

The church today is as it has been. It requires far more courage to preach in many of the pulpits of the great churches, the whole gospel, than it does to preach doubt and heresy.

What are the underlying causes of all this? I verily believe that first among them is WORLDLY WEALTH. "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God," were the words which Jesus wrote on the back of the rich young ruler who "went away."

The only way to save a rich man is to make him poor. Every man who would have Jesus Christ, must have him at the cost of all he possesses. Every dollar must be given to God, to be no more his than the beggar's in the street. He may retain, if God wills, the care and burden of administering it; but for every penny a strict account must be rendered to Him whose it is.

"Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth" is just as

¹P. F. Bresee, "Persecution," The Nazarene Messenger 6 (September 19, 1901): 2.

much a command as "Thou shalt not steal." The fundamental cause of apostasy is disobedience to Christ in this matter. The church builds costly places of meeting that are monumental to the pride of men. Denomination vies with denomination as to which shall have the most "attractive" church. Each succeeding one to be more "attractive" because it is more replete in artistic taste, more rich in furnishings; more "attractive" in that the sun pours its rays through more elaborately colored glass, that the pews are covered with softer cushions, and a grander and more costly organ discourses sweeter sounds. All this is an enthronement of human taste, passion, pride. Rich men become more and more a necessity, for it requires money to carry on these things.

The pulpit must be filled by men who can charm, interest, entertain. To this end institutions must be founded, endowments made, books written. Young men in preparation for the pulpit are taught such things as will enable them to instruct and entertain men along the way of human taste--music, art, politics, socialism, reform, education. In short, they must be men "well rounded out"--and this is a costly affair.

Places should be provided that correspond with poverty of spirit, and with the purpose of saving the poor. Our costly buildings, our great organs, our hired singers, etc. ought to humiliate us. They are both the cause and the fruitage of our apostasy. When we cease to depend upon these things to reach the taste and pride of man and trust in the Holy Ghost to awaken and save, we will come back to God.

Earth's riches with show and pomp, even though they are baptized as a Christian church and used in connection with a form of so-

called worship, are incompatible with the power of the salvation of God. It has been the accumulation of these which have undermined the religion of Jesus Christ in the Church in every age.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES

6/30/72 - 3/31/73

Net Income

\$11,412.00

Less Expenses

Gas Service	\$9,516.05
Electric Service	882.88
Plumbing & Heating Repairs	2,290.29
Janitorial & Paint Supplies	1,747.11
Roofing Repairs	2,138.11
L & S Utility	111.00
Water & Sewer	1,676.05
Electrical Repairs	1,342.70
Insurance	1,095.18
Licenses & Permits	78.75
Real Estate Taxes	6,181.05
Trash Removal	1,512.00
Janitorial Service	1,748.00
Telephone	150.79
Plastering	1,482.77
Painting	2,028.79
Carpenter Work	818.90
Roof Repairs	33.00

\$28,277.75

\$11,412.00

and Operating Loss

APPENDIX 2

CRESTHILL STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES

6/1/72 - 5/31/73

Rent Income		\$31,481.50
Less Expenses		
Gas Service	\$9,516.05	
Electric Service	854.88	
Plumbing & Heating Repairs	2,298.23	
Janitorial & Maint. Supplies	1,787.11	
Elevator Repairs	2,139.24	
L & T Suits	271.50	
Water & Sewer	1,636.65	
Electrical Repairs	1,342.70	
Insurance	1,095.16	
Licenses & Permits	72.75	
Real Estate Taxes	6,121.62	
Trash Removal	1,532.00	
Janitorial Service	4,398.00	
Telephone	159.39	
Plastering	3,482.72	
Painting	2,020.79	
Carpenter Work	918.96	
Roof Repairs	<u>30.00</u>	
		<u>39,677.75</u>
Net Operating Loss		<u>(\$ 8,196.25)</u>

APPENDIX 3

CASH FLOW COMPARISON BETWEEN CONVENTIONAL
AND MODERATE REHABILITATION

	<u>Cresthill</u>	<u>Fairmont I</u>
<u>Total Project Cost</u>	\$234,440	\$2,709,000
Acquisition	(1) 70,000	57,000
Development	180,807	2,652,000
<u>Per Unit Costs</u>	4,884	23,763
(Number of units)	(48)	(114)
<u>Contract Rents:</u> (2)		
Efficiencies: Number of units	--	11
Monthly rental per unit	--	\$273
1 bedroom: Number of units	16	60
Monthly rental per unit (3)	\$90	\$323
1 bedroom + den: Number of units	10	--
Monthly rental per unit (3)	\$100	--
2 bedroom + den: Number of units	8	--
Monthly rental per unit (3)	\$120	--
2 bedroom + porches: Number of units	14	43
Monthly rental per unit (3)	\$120	\$347
<u>Annual Operating Expenses and Taxes</u>	42,770	188,470
Net income required:		
Re Cresthill: to retire debt and to provide funds for future non-profit development	13,794	
Re Fairmont: to retire debt and to provide 6% profit for developer		237,000
Net income anticipated (assuming 95% occupancy)	56,084	425,000

Notes

- (1) Property acquired 4/15/75, with following terms: \$10,000 down payment, \$10,000 due 4/15/78, and balance of \$50,000 to be repaid by annual installments of \$2,000 for following 25 years, at no interest. Mortgage held by seller.
- (2) Fairmont project is 221 (d) (3), with 100% rent supplements.
- (3) Based on proposed rents, after renovation. Present rent structure \$85-\$110 a month per unit.
- (4) Amount of annual debt service for Cresthill is \$3,333 for years 1975-78. Annual debt service, beginning 1979 and for succeeding years, is \$2,000.

APPENDIX 4

RENT ANALYSES FOR THE JUBILEE BUILDINGS

The Cresthill Apartments

Apt.	# People in apt.	Over 60	Under 18	Employed (Yes/No)	Annual Household Income	Present Rent	Present Utilities		Total Annual Rent + Utilities	Rent After Renovation	% of Income for Rent & Utilities	
							Gas	Electric			Before	After
101 1Bd	2	1	-	No	1,900	900	33.00	46.80	979.80	1,200	52%	74%
102 2Bd	2	-	-	No	1,824	1,194	45.60	74.40	1,314.00	1,440	72%	86%
103 1Bd	2	-	1	No	2,376	1,020	34.80	51.00	1,105.80	1,080	47%	49%
104 2Bd	2	-	-	No	2,952	1,254	55.20	81.60	1,390.80	1,440	47%	53%
105 1Bd	3	-	2	Yes	5,700	1,020	41.40	64.80	1,126.20	1,080	20%	21%
106 1Bd	Vacant											
107 1Bd	Vacant											
108	Office											
109 2Bd	6	-	4	Yes	6,500	1,320	57.00	102.00	1,479.00	1,440	23%	25%

Cresthill Rent Analysis (Continued)

Apt.	# People in apt.	Over 60	Under 18	Employed (Yes/No)	Annual Household Income	Present Rent	Present Gas	Utilities Electric	Total Annual Rent + Utilities	Rent After Reno- vations	% of Income for Rent & Utilities	
											Before	After
110 1Bd	2	-	1	No	2,376	1,020	40.80	57.60	1,118.40	1,080	47%	50%
111 2Bd	2	-	1	No	4,032	1,194	49.20	69.00	1,312.20	1,440	33%	39%
112 1Bd	4	-	3	No	3,336	1,020	27.10	74.40	1,131.60	1,200	34%	39%
201 2Bd	2	1	-	No	2,600	1,200	52.80	81.60	1,334.40	1,440	51%	61%
202 2Bd	5	-	4	No	4,188	1,560	63.00	76.80	1,699.80	1,440	41%	38%
203 1Bd	Vacant											
204 2Bd	1	-	-	Yes	7,800	1,074	45.60	62.40	1,182.00	1,440	41%	38%
205 1Bd	1	-	-	Yes	7,695	1,020	37.20	50.40	1,107.60	1,080	14%	15%
206 1Bd	4	-	3	No	3,336	1,260	51.00	78.00	1,389.00	1,200	42%	40%
207 1Bd	3	-	1	Yes	5,900	1,020	57.60	70.80	1,148.40	1,200	19%	23%

Cresthill Rent Analysis (Continued)

Apt.	# People in apt.	Over 60	Under 18	Employed (Yes/No)	Annual Household Income	Present Rent	Present Gas	Utilities		Total Annual Rent + Utilities	Rent After Reno- vations	% of Income for Rent & Utilities	
								Electric				Before	After
208 1Bd	2	-	1	No	2,376	1,260	42.00	57.00		1,359.00	1,080	57%	50%
209 2Bd	4	-	2	No	3,336	1,074	55.20	86.40		1,315.60	1,440	36%	47%
210 1Bd	3	-	2	No	4,700	1,020	51.60	68.40		1,140.00	1,080	24%	26%
211 1Bd	2	-	1	Yes	5,800	1,134	43.20	81.69		1,258.80	1,440	22%	22%
212 2Bd	4	2	1	No	4,672	1,320	58.80	90.00		1,468.80	1,440	31%	34%
301 2Bd	3	-	1	Yes	5,120	1,260	61.20	79.20		1,400.40	1,440	27%	31%
302 2Bd	2	-	1	No	2,376	1,194	57.00	73.20		1,324.20	1,440	56%	66%
303 1Bd	Vacant												
304 2Bd	5	-	3	No	4,288	1,194	66.00	92.40		1,352.40	1,440	32%	37%
305 1Bd	Vacant												
306 1Bd	Vacant												

Cresthill Rent Analysis (Continued)

Apt.	# People in apt.	Over 60	Under 18	Employed (Yes/No)	Annual Household Income	Present Rent	Present Utilities		Total Annual Rent + Utilities	Rent After Reno- vation	% of Income for Rent & Utilities	
							Gas	Electric			Before	After
307 1Bd	2	-	-	No	2,700	1,026	45.60	58.80	1,130.40	1,200	42%	48%
308 1Bd	2	-	-	Yes	6,200	1,020	48.00	64.80	1,134.00	1,080	18%	36%
309 2Bd	2	-	-	Yes	7,500	1,200	57.60	86.40	1,344.00	1,440	18%	21%
310 1Bd	1	1	-	No	2,257	834	36.00	51.00	921.00	1,080	41%	52%
311 2Bd	6	-	4	Yes	8,524	1,200	58.80	90.00	1,348.80	1,440	16%	19%
312 2Bd	3	-	-	Yes	7,780	1,260	55.20	75.60	1,390.80	1,440	18%	20%
401 2Bd	3	-	2	Yes	6,542	1,194	54.00	88.80	1,336.80	1,440	20%	24%
402 2Bd	5	0	4	No	4,188	1,194	58.80	93.60	1,346.40	1,440	32%	38%
403 1Bd	4	-	3	No	3,336	1,020	55.20	78.00	1,153.20	1,080	35%	36%
404 2Bd	2	-	-	Yes	6,658	1,254	51.60	82.80	1,388.40	1,440	18%	21%
405 1Bd	2	-	-	Yes	5,430	1,020	43.20	62.40	1,125.60	1,080	21%	22%

Cresthill Rent Analysis (Continued)

Apt.	# People in apt.	Over 60	Under 18	Employed (Yes/No)	Annual Household Income	Present Rent	Present Gas	Utilities		Total Annual Rent + Utilities	Rent After Reno- vation	% of Income for Rent & Utilities	
								Electric				Before	After
406 1Bd	4	-	3	No	3,336	1,020	54.00	75.00		1,149.00	1,200	34%	40%
407 1Bd	3	-	1	Yes	9,670	1,020	58.80	81.60		1,160.40	1,200	12%	14%
408 1Bd	3	-	2	No	2,954	1,020	45.60	62.40		1,128.00	1,080	38%	41%
409 2Bd	4	-	1	No	2,292	1,260	54.00	79.10		1,393.20	1,440	61%	69%
410 1Bd	7	-	6	No	4,480	1,020	73.20	85.80		1,179.00	1,080	26%	28%
411 2Bd	4	-	2	Yes	7,600	1,320	51.60	76.80		1,448.40	1,440	19%	21%
412 2Bd	2	-	-	Yes	6,549	1,320	38.40	70.80		1,429.20	1,440	22%	24%

Ritz Rent Analysis

Apt. #	# People in apt.	Over 60	Under 18	Employed (Yes/No)	Annual Household Income	Annual Rent	Annual Gas	Utilities		Total Annual Rent + Util.	% of Income Used for Rent + Utilities	
								Electric				
101	1	-	-	No	2,779.20	1,620	36	93		1,749		63%
102	Vacant											

Ritz Rent Analysis (Continued)

Apt. #	# People in apt.	Over 60	Under 18	Employed (Yes/No)	Annual Household Income	Annual Rent	Annual Gas	Utilities Electric	Total Annual Rent + Util.	% of Income Used for Rent + Util.
103	6	-	5	Yes	6,384.00	2,220	60	180	2,460	39%
104	4	-	2	Yes	5,280.00	1,620	60	120	1,800	34%
105	4	-	1	Yes	3,600.00	1,680	120	240	2,040	57%
106	4	1	2	No	2,916.00	1,800	42	126	1,968	67%
107	1	-	-	Yes	7,956.00	1,920	24	336	2,280	29%
108	3	-	1	Yes	6,240.00	1,800	60	120	1,980	32%
109	3	-	2	No	2,916.00	1,380	42	96	1,518	52%
110	6	-	-	Students	7,200.00	1,920	60	120	2,100	29%
111	Ritzart Bakery									
112	4	-	2	Yes	11,856.00	1,620	36	156	1,812	15%
201	2	-	1	No	2,280.00	1,620	48	120	1,788	78%
202	2	1	1	No	4,294.80	1,920	36	174	2,130	50%
203	2	-	-	Yes	6,032.00	2,220	48	180	2,448	41%
204	2	-	1	No	3,325.20	1,620	35	108	1,763	53%
205	4	-	3	Yes	3,552.00	1,920	48	120	2,088	59%

Ritz Rent Analysis (Continued)

Apt. #	# People in apt.	Over 60	Under 18	Employed (Yes/No)	Annual Household Income	Annual Rent	Annual Gas	Annual Electric	Total Annual Rent + Util.	% of Income Used for Rent + Util.
206	3	-	-	Students	3,600.00	1,800	60	120	1,980	55%
207	4	-	1	Information unattainable						
208	Vacant									
209	1	-	-	Yes	10,600.00	1,380	36	84	1,500	14%
210	6	-	5	No	4,824.00	1,320	96	120	1,536	32%
211	2	-	-	Yes	10,400.00	1,380	48	96	1,524	15%
212	Vacant									
301	4	1	2	No	3,417.30	1,620	36	72	1,728	51%
302	3	-	1	No	3,660.00	1,920	38	216	2,174	59%
303	7	-	2	Yes	5,408.00	2,220	120	132	2,472	46%
304	3	-	2	Yes	6,000.00	1,620	24	60	1,704	28%
305	6	-	5	No	4,836.00	1,920	96	144	2,160	45%
306	4	-	2	Yes	7,200.00	1,800	36	192	2,028	28%
307	5	-	3	Yes	9,646.00	1,920	39	168	2,127	22%
308	2	-	-	Students	2,400.00	1,800	60	120	1,980	83%

Ritz Rent Analysis (Continued)

Apt. #	# People in apt.	Over 60	Under 18	Employed (Yes/No)	Annual Household Income	Annual Rent	Annual Gas	Utilities Electric	Total Annual Rent + Util.	% of Income Used for Rent + Util.
309	3	-	2	No	4,477.20	1,380	30	76	1,477	33%
310	4	-	2	Yes	6,000.00	1,920	45	108	2,073	35%
311	1	-	-	Yes	6,916.00	1,380	72	72	1,524	22%
312	5	-	3	Yes	6,752.00	1,620	48	120	1,788	26%
401	Information not available									
402	Vacant									
403	5	-	3	Yes	7,800.00	2,220	60	84	2,364	30%
404	6	-	4	Yes	6,608.00	1,620	42	96	1,758	27%
405	6	-	4	No	3,868.80	1,920	48	132	2,100	54%
406	Vacant									
407	4	-	2	No	2,448.00	1,920	48	192	2,160	88%
408	2	-	-	Yes	5,880.00	1,800	36	84	1,920	33%
409	2	1	-	Retired	8,676.00	1,380	96	96	1,572	18%
410	Vacant									
411	2	-	1	Student	6,000.00	1,380	48	60	1,488	25%

Ritz Rent Analysis (Continued)

Apt. #	# People in apt.	Over 60	Under 18	Employed (Yes/No)	Annual Household Income	Annual Rent	Annual Utilities		Total Annual Rent + Util.	% of Income Used for Rent + Util.
							Gas	Electric		
412	Vacant									
501	6	0	3	Yes	7,800.00	1,620	48	240	1,908	24%
502	4	-	-	Yes		1,920				
503	6	1	1	Yes	15,000.00	2,220	55	264	2,539	17%
504	2	-	-	No	3,456.00	1,620	72	58	1,750	51%
505	3	-	2	Yes	5,408.00	1,920	36	144	2,100	39%
506	Vacant									
508	2	-	-	Students	8,300.00	1,800	48	120.	1,968	24%
509	1	1	-	No	2,304.00	1,380	36	72	1,488	65%
510	1	-	-	Yes	8,000.00	1,920	48	180	2,148	27%
511	1	-	-	Yes	8,400.00	1,380	36	72	1,488	18%
512	1	-	-	Student	2,400.00	1,620	84	108	1,812	76%
B1	2	-	-	Yes	6,600.00	1,020	42			

Mozart Rent Analysis

Apt. #	# People in apt.	Over 60	Under 18	Employed (Yes/No)	Annual Household Income	Annual Rent	Annual Gas	Utilities Electric	Total Annual Rent + Util.	% of Income Used for Rent & Util.
101	2	1	-	Yes	4,250	1,920	50	108	2,078	49%
102	2	-	1	Yes	2,600	1,620	50	96	1,766	68%
103	2	-	-	Yes	7,748	1,380	50	336	1,766	23%
104	2	-	-	Yes	5,996	1,380	50	168	1,598	27%
105	3	-	2	No	3,167	1,860	50	120	2,030	64%
106	4	-	1	Yes	5,200	1,800	50	144	1,994	38%
201										
202	3	-	2	No	3,000	1,620	50	84	1,754	58%
203	3	-	1	Yes	7,260	1,620	50	84	1,754	24%
204	1	-	-	Yes	6,000	1,620	50	120	1,790	30%
205	3	-	1	Yes	10,700	1,860	50	300	2,210	21%
206	2	1	-	Retired	10,900	1,800	50	192	2,042	19%
301	5	-	2	Yes		1,920	50	264	2,234	
302	Vacant									

Mozart Rent Analysis (Continued)

Apt. #	# People in apt.	Over 60	Under 18	Employed (Yes/No)	Annual Household Income	Annual Rent	Annual Gas	Utilities Electric	Total Annual Rent + Util.	% of Income Used for Rent & Util.
303	1	-	-	Yes	7,500	1,620	50	108	1,778	24%
304	1	-	-	Yes	4,500	1,620	50	144	1,814	40%
305	2	-	-	Yes	5,356	1,860	50	132	2,042	38%
306	Vacant									
401	3	-	2	No	2,916	1,920	50	96	2,066	71%
402	Vacant									
403	2	1	-	Yes	5,460	1,620	50	96	1,766	32%
404	3	-	1	Yes						
405	5	1	2	Yes	15,000	1,740	50	132	1,972	13%
406	4	-	3	No	3,560	1,800	50	156	2,006	56%
501	4	-	2	Yes	7,200	1,920	50	120	2,090	29%
502	2	-	-	Yes	6,000	1,620	50	108	1,778	30%
504										
505	Vacant									
506	3	3	-	No	4,164	1,800	50	168	2,018	48%

APPENDIX 5

CASH FLOW SUMMARY FOR CRESTHILL

		6/1/73- 5/31/74	6/1/72- 5/31/73	('74 vs. '73) + or -
Utilities	Electricity	\$1,071	\$ 855	+ \$ 216
	Gas	8,713	9,516	- 803
	Water	1,238	1,637	- 399
	Telephone	186	159	+ 27
Maintenance	Electrical	--	1,343	- 1,343
	Elevator	3,053	2,139	+ 914
	Painting	2,401	2,020	+ 381
	Janitorial & Security	4,341	4,398	- 57
	Supplies	3,153	1,787	+ 1,366
	Roof	389	949	- 560
	Trash collection	1,865	1,532	+ 333
	Exterminating	92	--	+ 92
	Plumbing, heating	--	2,298	- 2,298
	Plastering	--	3,483	- 3,483
Management		5,200	--	+ 5,200
Taxes, Legal, Licenses		6,473	6,472	+ 1
Insurance		1,145	1,095	+ 50
Miscellaneous		82	--	+ 82
Total Overhead (without depreciation)		39,402	39,678	+ 19
Rents Collected (average annual rent per unit)		34,402 (717)	31,482 (656)	
Reported Losses		<u>(5,000)</u>	<u>(8,196)</u>	

APPENDIX 6

WASHINGTON CENTER FOR URBAN MINISTRIES

WORK/STUDY PROGRAMS

Work/Study Program for Seminary Academic Credit

1. Pre-Registration

Pre-registration must include an application for the work/study program submitted in advance to the Center. Applicants will be approved on the basis of an understanding of and his or her willingness to participate in inner city ministry.

2. Preparation

Prior to the work/study program, students will complete the following reading and writing assignments. Resources other than those indicated in the assignments will be found on the reading list or from the student's own research.

- a. Write a brief review of The State of the Cities, and collect information from additional sources, i.e., newspapers, magazines, books, which describe the problems facing American cities.
- b. Write a brief review of For Whites Only, and from additional reading or experience describe personal experiences of racism.
- c. Read The Urban Mission, and compile ideas for the structure of Church needed to minister to the urban culture. How can the Church as you know it develop an effective mission to the city?
- d. Read The Holiness Churches: A Significant Ethical Tradition by Dayton. Write a personal response to this description of the Holiness tradition.
- e. Write a brief review of chapters 1-3 of The Politics of Jesus, making note of the distinctive characteristics of Yoder's hermeneutic.

3. Requirements During Participation

- a. A weekly meeting with a Center volunteer for reflection on

the above assignments, and the nature of the student involvement. The purpose of the meeting will be to ensure that the student understands the Center principles and has opportunity to work through questions and problems which may arise during the experience.

- b. The amount of time to be spent will be agreed upon by the Center, the student, and the Seminary. The specific work project will be decided upon by the student and the Center. Work projects include physical renovation of housing, children's and youth activities, counselling, health care, and a variety of other existing and contemplated community support ministries.
- c. The student will compile a notebook including a summary of the required reading, a log of daily activities, and personal reflections on the work/study experience.

4. Reading List

The Urban Crisis

Harris, Fred and Lindsay, John F., The State of the Cities. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972. (paperback)

Report of the National Advisory Commission On Civil Disorders, New York: Bantam Books, 1968. (paperback)

Cross-Cultural Understanding

Carmichael, Stokely, and Hamilton, Charles V., Black Power, New York: Vintage Books, 1967. (paperback)

Jordan, Winthrop D., White Over Black, Kingsport, Tenn.: University of North Carolina Press, 1968.

Sulley, Columbus, and Behm, Ronald, Your God Is Too White, Downer's Grove, Ill., Inter-Varsity Press. (paperback)

Terry, Robert W., For Whites Only, Grand Rapids, Mich., Eerdmans, 1970. (paperback)

The Church and Urban Culture

Ellison, Craig, Ed., The Urban Mission, Grand Rapids, Mich.: 1974. (paperback)

O'Connor, Elizabeth, Journey Inward, Journey Outward, New York: Harper and Row, 1968.

Christian Social Ethics

Dayton, Donald W., "The Holiness Churches: A Significant Ethical Tradition," The Christian Century, February 26, 1975.

Furness, Charles Y., The Christian and Social Action, Old Tappan, New Jersey: Flemming H. Revell Company, 1972.

Moberg, David O., The Great Reversal, Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1972.

Smith, Timothy L., Revivalism and Social Reform. New York: Abingdon, 1962.

Biblical Studies

Batey, Richard, Jesus and the Poor, New York: Harper and Row, 1972.

Yoder, John Howard, The Politics of Jesus, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1972.

Work/Study Program for College Credit

1. Required reading before participation:

Craig Ellison, Ed., The Urban Mission, Eerdmans. (paperback)

Elizabeth O'Connor, Journey Inward, Journey Outward, Harpers.

Robert Terry, For Whites Only, Eerdmans. (paperback)

2. Requirements during participation:

- a. A weekly meeting with a Center volunteer for reflection on the above reading assignments and the nature of the student involvement. The purpose of the meeting will be to ensure that the student understands the Center principles and has opportunity to work through any questions and problems which may arise during study period.
- b. Time to be spent may be adjusted by the institution giving credit, but ordinarily it will be expected that the student will spend 3 hours per week for each academic credit for a period of ten weeks. The specific project will be decided upon by the student and the Center. For 3 hours credit, the student will spend at least 9 hours each week for ten weeks at the Center, not including reading and reflection time.
- c. The student will compile a notebook including a summary of the required reading, a log of weekly activities and personal reflections on the work/study program.

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- Armstrong, Ken S. Face to Face with the Church of the Nazarene. Boulder, Colorado: Johnson Publishing Company, 1958.
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- _____, gen. ed. Methodism and Society. Vols. New York: Abingdon Press, 1961. Vol. 2: Methodism and Society in the Twentieth Century, by Walter G. Muelder.
- Bowman, Roger, Color Us Christian: The Story of the Church of the Nazarene Among America's Blacks. Knasas City: Nazarene Publishing House, 1975.
- Carmichael, Stokely, and Hamilton, Charles V. Black Power. New York: Vintage Books, 1967.
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- Dayton, Donald. The American Holiness Movement: A Bibliographic Introduction. Wilmore, Kentucky: B. L. Fisher Library, 1971.
- Failing, George. "Developments in Holiness Theology After Wesley." In Insights Into Holiness, pp. 11-31. Compiled by Kenneth Geiger. Kansas City: Beacon Hill Press, 1962.
- Furness, Charles Y. The Christian and Social Action. Old Tappan, New Jersey: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1972.
- Girvin, E. A. Phineas F. Bresee: A Prince in Israel. Kansas City: Pentecostal Nazarene Publishing House, 1916.
- Gish, Arthur G. The New Left and Christian Radicalism. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1972.

- Harris, Fred R., Sen. and Lindsay, John V., Mayor. The State of the Cities, Report on the Commission on the Cities in the '70s. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972.
- Hatfield, Mark O. Conflict and Conscience. Waco: Word, 1971.
- Henry, Carl F. H. A Plea for Evangelical Demonstration. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1972.
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- Jones, Charles Edwin. Perfectionist Persuasion: The Holiness Movement and American Methodism. Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, 1974.
- MacArthur, Kathleen. The Economic Ethics of John Wesley. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1936.
- Moberg, David O. Inasmuch: Christian Social Responsibility in the Twentieth Century. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1965.
- Moberg, David O. The Great Reversal. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1972.
- O'Connor, Elizabeth. Call to Commitment. New York: Harper and Row, 1963.
- O'Connor, Elizabeth. Journey Inward, Journey Outward. New York: Harper and Row, 1968.
- Peters, John. Christian Perfection and American Methodism. New York: Abingdon Press, 1956.
- Pierard, Richard V. The Unequal Yoke. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1970.
- Quebedeaux, Richard. The Young Evangelicals. New York: Harper and Row, 1974.
- Smith, Timothy L. Called Unto Holiness: The Story of the Nazarenes: The Formative Years. Kansas City: Nazarene Publishing House, 1962.

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Stalvey, Lois Mark. The Education of a WASP. New York: Bantam Books, 1970.

Terry, Robert. For Whites Only. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1970.

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Wirt, Sherwood E. The Social Conscience of the Evangelical. New York: Harper and Row, 1968.

Yoder, John Howard. The Politics of Jesus. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1972.

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_____. "Moral Reform." The Nazarene Messenger 8 (August 20, 1903): 6.

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_____. "The First Nazarene Church Building." The Nazarene Messenger 3 (July 3, 1899): 2.

_____. "The Real Work." The Nazarene Messenger 7 (October 12, 1912): 15.

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- _____. "Appalling Shame." The Herald of Holiness 7 (October 30, 1918): 2.
- _____. "Christ More Than a Reformer." The Herald of Holiness 3 (September 23, 1914): 1.
- _____. "Disarmament." The Herald of Holiness 10 (June 22, 1921): 2.
- _____. "Do the One and Do Not Neglect the Other." The Herald of Holiness 6 (May 23, 1917): 1.

- _____. "Home Rule, Rome's Trick." The Herald of Holiness 3
(April 15, 1914): 2.
- _____. "Is History To Be Repeated?" The Herald of Holiness 8
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10 (April 13, 1921): 2.
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