Radical Holiness Evangelism: Vivian Dake and the Pentecost Bands

Howard A. Snyder

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NAZARENES AND WESLEYANS COMPLETE JOINT ARCHIVES PROJECT

The archives of the Church of the Nazarene and The Wesleyan Church have completed a joint project that repaired and microfilmed the *Pentecost Herald* (later the *Herald of Light*), according to Stan Ingersol, denominational archivist. The paper was published from 1894 to 1958 by the Pentecost Bands, also known as Missionary Bands of the World.

The paper connects four present holiness denominations: the Free Methodists, the Church of God (Holiness), the Wesleyans, and the Church of the Nazarene.

Ingersol became interested in the project in 1987 when he discovered that the Pentecost Bands were closely connected with the rise of the New Testament Church of Christ, a Nazarene par-

ent body in Tennessee, Arkansas, and Texas. The Texas Council of the New Testament Church officially adopted the paper in 1903 and 1904, and many early Nazarene ministers from Texas filed reports in it, including Mary Lee Cagle, William E. Fisher, and J. T. Upchurch.

Ingersol added that the Wesleyan Archives owns a nearly complete run of the paper. It was prepared for filming by Brad Estep of the Nazarene Archives staff in Kansas City.

Pictured: The Nazarene Archives staff includes Lon Dagley (l.), Stan Ingersol, denominational archivist (r.), and Brad Estep (seated) who is shown with one of the issues of the $Pentecost\ Herald$ that was placed on microfilm.



PREFACE

A conference in February, 1990, sponsored by the Wesleyan Holiness Studies Project at Asbury Theological Seminary gave me the opportunity to pursue a research interest I have had for many years. From my early days growing up in the Free Methodist Church in Spring Arbor, Michigan, I would occasionally hear about Yivian Dake and the Pentecost Bands, and of the marvelous exploits of early Band workers. By then the reputation of the Bands within the denomination was well established: Remarkably dedicated and zealous, but a bit fanatical.

Later as I studied the rise of Methodism and other "revivals" and renewal movements in church history, I came to see the significance of the Pentecost Bands not only as a part of Free Methodist history but also as a small-scale but fascinating and instructive example of a dynamic movement of renewal.

I have found through my research that the story is much more complex than I had expected. In particular, I was largely unaware of the linkages between the Bands and other figures and groups in the Holiness Movement — especially the New Testament Church of Christ, one of the antecedent groups of the Church of the Nazarene. The Pentecost Bands were much more intimately interconnected with the Holiness Movement in the period 1885–1900 than was the denomination generally.

In this paper I present the essential outlines of the story and but a part of the fruit of my research. Material is at hand for expanding this into a small book with considerable more detail, more information on key Band figures, and more adequate theological and missiological analysis and reflection.

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Wanted! ten thousand to labor in every land. Wanted! those who will work without salary. Wanted! those who will take the fare by the way and shout, "Glory to God!" Amen! They are coming; the tread of their feet is heard. There is a call from Jamaica, West Indies. Who will fill it? There are calls from Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand. Who will go? Calls from Sweded and Germany wait for workers. Now, who wants to go home? Let all the faint-hearted pack their satchels and leave quickly to make room for the Gideons, the Shamgars, the Daniels, the Davids and the Deborahs, the Marys, the Priscillas, and the Dorcases, who are coming. Amen! All hail! With fingers in your ears, eyes on the mark, feet on the thorny path, hands filled with pitchers and lamps, hearts aflame, on to victory! Fellow-workers, I am with you on the battle-field and will be in the triumphal march.

- Vivian A. Dake, October, 18911

INTRODUCTION

This paper concerns the rise and the influence of the Pentecost Bands within the Free Methodist Church in the 1880s and 1890s and the significance of this small movement in the broader picture of the late nineteenth— and early twentieth—century Holiness Movement. The story, fascinating in its own right, also raises several missiological issues of relevance to the church today.

It is essentially the story of a dynamic evangelistic, church-planting, and missionary movement which in the end could not be contained within the denominational boundaries of Free Methodism, but which went independent and finally, after about six decades, united with the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Yet that is only part of the story. For it is clear that the Pentecost Band movement tapped into and channeled a significant amount of spiritual and social energy which eventually was dissipated or diffused after 1894. What happened to that energy? I hope to show,

at least in a preliminary way, how the energy initially captivated and generated by the Pentecost Bands spread in several directions and still has some impact today.

The Pentecost Bands arose at the height of what historian Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., called "a critical period in American religion." It was a time of rapid social and religious change, much of it fueled by massive immigration from Europe, especially from Roman Catholic countries; urbanization and its attendant problems; and rapid industrialization and economic expansion. Writing toward the end of the century Josiah Strong, later a key figure in the Social Gospel movement, cited some of the critical "perils" facing the nation: immigration, Romanism, intemperance, the growth of the cities, and the rapid increase in wealth.

In the Midwest the 1880s and 1890s were a time of flux as the population was shifting further west and into the growing larger cities. Schlesinger notes,

... in the Middle West the traditional rural culture of America was rapidly dissolving and a new form rising in its stead. . . . in the great triangular central region, extending from Ohio to Missouri and Minnesota and containing nearly one third of all the people in the nation, the migration from the country districts had attained a momentum that was fast giving the city a dominant position in the social organism. In 1880 one out of every five Middle Westerners lived in urban communities of four thousand or more inhabitants, ten years later one out of every three.⁴

This was also a time of rapid church growth, particularly in the cities, and of the rise of new religious movements. Christian Science was born in the East while the Mormons continued their controversial growth further west. The Salvation Army began work in the United States in 1880, two years after its founding in England; "In ten years it had marched across the continent and was working in practically every large city in the country."

The Pentecost Bands and the Free Methodist Church, unlike the Salvation Army, were centered mostly in small—town and rural America, particulary in the Midwest. Here anti-Catholic sentiment was strong, and occasionally shows up in Free Methodist and Pentecost Band literature of the period. "Cradled in the heart of agricultural America, the anti-Catholic animus was vaguely

mingled with the long-standing rural antagonism toward the great cities where, of course, the citadels of Romanism were to be found. 6

The story of the Bands is mostly the story of earnest young Free Methodists (many of them new converts) following the expanding network of railway lines⁷ to nearby towns where evangelistic meetings could be held and churches established.⁸

THE FREE METHODIST CHURCH, 1880-1900

The Free Methodist Church, founded in 1860, had approximately 13,000 members (total) in 1880 and nearly 29,000 in 1900 — more than a 120% increase in ten years. This was a period of both expansion and consolidation: the formation of over twenty new conferences, the founding of schools, and the beginning of a foreign missions program; but also struggles with organization, finances, and pastoral support. Pioneers were pushing into new areas and urging redoubled efforts in evangelism while others were warning of over-extended resources. The period 1886–1894, when the Pentecost Bands were most active in the denomination, was especially a period of growth. Bishop L. R. Marston later calculated that the denomination grew fifty-one percent during those eight years, but only fifteen percent during the next nine years, through 1903. During the eighties the denomination expanded especially in western Pennsylvania and the Midwest, and it was in this region that the Pentecost Bands were most active.

Principal founder B. T. Roberts was influential in the denomination up to the time of his death in 1893, but was severely over-burdened with the growing demands of the general superintendency and with editing The Earnest Christian and for a time The Free Methodist. During his later years he gave encouragement to his son in the Gospel, Vivian A. Dake, who is the key figure in the rise of the Pentecost Bands.

The Free Methodist Church considered itself during this period as a "radical" holiness body.

Though maintaining some irenic contact with the broader Holiness Movement, its leaders and writers often warned against too low a standard of holiness: an experience that did not go deep enough, was not sufficiently world-denying, and compromised particularly with the amusements and ostentations of the age. 11 The term "radical" had a positive connotation, as suggested by the

methodist in October, 1894. Pointing out that "radical" means "root," and that "Sin has a root in man," the author observes: "We are sometimes charged with being radical on the subject of holiness. We gladly confess judgment, and would justify our position. We firmly believe that we would be radically wrong not to be radical on this subject." Authors called for "a thorough work" and warned against "popular holiness." Yivian Dake was a radical in this sense, but also in the sense that he argued for aggressive, innovative measures in evangelism and missions. For him, radical holiness had a keen evangelistic edge.

VIVIAN A. DAKE (1854-92)

Vivian Adelbert Dake was born on February 9, 1854, at Oregon, Illinois, and died in Sierra Leone, Africa, in early 1892, just a month short of his thirty-eighth birthday. His father, Jonathan Woodcock Dake, had been a pastor in the Methodist Episcopal Church and became a charter member of the Free Methodist Church in 1860.¹³ The family later moved further west to lowa, and it was here that Vivian Dake's ministry began.

Vivian was a bright child, and musically inclined. He was clearly converted at nine years of age, wandered from God, but was "wonderfully reclaimed" shortly after entering Chili Seminary (North Chili, New York; now Roberts Wesleyan College) at the age of eighteen. 14 After graduating from Chili Seminary he completed three terms at Rochester University, but he soon left to enter the church's ministry. While at the university he kept contact with the Chili community: "While his intellect was being polished at Rochester, his soul was being fed at Chili." He wrote, "I would rather have the gift of devil—dislodging faith than all the learning that can be acquired at earth's schools." 16

Dake married Lenna Bailey of Spring Arbor, Michigan, in 1876, but she died a few months later. In 1878 he married Ida May Campbell who survived him by a number of years and wrote his biography. Meanwhile he began pastoral and evangelistic ministry in lowa with considerable success. At age twenty-five he wrote, "I pledge myself to spend [my life] in blowing the gospel trumpet with no uncertain sound." 17 Dake seems to have been unfailingly zealous and self-

assured in his ministry. B. T. Roberts captured something of Dake's character when he wrote, "His religion was not of the quiet, unemphatic kind. The love of Christ was like fire shut up in his bones. With others he went from house to house wherever it was acceptable and prayed and exhorted and endeavored to win souls to Christ and to help them on in the kingdom of grace." 18

Dake served a series of circuits in lowa from 1876 to 1882 and saw considerable evangelistic fruit. He wrote after one revival, "At two-thirty in the morning: I took seven more into the church, all young people, most of whom had been saved since the doors were opened in the evening." He was always concerned with involving believers in ministry. His wife wrote, "He seems from the very first to have taken a stand with the primitive church fathers in getting everybody at work and thus multiplying their talents and usefulness." 20

Always attracted to the frontier, Dake transferred to the Minnesota and Northern Iowa Conference in 1882 where within a year he was chairman of the conference's three districts. He wrote, "Oh, what openings all through the northwest; beautiful towns springing up all around. Who will enter them?"21 He soon wore himself out. T. B. Arnold persuaded him in the fall of 1884 to take an extended vacation. But visiting the Michigan Conference, he agreed to accept the Spring Arbor charge. Shortly thereafter, in response to prayer, he was healed: "The power of God struck me and went through my body from my head to my feet, and I was healed. . . . I began immediately to be more active."22

The following year, 1885, having transferred to the Michigan Conference, Dake was appointed conference evangelist. In July he began organizing Pentecost Bands to assist in the work. He soon moved to Chicago and used the denominational publishing house address as his mailing address and unofficial headquarters while itinerating in evangelistic work.

For the next five years Dake was occupied with evangelism and overseeing the rapidly–expanding work of the Bands. At the invitation of friends he made a brief trip to Germany in 1889, organizing a short-lived Free Methodist class in the city of Durrenentzen. In October of 1891 he began the missionary trip to Africa from which he was not to return. He traveled via England with a side trip to Norway to visit the Ulnesses, Pentecost Band missionaries sent there the previous year.

From early on Dake had a global missionary vision. Shortly after the Free Methodist General Missionary Board was formed in 1882 Dake told the board he felt called to Africa; however "The church took no action to send him." Methodist Missionary Bishop William Taylor's foreign mission work was becoming well known and his appeals for U. S. churches to send missionaries, as well as his advocacy of "self-supporting" mission work, 24 were having an impact in Free Methodism as well as elsewhere. Dake met Bishop Taylor on board the steamship Kinsembo, bound for Monrovia, Liberia, in November of 1891 and had several conversations with him. This was only weeks before Dake died of African fever as he was starting his return voyage to the United States.

The main legacy of Vivian Dake's life was the Pentecost Band work and the indelible impression he made on scores of Free Methodist young people, especially. A secondary legacy was his hymns and poems. His hymn "We'll Girdle the Globe with Salvation" found its way into the 1910 Free Methodist Hymnal. B. T. Roberts said of this song, "If Adelbert Dake had done nothing but write that piece, his life work would have been a success."26

FOUNDING AND GROWTH OF THE PENTECOST BANDS, 1885-92

Holiness "bands" modeled to some extent after Phoebe Palmer's cottage meetings, and tracing indirectly to Methodist classes and bands, were used in the Holiness Movement of the 1880s for the promotion of holiness. 27 Bishop William Taylor in his mission work sometimes organized new converts into self-supporting, self-directing "fellowship bands" for mutual support and evangelistic outreach. 28 Vivian Dake was not consciously following such models when he first organized Pentecost Bands, but rather simply employed a small-group method that was part of the common heritage of Methodist and Holiness peoples. The name <u>Pentecost</u> Band "was suggested to him because it appeared to be a return to primitive Pentecost methods, for in the revival at Pentecost converts as well as preachers engaged in spreading the gospel." 29

As a movement the Pentecost Bands began in 1885, though the origins actually trace back three years earlier. In July of 1882 Vivian and Ida Dake, with others, began a revival at Mankota, Minnesota. Thomas Nelson relates,

Soon after this meeting began, [Dake] organized the first Pentecost Band. It was not the result of a sudden impulse on his part, for this matter had been on his heart and prayed over for months. While at Ottumwa, Iowa, some time before, the Lord made His will known to him, giving, as he felt, even the name by which the Band should be called. It was brought about at last by a succession of events, which were clearly from God. It was a most solemn time when brother and sister Dake, brother and sister J. B. Newville, Henrietta Muzzy, Abbie Dunham and J. L. Keene and one of the young converts, covenanted with God to abandon themselves to Him, to spend their lives in the great work of winning souls. God set His seal to the compact, and an especial blessing fell upon all. This was in August, 1882. Mr. D. was unanimously chosen as leader. This first Pentecost Band was ere long dissolved, but again sprang into being and took permanent form in Parma, Mich., in the year 1885.30

The Parma Pentecost Band, designated Band No. 1, opened work in Parma, Michigan (near Spring Arbor) on July 25, 1885, beginning with a street meeting and an evening service. Dake led the opening service and preached, then left the work in the charge of this band of four young women: Carrie Kimball, Emily Nelson, Lizzie Ball, and Mary Primmer. Nelson notes, "As the workers prophesied for the first time in public, the Spirit applied the truth spoken and God set His seal on the work at once, pouring out His Spirit in convicting and converting power." Soon a second band of young women, with Emily Nelson as leader, was holding meetings in nearby Hanover. Two of the members of this band were Bertha Baldwin and Minnie Baldwin (the future Mrs. E. E. Shelhamer), aged eighteen and nineteen at the time. A little later the first band of men was formed (Edward Foulk, Reuben Schamehorn, George Chapman, and Charles Edinger). Thus Dake was quickly establishing the pattern of the bands: small groups of young men or young women; a high degree of mobility, with bands moving fairly quickly from one site to another, often being replaced by another band; and members of one band, as soon as they had gained a little experience, becoming the leaders of new bands. The whole system was set up for mobility, flexibility, and rapid expansion.

Evidently B. T. Roberts was well aware of Dake's strategy, for he wrote on July 31, 1885, "Organize your bands. Push out. Be as aggressive as the Salvation Army, but more holy, more

serious and have no nonsense about it. Let the Holy Spirit take the place of tambourines to draw the people. \dots We must not let the Free Methodist church become a feeble imitation of the M. E. church."

Nelson comments that Dake saw many gifted young people doing little for God while circuit preachers were overworked. "He was grieved to see many of these young people either leave the church to labor in the Salvation Army, (a work which he did not consider sufficiently deep and thorough, though possessing many admirable traits) or be much of the time void of a clear experience or become entirely backslidden." 35

As these quotations and the references to the Salvation Army indicate, Dake seems to have opened a reservoir of youthful energy that was waiting to be tapped. Especially was this so in the case of women. Within seven years there were over thirty bands operating, with women outnumbering men by nearly two to one. The total number of band workers appears to have been about 125 in 1892.

The primary work of the bands was evangelism and church planting, both in North America and overseas. Typically a band would ride the railroad into a Midwestern town, rent a vacant store or hall or set up a tent, and hold meetings for several weeks. Door—to—door visitation, tract distribution (especially at railway stations), and street meetings and marches attracted crowds to the evening services. There, demonstrative worship, singing, and fresh personal testimonies and exhortations increased the interest. Often two or even three of the band members would preach or exhort in the same service. Opposition and occasional arrests added an air of excitement. When dramatic conversions occurred, as they often did, the meetings gained even more notoriety. Frequently the result of a revival series was the organization of a small Free Methodist congregation and the erection of a church building. 37

The bands were almost entirely self-supporting, living from such offerings or gifts of food or clothing as their work might generate. Workers often lived very sacrificially, especially in the opening stages of a revival endeavor. Anecdotes about Band members often recall their going without food, or subsisting for days on donations of potatoes or vegetables while holding meetings and visiting house to house. Sadie Cryer wrote in her journal, "As this morning was fast morning,

we did not have occasion to think about the empty cupboard." Repeatedly she noted, "We have called at every house in this town." While in Chicago she wrote, "We called at all the saloons on May St. today," and in another place: "With our suitcases strapped to our shoulders and Bibles under our arms we visited from house to house through the snow drifts." 38

An article on the Pentecost Bands in the 1891 <u>Encyclopedia of Missions</u>, apparently from the hand of Dake, gives a good overview of Band work. By this date the Bands had organized eight new societies in Michigan and twenty-five in Illinois and had bands working in Norway, Germany, Africa, and Canada, in addition to the U.S. "The home-work is for the purpose of training workers and raising money for the foreign work," the article explained, and delineated Band work as follows:

A band is composed of four workers, of whom one is a leader and another an assistant leader. They enter into a field where work is needed, hold street-meetings, visit from house to house, hold public services in church, tent, or hall, and throw everything else aside in desperate efforts to "pluck brands out of the burning." They are earnest, enthusiastic, and noisy. Their methods may be called shortcuts to win souls. 39

The article proved controversial in the Free Methodist Church because it made clear the connection between the Bands and the Yanguard ministries of C. W. Sherman in St. Louis. 40 The Bands cooperated in carrying on a Mission Training work there and the <u>Yanguard</u> paper, according to the article, "is the organ of the Pentecost Bands."

Some of the flavor of the "radical holiness" of Dake and the Pentecost Bands can be gotten from the accounts of individual band members. Especially useful here are the manuscript journal of Harmon Baldwin, a brief biography of Minnie Baldwin Shelhamer written by her sister, and a manuscript based on the journal of Sadie Cryer Hill (previously cited). 41

CHANGE AND CONTROVERSY, 1892-95

The death of Vivian Dake in 1892 further complicated relations between the Pentecost Bands and the Free Methodist Church which had already become problematic. The Bands were inevitably controversial simply because of their semi-autonomy. As a youth movement they displayed a

dynamism and zeal that sometimes clashed with denominational leaders seeking to consolidate and organize on a firmer basis. In addition there were specific organizational and doctrinal issues.

Dake left Thomas Nelson, one of the Band divisional leaders, temporarily in charge of the work when he left for Africa, ⁴² and so Nelson succeeded Dake as head of the Bands after the founder's death. Nelson was a member of the Illinois Conference where he was ordained elder in 1893. ⁴³

Both he and his wife (Flora Birdsall Nelson) had been active in the Bands for several years. He led the Bands during this period and for some years beyond. His accession to leadership seems to have caused some tension within the Bands as well as complicating relations with the denomination. E.

E. Shelhamer was, with Nelson, one of several divisional leaders at the time of Dake's death, and some Band workers thought he should be Dake's successor. Shelhamer argued for shared leadership among the divisional leaders, however, feeling that no one was qualified to fill Dake's shoes. Nelson was opposed to this and assumed control of the Bands. This appears to have been a key factor leading to the Shelhamers leaving the Band work in 1895. ⁴⁴

Within the Free Methodist Church, controversy concerning the Bands clustered around three related issues: the semi-autonomy of the Bands and their linkages with other "fringe" movements, support of missionary work, and the Bands' particular understanding of "radical" holiness. The question of women preachers itself does not seem to have been an issue, largely because the Free Methodist Church had for some time had female evangelists and pastors, and the Pentecost Band workers were itinerant evangelistic workers who were not seeking ordination. The controversy specifically over women's ordination raged for some years in the denomination but the proposal to ordain women was finally defeated by General Conference action in 1894, despite B. T. Roberts' arguments in his 1891 book, Ordaining Women. 45

We may note briefly the three major areas of controversy:

1. Autonomy and linkage with independent ventures. Though Yivian Dake was an ordained elder in good standing in the Michigan and later Illinois conferences of the Free Methodist Church from 1885 until his death, the Pentecost Bands had no official linkage with the denomination except through him. Often Dake was given encouragement by Free Methodist leaders, and Band work was always carried out in cooperation with conference, district, or local leaders, but the

Melson, were members of a conference and a number were considered conference evangelists or workers, which provided for a measure of oversight. But it was Dake and later Nelson, in consultation with colleagues and workers, who made the key decisions. This created a certain uneasiness as the size and breadth of Pentecost Band work increased. In response, Dake argued that his loyalty to the church was not in question, and that the churches organized and turned over to the denomination proved he had no intention of creating a separate church. In an open letter to the denomination shortly before leaving for Africa he wrote, "the church . . . shall have the classes and church buildings. I have no ambition but for souls, no desire but to glorify God, and no aim but to gain heaven." 47

The issue was complicated, however, by Dake's free assocation with many people within and beyond the Free Methodist Church who shared his vision and his brand of radical holiness. Dake began conducting annual Harvest Home camp meetings each July, over the anniversary date of the Bands, which became in effect interdenominational and almost national rallies. ⁴⁸ Up to 3,000 people attended the 1891 Harvest Home gathering. C. S. Hanley, editor of <u>The Firebrand</u>, wrote in his paper,

There were representatives of nearly all denominations at this meeting. They came from far and near, but the bulk of those attending were from the Free Methodist church, as this work is a child of Free Methodism. There were campers from Canada, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Wisconsin, Texas, and Indiana, whom we met. How many more states were represented it is hard to tell. It was indeed a national camp—meeting.49

Clearly something was going on here that was broader than the Free Methodist Church itself.

Dake was informally in association with several key figures who headed independent ministries within and beyond the Free Methodist Church. Chief among these were C. S. Hanley, an ordained Free Methodist and editor of The Firebrand; C. W. Sherman of the Vanguard work in St. Louis and at this time a Free Methodist; S. B. Shaw, publisher and editor of the Michigan Holiness Record; and

Robert Lee Harris, a Free Methodist until 1889 who later founded the New Testament Church of Christ. 50

In his dissertation on Mary Lee Harris Cagle, Robert Stanley Ingersol calls this informal association of independent or semi-independent leaders the "Free Methodist Radical Alliance." A key figure initially was Robert Lee Harris (Mary Lee Cagle's first husband), a Free Methodist from Texas who was intent on missionary work in Africa according to the independent self-support approach advocated by William Taylor. Ingersol writes,

A central feature of the radical alliance was its members' activities "on the independent line," outside normal denominational oversight, though the radicals maintained nominal commitments to their annual conferences. A leading figure in the radical orbit was C. W. Sherman of St. Louis, publisher of an independent weekly, The Vanguard, who became the chief sponsor of Harris' mission to Liberia. Another significant figure was S. B. Shaw, editor of The Michigan Holiness Record and emerging leader in the arena of interdenominational holiness. The most sizable component of the alliance was constituted by the Pentecost Bands 51 Ingersol adds, "The term 'radical Free Methodist' is dervied from the left-wing orientation of the party and more particularly from the distinction its members drew between 'radical' and 'popular' holiness, the latter regarded as an antinomian corruption of the former; thus E. E.Shelhammer [sic], onetime Pentecost Band member . . . and later Free Methodist revivalist, was author of a booklet entitled Radical Versus Popular Holiness Contrasted."52

The term "radical Free Methodist" could be somewhat misleading here, however, as Free Methodists <u>generally</u> during this period considered themselves "radical" and used that term positively, as we have seen. But Ingersol rightly points out that "the radicals [in his sense] differed from mainstream Free Methodists by a matter of degrees." He describes this coalition as follows:

The radicals were avidly evangelistic — more so than many in an essentially revivalistic-oriented denomination. They maintained rigid standards of dress and behavior, reacting to what they perceived as a growing second—generation laxness within the denomination, and espousing anew puritanical rules that had shaped the church in earlier years. . . . The issue

that brought the radicals most directly into conflict with church authority was their commitment to independent "faith work" in both home and foreign missions. Here they opposed a strong institutionalizing trend within Free Methodism, arguing that faith missions on "the Pauline plan" was the form of missionary organization truest to the New Testament model.

The essence of the radical wing was a sense of being "Spirit-led" — a variation of the common pneumatological theme of the holiness movement. The radicals deviated from the larger movement and from mainstream Free Methodism by virture of their deep distrust of authority mediated through institutions, including ecclesiastical ones. God's will was supreme, in their view, and made known through prayer, scripture study, and other spiritual disciplines. Once discerned, the divine will was to be pursued over and above all human wills and agendas; sanctification understood as entire consecration to God demanded this. The radicals regarded the Holy Spirit's agenda as unitive, and like restorationists in other settings they saw denominational programs as tending toward division among Christians. They were frequently at odds with denominational leaders, whom they regarded sometimes as spiritually misled.

While ideology united the radicals, their stands against denominational authority were taken on different issues. The point of conflict for S. B. Shaw centered on his advocacy and leadership in interdenominational holiness associations, which his district elder held ran counter to the interests of Free Methodism's unique character and witness. For Yivian Dake and his followers, tension with authority centered over the role of the Pentecost Bands as a home (and later foreign) missions organization operated independently of general church control. Robert Lee Harris and C. W. Sherman clashed with denominational leaders over the organization and governance of foreign missions. 54

Ingersol thoroughly documents a number of significant linkages between the Pentecost Band movement, these other figures, and the beginnings of the New Testament Church of Christ. A key link was The Yanguard publication which served for a time as the official organ of the Pentecost Bands (as previously noted) and also as the missions organ of the New Testament Church of Christ. The Mission Training work in St. Louis was part of the Yanguard ministry and was under the

Band workers to help there. Two of several key Pentecost Band figures in this network were Bessie and Susie Sherman, daughters of C. W. Sherman. Bessie was a Pentecost Band leader who went to India under the Bands in 1899. So Susie Sherman worked with the Yanguard ministry, was a Pentecost Band member and a charter member of the New Testament Church of Christ, and later a Yanguard missionary in Africa where she became the first wife of Free Methodist missionary 6. Harry Agnew (himself influenced by Dake) and died there in 1895. She was still a member of the New Testament Church of Christ at the time of her death, but was planning to become a Free Methodist.

Ingersol helpfully documents several of these interconnections in some detail and argues that much of the character of the New Testament Church of Christ, one of the antecedent bodies of the Church of the Nazarene, was shaped by this "radical Free Methodist" impulse, mediated through the Pentecost Bands. He sees this influence particularly in terms of the affirmation of leadership gifts of women.⁵⁸

2. <u>Support of foreign missionary work</u>. A second area of controversy concerned the sending of missionaries under Pentecost Band auspices to other lands and soliciting support for them within Free Methodism "at home." This was precisely the period when denominationally—sponsored Free Methodist missions were being developed, and Dake appeared to be in competition with the denominational program. Dake himself said, "At first I did not see missionary work connected with the band work. But as time went on, conviction began to settle on individual laborers, with reference to work in foreign lands. As they had stood by us on the home field we felt it our duty to stand by them in the foreign field." By 1891 Dake had sent Pentecost Bands to Africa, Norway, and Germany and was preparing to send them to India, Australia, and England. 60

Dake's view of foreign missions does tend to align him with the "Free Methodist radical alliance" that Ingersol describes. According to Nelson, Dake

... argued that Boards of necessity were slow and cumbersome and . . . there was a more expeditious mode of accomplishing the work. He interpreted the action of Paul and Barnabas, as recorded in the thirteenth chapter of Acts to be on this plan. He said when they felt the call

of God to do foreign missionary work, they did not go to Jerusalem to see the leaders, nor did they even write to an executive committee, but simply stated their convictions to those there assembled, who acknowledged the call of the Holy Ghost, ordained them and sent them out. Then they went trusting God for everything. This he thought to be the apostolic mode. He thought that the annual conferences were better acquainted with the qualifications and experiences of their own respective members than a Board, who perhaps had little personal knowledge of the one professing to be called.

Thus Dake's approach clashed philosophically to some degree with that of the denomination, and raised as well the always—sensitive issue of promotion and fund—raising. Former Free Methodist General Missionary Secretary Byron Lamson summarizes, "In 1890 Dake's bands were a powerful evangelizing agency at home, and a strong force abroad. As yet the denomination had no full—time secretary to promote foreign missions. To an outside observer, Dake might seem to be secretary of evangelism, missionary secretary and general superintendent, all in one package."62 The issue was further complicated by the denomination's prior experience with the independent mission venture of Robert Lee Harris and by the ideological and financial promotion of independent "faith" missions by the Yanguard and The Firebrand.

3. <u>Understanding of Holiness</u>. The third issue, the specific understanding of holiness, also involved the "radical alliance," including the <u>Yanguard</u> and <u>Firebrand</u> papers. Dake and others like him stressed "the death route" in experiencing entire sanctification. Of his own experience Dake says, "I discovered a love for place and position, and that I was not sanctified wholly. After an awful struggle and a death to carnal self, I came out into the blessed light of purity."⁶³ Necessary to obtain holiness, he said, are "First, light; second, conviction; third, confession; fourth, crucifixion; fifth, saving or appropriating faith."⁶⁴ Like many other Free Methodists, he criticized "popular holiness" that put such emphasis on faith that it neglected the necessity of crucifixion — facing up to the depths of sin and a total dying to self. Thus Pentecost Band worker Harmon Baldwin (later the author of <u>Holiness and the Human Element</u>) could write in his Band Journal, "Susie Falk was in trouble and seeking holiness. I was lead [sic] to give some of my

experience on that line. God touched me and the fire fell. Kate [his sister, also a Band worker] ran and praised the Lord. The old 'death route' is the Bible track. Amen."65

It was in part this focus, probably at times carried to an extreme, which increased the perception that the Pentecost Band movement was moving toward fanaticism. A. F. Curry probably had this tendency in mind when he wrote a brief article entitled "The Death Route" which appeared in the June 5, 1895, Free Methodist. Curry argued that all Christians die to sin and self in repentance and regeneration, and that the biblical path to holiness is "not death" but "the life route." He asked, "Do we not have to die to our carnal or animal appetites and passions? No. Let no one attempt it. Some have undertaken this way only to drift into fanaticism, if not into scandalous delusions. All you need is to be so 'strengthened with might by his Spirit in the inner man,' that you have complete control of appetite and passion." 66

Curry's mention of fanaticism likely is a reference to a particular interpretation of "Social Purity" which held that sexual union in marriage should be for procreation only ("marital purity"). This was an emphasis of a number of people in Free Methodism and in the holiness "radical alliance" of this period, including H. A. ("Auntie") Coon, by this time an elderly woman who was a holiness worker often used by the Pentecost Bands. Dake says that "Auntie Coon's faithful prayers and dealings were of great help to me in this critical hour" when he was seeking holiness.⁶⁷

The "marital purity" line was picked up for awhile by <u>Vanguard</u> and <u>Firebrand</u> writers. <u>The Vanguard</u> carried a regular "Social Purity" column reporting on the so-called national purity crusade. Ingersol notes, "<u>The Vanguard</u> ran Intermittent Items on social purity in the 1890s, and by 1901 had a regular column titled 'Purity & Heredity;' the views expressed, however, were often radical and included advocacy of 'marital purity,' or abstinence from sexual relations in marriage except for purposes of propagation." ⁶⁸ An editorial in the March, 1892, <u>Firebrand</u> also advocated this position but later that year the editor, C. S. Hanley, reported to his conference (West lowa, where he was listed as a conference evangelist),

I desire to be right before God. I have walked before God in humility and love, up to all the light as I have understood it. My life has not been without mistakes. I believe that through

lack of experience I have not always shown as much charity as I ought to to my brethren in matters as written up in the Fire-Brand. I do not and will not teach as a Bible doctrine sexual intercourse for procreation only, but as a blessed personal experience, and every man's privilege. I ask forgiveness for any and all lack of proper charity or respect. 69

The nature of the controversy and the constellation of issues are clear from the reports of the committees on publications that show up in the Conference Minutes at this period. The committee report to the 1892 Missouri Conference is representative:

We would strongly protest against the circulation of the <u>Yanquard</u> within the bounds of this conference. The policy of that paper on certain questions we believe to be subversive of the true interests of the Free Methodist Church. We emphatically protest against that paper setting aside or ignoring properly constituted authority in the support of independent or opposition band and Foreign Missionary movements. We regard its teaching on Social Purity as unsound. We also regret the trend of the <u>Fire-Brand</u> for the last few months. . . [and] the manner in which the so-called Social Purity question is written upon. . . . We cannot approve of the flings that are made at preachers and members of the Free Methodist Church, that do not agree with the <u>Fire-Brand</u> on the so-called "Death Route." ⁷⁰

This constellation of issues spelled increasing controversy for the Pentecost Bands just at the time that Dake disappeared from the scene and leadership fell into the hands of the less charismatic and perhaps less capable and more authoritarian Thomas Nelson. Both the 1890 and 1894 quadrennial Free Methodist General Conferences were urged to provide some regulation for the Bands. The 1890 General Conference adopted four guidelines:

- Chairmen of Districts, and Evangelists appointed by the General or Annual Conference, may organize Bands for evangelistic work; but no person shall become a member of such a Band without the recommendation of the Society to which he belongs.
- The rules and regulations of such Bands shall be subject to the approval of the Annual Conference to which the Leader belongs, or within the bounds of which he holds his membership.

- 3. No Evangelist or Band shall appoint or hold meetings where they will interfere with the regular work of any preacher duly appointed to a circuit, or station, or district.
- 4. Those who labor successfully in a Band for one year may be licensed by the Quarterly Conference from year to year as Band workers.⁷¹

The annual conferences affected by Band work subsequently adopted somewhat more restrictive "Band Rules" providing, among other things, that bands be known as "Free Methodist Bands," that they operate under the authority and supervision of the conference, and that they promote The Free Methodist paper. 72 Dake was left without appointment in 1891 by the Illinois Conference because he would not give assurance that he would operate strictly within the rules, feeling that they would restrict the commission God had given him. 73 With Dake's death a few months later the question of the Bands' relationship to the denomination devolved primarily upon Thomas Nelson, also a member of the Illinois Conference. The 1893 session of the conference carefully examined the question of Pentecost Band work in passing the character of Nelson and was sufficiently satisfied with his promise to confine his labors within the bounds of the conference "as much as possible" that they granted his request to be given the relation of conference evangelist and ordained him elder. 74 Apparently the conference did not insist on further restrictions on the Band work nor that they be called "Free Methodist Bands."

A year later the Illinois Conference adopted several resolutions concerning the Bands which were conciliatory in tone. It asked the General Conference meeting later that year to recognize the Bands "as an evangelistic movement which . . . should be tenderly cared for " and appoint Nelson as general leader for a term of four years (i.e., until the subsequent General Conference). This action was taken out of recognition that the Bands were a denomination—wide movement and needed more general coordination. Had the proposed action come to pass, the Pentecost Bands would have been established as an auxiliary, or a missions/evangelism sodality, within the denomination.

This conference action was in part a response to an acknowledgement by the Bands at their 1894 Harvest Home of some "unwise and independent methods" on their part.⁷⁷

A cooperative arrangement between the denomination and the Bands seemed to be in the making.

Nelson recommended to the General Missionary Board two young women from the Pentecost

training school in St. Louis as suitable candidates for mission work in India, and Sivert and Lillian Ulness, originally sent to Norway under the Bands, applied to and were accepted by the mission board. 78

The action proposed by the Illinois Conference was considered but not adopted, however, by the 1894 General Conference. The conference approved an irenic but rather general statement reaffirming the regulations of 1890, but took no further action. This was to throw the issue back to the annual conferences; yet, as the Illinois Conference had recognized, the Bands were now a denomination—wide movement and could not adequately be dealt with at the conference level. In a sense, this General Conference decision was the critical action, for here the denomination missed the chance to recognize the Bands as a movement and make provision for the movement in its structure.

The result was that the Bands would soon become an independent organization. Hogue says only that the General Conference action "was unacceptable to Mr. Nelson" and his followers, and that the Bands therefore "decided to withdraw from" the denomination. The fact appears to be that the ____ church missed its opportunity to provide an official and workable denomination—wide linkage for a denomination—wide movement. From this perspective the loss of the Pentecost Bands to the denomination was less a matter of hostility and opposition and more a failure of foresight and structure. On the other hand, hostility to the Bands in some sectors of the church probably undermined the constructive steps proposed by the Illinois Conference.

INDEPENDENCE AND DIFFUSION, 1895-1958

The Pentecost Bands withdrew from the Free Methodist Church a few months later, in February, 1895.⁸² In April, 1894, the Bands began their own newspaper, <u>The Pentecost</u>

<u>Herald</u>⁸³ (initially published monthly) because <u>The Vanquard</u> declared its independence from the Free Methodist Church.⁸⁴ The paper was at first published at Uniontown, Pennsylvania, with Thomas Nelson listed as editor and Mary Weems Chapman (assistant leader of Band No. 3) as office editor and business manager.⁸⁵ In the first issue Nelson or Chapman explains the reason for the new paper:

We have been associated with the Yanguard for a number of years, and in representing our evangelistic work through its columns, we have endeavored to help bless the world. It being personal property over which we had no control, and its managers having formed new church relations, and adopted a course we cannot sanction, we sever our relations to it with the kindest feelings, and send out this little messenger with fervent prayer that it may prove worthy of its name, in proclaiming liberty to the captives.⁸⁶

In the same issue Mary Weems Chapman encapsulates much of the Bands theology at this time with the Moody-esque comment, "This world is like a wrecked vessel. A few more revolutions and time will be no more. Our one business is to get as many precious souls off the wreck as possible before it goes down. We have no time to spend fighting each other's methods, we must haste to the rescue or lost souls."87

Ten months later the Pentecost Bands formally left the Free Methodist Church by publishing a statement headed "Withdrawn" in the <u>Pentecost Herald</u>. The statement was signed by fifty-eight Band members, indicating that around sixty or seventy percent of the workers opted to stay with the Bands and leave the denomination while a number of others, including the Shelhamers and Harmon Baldwin, stayed in the denomination and left the Bands.⁸⁸ The rationale given highlighted the issues:

In consideration of the growing opposition on the part of the Free Methodist Church generally, to the teachings, the mode of operation, and distinctive nature of the Pentecost Bands; and in consideration of the fact that we cannot fulfill our promise made last Fall to harmonize with the Church without forfeiting the divine favor by changing our views on the conditions of receiving the experience of holiness, by disorganizing the Bands and abandoning what we feel to be a heaven-born evangelism, we have decided to quietly withdraw from the Free Methodist Church.⁸⁹

From this point on, then, the Pentecost Bands were an independent organization and began establishing their own churches. With time the group became primarily a foreign missions society with a gradually declining home base of congregations in the Midwest. The name was changed to Missionary Bands of the World, Incorporated, in 1925 and under that name the

organization finally united with the Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1958.90 The picture is clearly one of declining energy once the Bands were a totally independent organization.

The Pentecost Bands were especially active in western Pennsylvania in 1893, 1894, and 1895 under the direction of E. E. Shelhamer, Harmon Baldwin, and others, just as the question of the Bands' relationship to the denomination was becoming critical. The 1894 Harvest Home camp meeting was held at Uniontown, south of Pittsburgh, instead of in Illinois or Iowa. A remarkable months—long revival had been conducted at Fairchance, in 1893. A Free Methodist congregation was organized there in February and about fifty were baptized in April, C. W. Sherman officiating. 91 Several young women converts from these meetings soon became Pentecost Band workers. In January of 1894 Band workers began a revival campaign at Cove Run, in the same area, which also proved successful.

After the General Conference of 1894 and the withdrawal of the Pentecost Bands from the denomination in early 1895, some of these new works were faced with the question of loyalty and identity: Free Methodist or Pentecost Band? The issue came into sharp focus at Cove Run. The 1932 <u>History of the Pittsburgh Conference</u> gives this account:

The question now was raised in the Cove Run society as to which relation they would sustain. At this time T. R. Wayne [former Pentecost Band worker] was in charge of this point, associated with another. The time appointed to settle this vital question was a thrilling occasion for the young society. There was a strong pull in both directions. Practically all the workers most interested in the first revival [1894] had remained with the church, but they felt a deep sympathy for the bands. D. B. Tobey was the district elder. At the day appointed Mr. Nelson came. Mr. Tobey and Mr. Wayne were also present. The church was packed, and it seemed that the sentiment was about equally divided. After the matter was discussed pro and con, Mr. Nelson leaped about four feet in the air, and declared, "If you remain in the Free Methodist Church, in less than a year you will be deader than a hitching post." They despised death, and perhaps it was difficult for some of them to determine whether Mr. Nelson's physical manifestation was a radical gesture emphasizing his position, or a spiritual demonstration. The vote was taken and the majority decided to remain with the Bands. Mr.

Tobey and Mr. Wayne arose and with hats in hand joined arms and marched down the aisle and out of the church, singing a hymn as they went. The young society was confused and rather nonplussed when they realized that they had voted themselves out of the church, and their real leaders out of their numbers and from their leadership. After more deliberte consideration, they sent for the pastor and elder, reconsidered the matter and voted almost unanimously to retain their relation in the Free Methodist Church. 92

Most of the new converts and congregations, and in fact many of the Band workers, elected to remain with the Free Methodist Church rather than continue with the Bands. Baldwin became a leader in the Pittsburgh Conference where he continued to use the evangelistic band approach; Shelhamer went south, opening up Free Methodist work in Georgia and Florida. Other Band workers, both men and women, became pastors in the conference.

What happened, then, to the energy that had been evident in and generated by the Pentecost Bands? The story seems to be one of diffusion in several directions — primarily four.

- 1. Obviously a major part of the energy continued on in the Pentecost Bands and Missionary Bands of the World, though in a diminished sense. The Bands continued to attract and deploy missionaries and to maintain their adherence to radical holiness as they understood it. But much of the original dynamism was gone.
- 2. A significant part of the energy of the movement remained within the denomination, as suggested above, despite the formal break. Former Band workers served the church as pastors (both men and women), evangelists, pastors' wives, church planters, foreign missionaries, or as local church workers. This legacy lives on in a substantial number of present—day Free Methodists, including conference and denominational leaders, whose grandparents or great—grandparents were in the Bands. 93
- 3. Some part of the Bands impulse went with E. E. and Minnie Shelhamer when they and a few others moved to Atlanta and started new ministries there. 94 To a degree, the Shelhamers continued the ministry and some of the methods of Vivian Dake, working both within and beyond the denominational context. E. E. Shelhamer for many years had a wide-ranging interdenominational evangelistic ministry. Shelhamer and his second wife Julia were associated with God's Bible

School in Cincinnati for a time; he made the school his headquarters from 1930 until his death in 1947 and wrote frequently for <u>God's Revivalist</u>. Julia Shelhamer and her sister later began an inner-city ministry among blacks in Washington, D. C.

4. A part of the Bands impulse was diffused more broadly into the church as the Yanguard and Firebrand ministries also severed ties with the Free Methodist Church during this same period. As the so-called "radical alliance" broke up, some part of the Pentecost Band impulse was channeled into the New Testament Church of Christ, and thus indirectly into the Church of the Nazarene, as Ingersol has shown.

It does not appear that any significant number of Band workers ended up in the later

Pentecostal Movement. Despite the use of the term "Pentecost," the Pentecost Bands seem to have been more christologically than pneumatologically focused. Their emphasis on radical commitment and crucifixion seem to have made them resistant to Pentecostal appeals despite some obvious affinities, particularly in demonstrative worship styles.

One or two workers connected with the Vanguard work became Pentecostal. Also, the first issue of The Apostolic Faith paper, September, 1906, issued from the Azusa Street revival, reports on page one that "During a meeting in Monrovia, a preacher who at one time had been used of God in the Pentecost Bands under Yivian Dake, but had cooled off, was reclaimed, sanctified, and filled with the Holy Spirit"; his eight-year-old son was similarly baptized with the Spirit and sang in tongues. 95 Unfortunately the man's name is not given. So far as I can trace, no other Pentecost Band workers were involved in the Azusa Street Revival. At least one Free Methodist, Rachel Sizelove (and perhaps her husband, Joseph) was at Azusa Street, was baptized with the Spirit and spoke in tongues, but the Sizeloves do not seem to have had any linkages with the Pentecost Bands. 96

The Bands made at least two attempts to unite with other bodies. One attempt in the 1930s involved the Church of God (Holiness), a small restorationist holiness group in Missouri and Kansas with which C. W. Sherman had united about 1897.⁹⁷ The two groups took steps toward merger but opposition developed within the Bands after some initial commitments had been made and the Church of God had approved merger at its convention.⁹⁸ The Wesleyan Methodist

denominational history reports, "From 1932 to 1940 an alliance... was formed [by the Bands] with the Church of God (Holiness), but this broke apart over apparent differences in the concept of church membership and attitudes toward other church bodies." Clearly merger was intended but never consummated. Apparently this period of association resulted in some Band workers transferring from the Bands to the Church of God (Holiness).

A second attempt occurred in the 1950s when the Bands expressed some interest in reuniting with the Free Methodist Church. A letter was written to one of the Free Methodist bishops inquiring whether the Free Methodists would be interested in such a union. When after a long time the Bands received no response from the denomination, they entered into negotiations with the Wesleyan Methodists. The Free Methodist bishop later remembered the letter and contacted the Bands, but by then the union with the Wesleyan Methodists was nearly finalized. 101

The Pentecost Bands / Missionary Bands of the World reportedly had sixteen congregations in the U.S. in 1906, eleven in 1926, six in 1936, and eleven in 1954. Membership declined from 487 in 1906 to 241 in 1926 and 236 in 1954. When the Bands merged into the Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1958, their remaining overseas work also became a part of the Wesleyan Methodist denomination. 102

SOME MISSIOLOGICAL ISSUES

In conclusion, we may briefly address a few missiological issues.

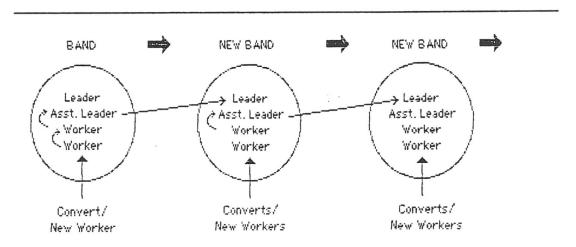
Questions of Structure. The Pentecost Bands from 1885 to 1895 functioned informally as a mission sodality within the Free Methodist Church. The Bands were loosely but fairly effectively structured through Yivian Dake's leadership. He traveled from place to place, visiting Bands and preaching in meetings the various Bands were conducting. A key to the structure and vitality of the movement was the annual Harvest Home camp meetings, which were spiritual high points and also times of organization and planning. Another organizational feature was the end-of-year Ingatherings, held regionally or divisionally. There were Band rules, and Bands usually had their own mottos, such as "Only for Souls" or "Holiness to the Lord." One member of each Band kept a secretary book or journal.

Structurally the Bands were quite similar to early Methodism, and Dake's position within the denomination much like that of Wesley within the Church of England, though of course on a much smaller scale numerically (if not geographically).

As was true of early Methodism, the Bands functioned within the denomination something like an order within the Roman Catholic Church — and might have continued to do so had an organizational tie with the denomination been formalized. Viewing the Bands as an order, one could say that the vows of poverty and obedience were in operation, and while the Bands did not advocate celibacy, the popularity in some areas of the so-called "marital purity" teaching, and the fact that most of the Bands were made up of single men or single women operating in sexually-segregated Bands, suggest at least some similarities also in this area. In these respects the Bands were also quite similar to the early Moravians. 103

Vivian Dake worked out an ingeniously simple and flexible band structure capable of rapid expansion. As we have seen, Dake had given careful thought to Band organization for some time before the venture was launched in 1885. 104 Normally each band consisted of four persons (all men or all women, if unmarried, or a married couple and one or two single workers) but the composition of a band might change suddenly as new workers were added, bands were reorganized, or a worker died (as happened not infrequently in the case of the bands sent overseas).

An assistant leader was in effect an apprentice who might become the leader of the same or a new band. Thus the movement initially expanded rapidly more or less on the following model:



The Pentecost Bands as a Model of Small-Group Evangelism, Discipling, and Mission

The Free Methodist Church found it difficult to be tolerant of or work out an effective arrangement with the Pentecost Bands due, I think, partly to the denomination's small size and the struggles it was then having itself as a relatively new movement. The denomination was only twenty—five years old when Dake started the Bands in 1885 and was still having its own struggles with structure, self—definition, pastoral support, the establishing of educational institutions, and similar issues. Still, both L. R. Marston and Byron Lamson, writing around 1960, considered it highly unfortunate for Free Methodism that the zeal and aggressive evangelizing impulse of the Bands were lost to the denomination. From his perspective as General Missionary Secretary for many years Lamson wrote concerning the loss of the Pentecost Bands:

The rate of church growth suffered a drastic moderation from this time. To the present day, Free Methodism does not have the early evangelistic drive, the sense of mission, the sacrifical concern for saving the lost world that characterized the founders of the movement and that was incarnate in Vivian Dake. In correcting errors and regulating the fiery zeal of youthful Band workers, the church itself seemed to somehow lose its "first love" for the lost world. 105

And Bishop Marston commented, "A more moderate course might have conserved to Free Methodism the zeal of this movement which had been fruitful in brinnging a considerable harvest into the church." 106

In any case, the Pentecost Bands were in effect a "lay" evangelizing, church-planting order, a sodality structure within a denomination which in some ways was itself still structured somewhat like a sodality; a form of ecclesiola within the ecclesia. 107

The Ministry of All Believers. Clearly the Pentecost Bands provided expanded ministry opportunities for young Christians beyond what was available in the denominational structure and in most local churches. This was part of the reason for their formation, as we have seen. The Bands were essentially a "lay" movement; most of the workers initially had no formal training or ordination.

The rise of the Bands illustrates, I think, a structural problem of Free Methodism at that time. For the most part, Free Methodists did not consciously stress the ministry of all believers or the

gifts of the Spirit, though B. T. Roberts did say some fairly progressive things along this line. The Free Methodist Church largely took over the ecclesiastical structure of the Methodist Church, including the clergy dominance that by that time had developed. Significantly, the Free Methodist Church did provide for equal "ministerial" and "lay" representation in denominational decision—making bodies, largely in reaction to the way Roberts and other pastors had been treated by the dominant group of clergy in the Genesee Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Reports in Free Methodist annual conferences repeatedly complained about the lack of adequate support for pastors. One senses the heavy burdens and hard work that were the lot of most Free Methodist preachers during this time. There was virtually no call, however, for an expanded understanding of ministry. One notes concerns and complaints about the decline of the class meeting; it seems clear that the class meeting structure was not vital at this time and that class leaders had nothing like the pastoral role which they had in early Methodism. In this sense, the Pentecost Bands may be viewed as an attempt to correct an ecclesiological and structural weakness within the denomination.

Evangelism and Church Growth. The Pentecost Bands added a significant number of new congregations to the denomination. Dake wrote in 1891, "During the past year we have given the Illinois conference one new society, the Central Illinois, five new societies, with one church dedicated and three under process of erection; the Wabash conference, five new societies with three churches dedicated and one under way These are all dedicated to the church and the societies handed over to the respective conferences." 108 It would appear that the Bands were responsible for starting within a ten-year span something over one hundred new churches, not all of which survivied. An accurate assessment here, however, would require careful comparison between annual conference appointments and statistics year by year and the records of specific places where the Bands conducted meetings. It seems clear to me that the Pentecost Bands were a more significant factor in the growth of the denomination prior to 1900 than is generally recognized.

Over all, the Pentecost Bands provide a fascinating picture of a new movement arising within a relatively young and small denomination, and an interesting angle on issues of holiness theology, practice, annul mission in the late nineteenth century.

NOTES

1 Ida Dake Parsons, <u>Kindling Watch-Fires Being a Brief Sketch of the Life of Rev. Vivian A.</u> Dake (Chicago: Free Methodist Publishing House, 1915), 77.

²Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., <u>A Critical Period in American Religion: 1875–1900</u> (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967).

³Josiah Strong, <u>Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis</u>, rev. ed. (New York: Baker and Taylor, 1900). First published in 1885.

4Arthur M. Schlesinger, [Sr.,] <u>The Rise of the City 1878-1898</u> (New York: Macmillan, 1933), 57.

5William Warren Sweet, <u>The Story of Religion in America</u> (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1930, 1939), 526.

6Schlesinger, <u>A Critical Period</u>..., 32. Free Methodists during this period did have a number of city churches and started rescue missions or other urban ministries in Pittsburgh, Chicago, and other cities.

⁷The significance of the railroads in the work of the Bands can be seen by examining the 1890 map of Illinois included at the end of this paper.

8Charles Jones includes the Pentecost Bands among several primarily rural holiness evangelistic associations that grew up during the latter part of the nineteenth century. He notes that there were also "several groups specializing in urban evangelism" in the 1880s and 1890s, though "rural evangelists usually steered clear of cities" (Charles E. Jones, Perfectionist Persuasion: The Holiness Movement and American Methodism, 1867–1936 [Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1974], 69). The Pentecost Bands did have some urban links; most notably with the Vanguard Mission in St. Louis and with Free Methodists in Chicago, where The Free Methodist magazine was then being published.

⁹<u>Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Free Methodist Church</u> (Chicago: Free Methodist Publishing House, 1901), 252; Wilson T. Hogue, <u>History of the Free Methodist Church of North America</u>, 2 vols. (Chicago: Free Methodist Publishing House, 1915), 2:182, 189.

10Leslie R. Marston, <u>From Age to Age A Living Witness: A Historical Interpretation of Free Methodism's First Century</u> (Winona Lake, IN: Light and Life Press, 1960), 438.

11Some sense of Free Methodism's position within the late nineteenth-century Holiness Movement can be gained from Charles B. Jernigan's <u>Pioneer Days of The Holiness Movement in the Southwest</u> (Bethany, OK: Arnett Publishing Company, 1964). Speaking primarily of Texas and the organization of the Free Methodist Church there beginning in 1879, Jernigan says, "The Free Methodist church has bee an important factor in conserving the work of holiness in the Southwest, as it was the first church on the field that stood out clearly for the doctrine of holiness as a second

definite work of grace." He continues, "The lives of her people are clean and holy. Her preachers are a set of the most self-sacrificing men annd women that we know. . . . Her doctrines are in perfect keeping with the great holiness movement, and her teachings are safe, and she was originally intended for the church home for the oppressed and despised holiness people, who were not welcomed in other churches on account of the 'second blessing' for which they stood; and had it not been for their strenuous objections to instrumental music in public worship, and a few other things of minor importance, the great holiness movement would have found a shelter in her folds by the thousands, but after thirty-five years there are less than that number of Free Methodist churches in Texas" (86). The "few other things" concerned dress, especially; "talking against cravats, rag roses, and other externals" (99).

12"Radical Holiness," <u>The Free Methodist</u> (October 3, 1894), 6. See also J. B. Chapman, "Radical Holiness," <u>God's Revivalist and Bible Advocate</u>, 42:29 (July 17, 1930), 1.

13Parsons, <u>Kindling Watch-Fires</u>..., 18. The chief biographical sources on Dake are this book by his widow and Thomas H. Nelson, <u>Life and Labors of Rev. Vivian A. Dake, Organizer and Leader of Pentecost Bands</u> (Chicago: T. B. Arnold, 1894).

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14Parsons, 20.
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15Nelson, 23.

¹⁶Nelson, 21.

17 Parsons, 25.

18 Parsons, 20; Nelson, 20.

19Parsons, 31.

20 Parsons, 26.

21 Parsons, 34.

22Parsons, 35. T. B. Arnold was the denominational publishing agent, a close older friend of Dake, and a key figure in the denomination at this time.

²³Byron S. Lamson, <u>Venture! The Frontiers of Free Methodism</u> (Winona Lake: Light and Life Press, 1960), 129–30.

24E. Davies, <u>The Bishop of Africa; or the Life of William Taylor, D. D.</u> (Reading, MA: Hollness Book Concern, 1885), 57–63, gives a summary of Taylor's principles; see William Taylor, <u>Story of My Life</u> (New York: Hunt and Eaton, 1895), 613–18.

25parsons, 92-93.

26parsons, 211.

27 Jones, 55.

²⁸Davies, 56.

²⁹Parsons, 36. Thus for Dake the term "Pentecost" connoted evangelism and revival more than it did specifically a "Pentecostal" baptism in the Spirit.

30 Nelson, 73.

31Nelson, 102. See the manuscript journal, "North Parma Pentecost Band" (Marston Historical Center, Free Methodist Headquarters, Indianapolis, IN) which begins with a sort of constitution for the Bands and includes the initial minutes of the official board of the Parma Free Methodist circuit. The cover bears the signature of Vivian A. Dake and (in a different hand) the words "Organized Nov. 25, 1885," which perhaps refer to the date of the organization of the Free Methodist society (or may erroneously refer to the date the first Pentecost Band was organized, which was July 25).

32Bertha B. Smith and Julia A. Shelhamer, <u>A Remarkable Woman: The Life of Mrs. Minnie B. Shelhamer</u> (Atlanta, GA: The Repairer [n.d.]), 26–28. Original edition: Bertha B. Smith, <u>A Brief Sketch of a Remarkable Life, The Life of Mrs. Minnie B. Shelhamer</u> (Atlanta: The Repairer, 1903).

33Nelson, 87.

34Nelson, 80. At this time the Salvation Army was five years old in the United States.

35Nelson, 80.

36Nelson lists Band No. 34 as active in 1892 (p. 309), though it is not clear that all thirty-four bands were in operation at the same time. The first issue of The Pentecost Herald (April, 1894) lists thirty-three active bands. Of thirty-three bands I have been able to identify, twenty were female, ten were male, and three were mixed, involving married couples. Of 208 names of band members I have identified as active in the 1880s and 1890s, 128 are female and eighty are male, a ratio of abut 62% to 38%.

370ften, it appears, there were more converts than the number that became Free Methodist church members. Converts were not always willing to take the narrow way as defined by the Free Methodists.

38Gertrude Hill Nystrom, "Mama Married Me" (N.p.: 1946; mimeo MS, 88 pp.,1966), 5, 17. This manuscript was serialized in <u>Sunday</u> magazine, May 1946 – January, 1947.

³⁹Edwin Munsell Bliss, ed., <u>The Encyclopedia of Missions</u>, 2 vols. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1891), 2:214–15.

40 Minutes, 1891, 99 (Michigan Conference resolution).

410n Harmon Baldwin and Minne Baldwin Shelhamer (who do not seem to have been siblings; the sources give different sets of parents), see below; Nystrom, "Mama Married Me."

42 Nelson, 52.

43 Minutes, 1893, 98.

44Information supplied this writer by Esther Shelhamer James, April, 1990, based on conversations with her father, E. E. Shelhamer.

45Hogue, 2:190-96.

46Dake said his policy was "to go upon no circuit unless the pastor and official board desire us to come. We have been at work largely upon new ground." Nelson, 470.

47 Nelson, 469.

48See the description of the 1890 and 1891 Harvest Home camp meetings in Parsons, 40-42 and 48-52.

49Quoted in Parsons, 49, and in Nelson, 299-300.

published a number of influential books including <u>Touching Incidents and Remarkable Answers to Prayer</u>, which went through several editions and was distributed by the Pentecost Bands; <u>God's Financial Plan or Temporal Prosperity the Result of Faithful Stewardship</u> (Grand Rapids, MI: S. B. Shaw, 1897); and <u>The Great Revival in Wales Also an Account of the Great Revival in Ireland in 1859</u> (Chicago: S. B. Shaw, 1905) which is credited with helping to spark the Azusa Street Revival and had a direct impact on Frank Bartleman. See Vinson Synan, <u>The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States</u> (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), 97; Richard M. Riss, <u>A Survey of 20th-Century Revival Movements in the United States</u> (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1988), 50; Frank Bartleman, <u>Azusa Street</u> [1925] (South Plainfield, NJ: Bridge Publishing, 1980), 11. In his preface to <u>The Great Revival in Wales</u> (which is mainly a compilation of first-hand and press accounts) Shaw speaks of the prayer and expectation "for a worldwide revival of pentecostal power and glory."

51Robert Stanley Ingersol, "Burden of Dissent: Mary Lee Cagle and the Southern Holiness Movement." Unpublished Dissertation, Duke University, 1989, 79.

52Ingersol, 79. See E. E. Shelhamer, <u>Popular and Radical Holiness Contrasted</u>, 2nd ed., rev. (Atlanta, The Repairer, 1906), 159 pp. The first edition of 10,000 copies was entitled <u>Bible</u> Standard of Regeneration and <u>Holiness</u>.

53 ingersol, 80.

54ingersol, 80-81.

55Bliss, 2:214. Mrs. C. W. (Bessie Abrams) Sherman was the sister of Anna Abrams who was also part of the Yanguard work in St. Louis. See Ingersol, 261.

56Ingersol, 125; manuscript journal of Pentecost Band No. 2 in India, August 23, 1899 – August 13, 1905, a copy of which is in the Marston Historical Center, Free Methodist Headquarters, Indianapolis, Indiana.

57|Ingersol, 125, 127, 132-33, 135, 158; Lamson, 257; Wilson T. Hogue, <u>G. Harry Agnew A Pioneer Missionary</u> (Chicago: Free Methodist Publishing House, 1905), 190-97.

580n the New Testament Church of Christ see, in addition to Ingersol, Timothy L. Smith, <u>Called Unto Holiness: The Story of the Nazarenes: The Formative Years</u> (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1962), especially 153–59, 168–71; Jernigan, <u>Pioneer Days</u>..., 89, 116–17.

59Nelson, 469.

60Bliss, 2:214.

61 Nelson, 53.

62_{Lamson}, 133.

63Nelson, 468.

64 Parsons, 176.

65_{Harmon} Baldwin, Manuscript Pentecost Band Journal, July 23, 1892 – October 19, 1894, pp. 14–15 (August 24, 1892). Photocopy in the Marston Historical Center, Free Methodist Headquarters, Indianapolis, Indiana. See H. A. Baldwin, <u>Holiness and the Human Element</u> (Louisville, KY: Pentecostal Publishing Company, 1919).

66A. F. Curry, "The Death Route," The Free Methodist (June 5, 1895), 3.

67parsons, 38. See E. E. Shelhamer, ed., <u>Life and Labors of Auntie Coon</u> (Atlanta: Repairer Office, 1905). Coon was born in 1829 (like Dake, on February 9). Her experience, including her virtually forced marriage at a young age, makes an illuminating psychological and spiritual study regarding the "marital purity" question. In 1902 she went to Atlanta and was associated thereafter with E. E. Shelhamer and is at least one source of Shelhamer's own teachings along this line. In the book she gives her own account of Dake and the origin of the Bands. The first issue of The Pentecost Herald (April, 1894) called Auntie Coon "the mother of the Pentecost Bands."

68 Ingersol, 224.

69Report of Committee on Ministerial Relations, West Iowa Conference. Minutes, 1892, 39. The Firebrand was published at Shenandoah, in southwest Iowa just north of the Missouri border. J. W. Dake, Yivian's father, was for a time associated with The Firebrand.

70 Minutes, 1892, 52.

71 Hoque, History of the Free Methodist Church, 2:194-95.

72See, for example, the rules adopted by the Illinois Conference, Minutes, 1891, 54.

73Report of Ministerial Relations Committee, Illinois Conference, Minutes, 1891, 54–55.

74<u>Minutes</u>, 1893, 98-99.

75_{Minutes}, 1894, 76-77.

76The committee report noted that "there are some eighty or ninety workers composing the Pentecost Bands, and less than fifteen of these workers have a membership within the bounds of this conference, but are distributed throughout the conferences and States." Minutes, 1894, 77.

77 Minutes, 1894, 76.

78"Proceedings of the Annual Meetings," Minutes, 1894, 188.

79 Hogue, History of the Free Methodist Church, 2:197-99.

80 Hogue, <u>History of the Free Methodist Church</u>, 2:199.

810n the importance of such linkages in renewal movements, see Howard A. Snyder, <u>Signs of the Spirit</u>: <u>How God Reshapes the Church</u> (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1989), 277–78.

82<u>Discipline of the Missionary Bands of the World</u> (Indianapolis: General and Editorial Offices [of the Missionary Bands of the World], 1943), 13.

83The name of the paper was changed to <u>The Herald of Light</u> in 1905, then toward the end of 1912 to <u>The Ram's Horn</u>; then back to <u>The Herald of Light</u> in 1915. From February, 1923, on it was called <u>The Herald of Light and Zion's Watchman</u>; it ceased publication with the August, 1958, issue. See Ira F. McLeister and Roy S. Nicholson, <u>Conscience and Commitment: the History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church</u>, 4th ed. rev. (Marion, IN: Wesley Press, 1976), 243.

84Harmon Baldwin noted in his Journal, March 7, 1894, "On my way to Scottdale stopped in Uniontown and had a talk with Sr. Nelson in regard to the way the Yanguard has acted in with—drawing from the church. I greatly fear the consequences of their action not on the church but on themselves. They did not need to do so. Think we will have to withdraw from them if we keep clear" (Baldwin, 144).

85Mary Weems Chapman was a key figure during this period. She was an early member of the New Testament Church of Christ; a Pentecost Band and Vanguard missionary to Liberia; and later, in 1898, was elected the first editor of the FM women's missionary magazine, The Missionary Tidings. See Ingersol, 93, 160, 191; Bliss, 2:214; Hogue, History of the Free Methodist Church, 2:253.

86<u>The Pentecost Herald</u>, 1:1 (April, 1894), 2.

87lbid. Compare William Booth's testimony just five years earlier: "I felt like a man on a rock-bound coast strewed with wrecks on which the struggling mariners, unless rescued from the shore, were certain to go down beneath the raging surf. Their temporary comfort or discomfort was as nothing compared with the business of their rescue. To get them safe on to the beach was the first matter which absorbed all the powers of my being, and I do not know that I have since seen reason to modify in any way this view of the necessities of man and the highest service that can be rendered him." He continues, "But as time wore on, the earthly miseries connected with the condition of the people, began to force themselves more particularly on my notice." He came to the conclusion that he "had two gospels of deliverance to preach—one for each world. Or rather, one gospel which applied alike to both. I saw that when the Bible said, 'He that believeth shall be saved,' it meant not only saved from the miseries of the future world, but from the miseries of this also." "Christ," he concluded, "is the Deliverer for time as truly as for eternity." William Booth, "Salvation for Both Worlds," All the World, 5:1 (January, 1889), 1-2.

88The <u>Pentecust Herald</u> published a list of Band workers in each issue. Ninety-four were listed in the first issue, in 1894; 85 in issue 1:10 (a month before withdrawal); 91 in 1:11, the issue with the withdrawal statement; and 72 the next month. Presumably more withdraw than the 58 who signed the statement.

89"Withdrawn," The Pentecost Herald, 1:11 (February, 1895), 2.

90McLeister and Nicholson, 242-43. Another group which merged with the Wesleyan Methodists (1948) was the Hephzibah Faith Missionary Association, whose formation in 1892 was sparked in part by the influence of Vivian Dake and early Pentecost Band workers. Ibid., 224-25; Jones, 66-67.

91Arthur D. Zahniser and John B. Easton, <u>History of the Pittsburgh Conference of the Free Methodist Church</u> (Chicago: Free Methodist Publishing House, 1932), 164–66. Harmon Baldwin gives many details of this work in his manuscript journal.

92Zahniser and Easton, 168-70.

93At least two Free Methodist bishops and a number of pastors, educators, and other leaders have been descendants of Band workers. In at least one case, a great-granddaughter of a Pentecost Band worker is now a part of Youth with a Mission (YWAM), one of the largest deployers of

missionaries today and an organization with several structural similarities to the Pentecost Bands. Vivian Dake's grandchildren include Dr. Bruce Kline, General Secretary for Higher Education and the Ministry for the denomination, and Dr. Frank Kline, now retired, who served as a Free Methodist missionary to India and as a professor at Seattle Pacific University.

94See Smith and Shelhamer, <u>A Remarkable Woman</u>, and E. E. Shelhamer's autobiography, <u>The Ups and Downs of a Pioneer Preacher</u> (Atlanta: Repairer Publishing Company, 1915), republished with some revisions as <u>Sixty Years of Thorns and Roses</u> (Cincinnati: God's Bible School and Missionary Training Home, n.d.; reprinted in 1969) and after his death reissued by his widow with some additional material as <u>A Spartan Evangel</u>: <u>Life Story of E. E. Shelhamer</u> (Winona Lake, IN: Light and Life Press, 1951). Shelhamer relates his early Band work but does not mention the Bands by name. <u>A Spartan Evangel</u> contains tributes to Shelhamer by Paul S. Rees and a number of others.

95 The Apostolic Faith, 1:1 (September, 1906), 1.

96Fred T. Corum and Hazel E. Bakewell, <u>The Sparkling Fountain</u> (Windsor, OH: Corum & Associates, 1983); C. E. Jones, "Sizelove, Rachel Artamissie," in Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee, eds., <u>Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements</u> (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988), 789; Hogue, <u>History of the Free Methodist Church</u>, 2:103. Sizelove, originally from Indiana, is credited with introducing Pentecostalism to Springfield, Missouri.

97Ingersol, 159. On the Church of God (Holiness), see Smith, <u>Called Unto Holiness</u>, 29-30; Jones, <u>Perfectionist Persuasion</u>, 58.

98Maude Kahl, <u>His Guiding Hand</u> (Overland Park, KS: Herald and Banner Press, 1970), 140, 185.

99McLeister and Nicholson, 243.

100Kahl, 185, 198.

101Personal correspondence between two of Dake's grandchildren, December 10, 1979.

102 Jones, <u>Perfectionist Persuasion</u>, 209–213; "Missionary Bands of the World, Inc.," typed sheet, part of L. R. Marston's file in his research for <u>From Age to Age A Living Witness</u>. Marston Historical Center, Free Methodist Headquarters, Indianapolis, Indiana. See Elmer T. Clark, <u>The Small Sects in America</u>, rev. ed. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1965), 77.

103For further discussion of these issues, though not with reference to the Pentecost Bands, see Snyder, <u>Signs of the Spirit</u>, especially chapter two.

104The best sources on Pentecost Band organization are the article "Pentecost Bands" in Bliss, 2:214–15, and the handwritten "North Parma Pentecost Band" journal or notebook, 1885, cited above.

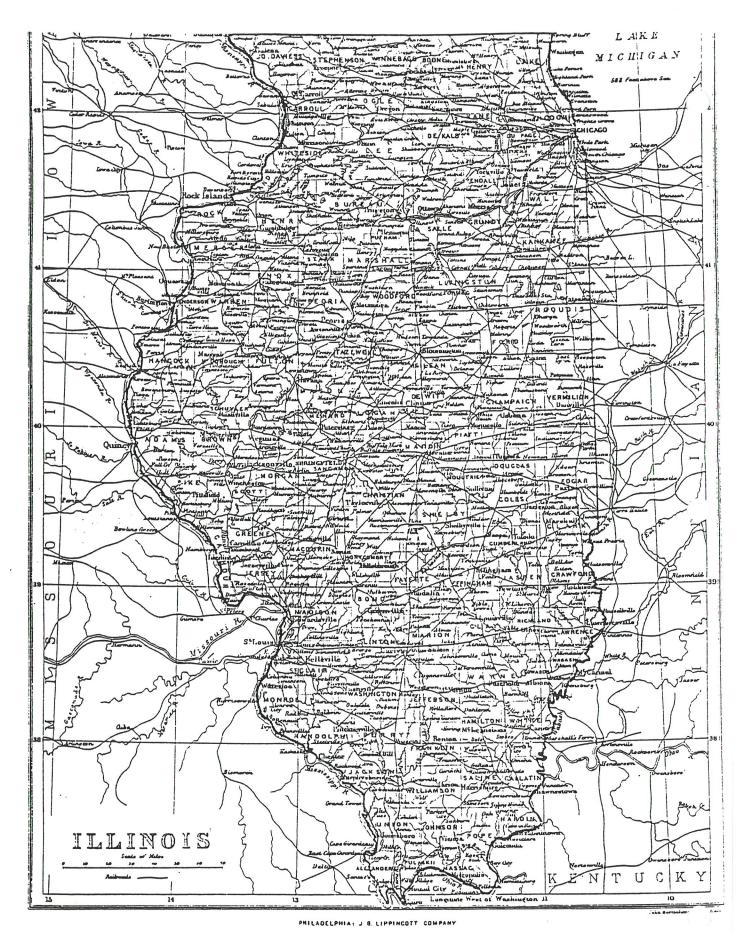
105_{Lamson}, 135.

106Marston, 435.

107T. Joe Culumber, "The Pentecost Bands: A Mission Sodality in Early Free Methodism" (Doctor of Ministry Research Paper, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1977, 55 pp.); Snyder, chapter two. One could also apply other ":nterpretive frameworks" to the Bands, such as revivalism theories, anthropologist Anthony Wallace's revitalization approach, and the Anabaptist

typology, all discussed in <u>Signs of the Spirit</u>. That the movement was becoming "a church within the church" was a key criticism leveled at the Bands.

108Nelson, 470.



Chambers's Encyclopedia: A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge, new ed. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1895. 7:78ab. (Map: 1890.)

Appendix: Partial List of Pentecost Band Workers

The following pages contain a list of 240 men and women who were active in the Pentecost Bands / Missionary Bands of the World between 1885 and about 1940. Mostly the list covers the early period, 1885–1900. The primary sources for the list are the two Dake biographies (Nelson, Parsons), issues of <u>The Pentecost Herald</u>, the two histories of the Pittsburgh Conference of the FM Church (Zahniser and Easton, 1932; Canon, Cowsert, and Page, 1983), and Harmon Baldwin's manuscript journal. But many other sources, including correspondence and personal conversations, are represented.

The list is not complete, even for this early period. More names and more detailed information could be gained by examining each issue of <u>The Pentecost Herald</u> and <u>The Vanquard</u>, other archival material on the Bands at the Wesleyan Church Archives in Indianapolis, and the various Free Methodist conference and local church histories in areas where the Bands were active. A complete list for the period 1885–1958 might contain about 400 names.

EXPLANATION

<u>Last Name</u> – In the case of married women, the maiden name is used (if known) regardless of whether marriage occurred before, during, or after Pentecost Band involvement. In some cases it is not possible to determine whether the woman was married or whether the name given is a maiden or married name.

<u>Family Relationships</u> - In addition to spouses, siblings who were in the Bands (where known) are noted.

Band Activity - Where no date is given but a Band Number is listed, the early period of 1885-1900 may be assumed. In some (but not all) cases Band activity outside the U.S. is noted. Also, in some cases dates are approximate only.

<u>Withdrew '95</u> - The 58 Band members who signed the statement of withdrawal from the FM Church in 1895 are indicated by the letter "W."

### Abbel Fred Size Fred Harried Dorothy 1915	Last Name	First Name	Born	Family Relationships	Band Activity	W/dre ^y 10
Adair	Abe i		******			
Adams		Sister Fred		Married Fred Abel	c1915	
Adas Charles Final Final	Adair	Rosella E.			Poh Conf	
Certrude					1 9.1 00.17	
Certrude	Alcorn				#21	u
Milliam W. Married Nettie Hurlbert 1892 Married 1892 Married S. L. Antrin C1920 C1		Gertrude				
Andrews Cyrus Frederick C1855 Married Nettie Hurlbert 1892 #17 asst; 8 ldr c1920 c19	Allen				1894	u
Antrim		William W.			#15	W
Anthin			c1855	Married Nettie Hurlbert 1892	#17 asst; 8 ldr	
Appling	Antrim	Almah		Married S. L. Antrim		
Appling		Myrtle			c1920	
Arnold Laura Helen Laura Harvar		S. L.			c1920	
Laura Mary Married Beeson; Sis Helen, Julia 1895.		Emma			#13	
Mary	Arnold	Helen		Sis of Julia Shelhamer	1894	U
Ashton						
Auringer Bertha		Mary		Married Beeson; Sis Helen, Julia	1895	W
Baldwin					1899 India	
Harmon Allen Katharine (Kate) Married Clara Wetherly 1896 Married Watson Snith 1902; sis of HAB Minnie Minnie Married Watson Snith 1902; sis of HAB Minnie Min					Asst	U
Katharine (Kate) Married Watson Smith 1902; sis of HAB #1.	Baldwin				#1	
Minnie 6-30-67 Married EE Shelhamer 1892; sis Bertha #1.			6-3-69		#28	
Ball						
Bare Stella C1920		Minnie	6-30-67	Married EE Shelhamer 1892; sis Bertha	#1	
Barritt					#1	
Bartlett George Bauman Bertha C1930		Stella			c1920	
Bauman Bertha C1930					有11	
Beckhorn Sister Louisa H31 Washer Behner Sarah H5 1dr 1886 H5 1dr 1886 H5 1dr 1886 H5 1dr 1886 H7, 18 1dr Washer H7 1dr Washer H7 1dr Washer H8.		100 Table 100 Ta				
Behler (Buhler) Louisa #31 W					c1930	
Behner Sarah #5 Idr 1886 #6 Idr 1886 #7, 18 Idr					c1930	
Birdsall Fannie 1864 Married George Bula; sis Flora #7, 18 ldr W						W
Flora Married Thomas Nelson #7 ldr W					#5 ldr 1886	
Boyer Ella	Birdsall		1864			
Brackney H. 8. #25 asst, 35 Brenneman Naomi c1930 Bright Anna #16 ldr W Brink Harvey D. #6 ldr Brown Anna 1895 W Elma 1895 W Lena 1895 W Rena M. #4, 11 ldr W Brubaker Emma Married McNutt #30 W Bruner May (Mae) Married Franklin Fox 1900 #29 ldr		Flora		Married Thomas Nelson	#7 1dr	W
Brenneman Naomi C1930						
#16 1dr ₩ #16 1dr ₩ #16 1dr ₩ #6 1dr #7 #6 1dr						
Brink Harvey D. #6 Idr Brown Anna 1895 W Elma 1895 W Lena 1895 W Rena M. #4, 11 Idr W Brubaker Emma Ida Married McNutt #30 W Bruner May (Mae) Married Franklin Fox 1900 #29 Idr						
Brown Anna 1895 W Elma 1895 W Lena 1895 W Rena M. #4, 11 ldr W W W W W W W W W						W
Elma1895 W Lena1895 W Rena M. #4, 11 ldr W Brubaker Emma Married McNutt #30 W Ida #10 W Bruner May (Mae) Married Franklin Fox 1900 #29 ldr						
Lena 1895	Brown					
8rubaker Emma Married McNutt #30 W #10 W 8runer May (Mae) Married Franklin Fox 1900 #29 Idr						
Brubaker Emma Married McNutt #30 W Ida #10 W Bruner May (Mae) Married Franklin Fox 1900 #29 Idr						
Ida #10 W Bruner May (Mae) Married Franklin Fox 1900 #29 Idr		kena M.			#4, 11 ldr	u
Bruner May (Mae) Married Franklin Fox 1900 #29 ldr	Brubaker			Married McNutt		
		lda			#10	W
Ruth #∆	Bruner			Married Franklin Fox 1900		
иТ		Ruth			#4	

Last Name	First Name	Born	Family Relationships	Band Activity	W/drew′95
Bula	George Elza Leroy	1902	Married 1901; Fannie Birdsall 1904 Son of George E. Bula	Ldr 1914-	W
Burg	Marie		Married Winfred Hanson	c1920	
Burt	Lillian M.		Married Sivert Ulness	#12 1dr 1888	
Campbe 11	Bertha				
	Ida May		Married Vivian Dake, 1878		
Chambers	George			1895	
Chance	J. N.			#14 1894	
Chapman	George W.		Married Mary Weems	#3	
Cheatham (Chetem)	William			#8	
Cone	Hattie E.			#30 ldr	W
	Ina			1895	ü
Cooper	Mrs.			c1930	
Cox	Della (Delphina)			1895	
	Phebe E.		Married Ernest Ward	#22 India	
	Weden			#25	
Craig	William S.			#25 ldr	u
Cresap	Flora			1895	*
Crowley	A. S.		Married Barbara	c1920	
	Barbara		Married A. S. Crowley	c1920	
Cryer	Edward G.			#6, 15	
	Mrs.		Married Edward Cryer	#15	
	Sadie	1873	Married Hill; Wilkin	1891-1904	
Dake	Vivian Adelbert	2-9-54	Married L Bailey 1876; Ida Campbell 1878	Ldr 1885-92	
Davis	Nettie		,,	#19 ldr	
Dearth	Laura (Lana)			1895	
Dewees	A. L.			#14 ldr	
	Frank M.			Div ldr, 33	
Douglas	Laura E.			#13	
Edinger	Charles			#8 ldr; 3	
Elias	Sister			c1915	
Erb	Mary		Married William Long	#5	
Eshelman	Charles			c1915	
	Lillie			c1920	
	Margaret			c1915	
Ettinger	Addie			#7 asst 1dr	
Evans	Charles			1895	
Eversole	Iris			c1930	
Farnsworth	Phebe (Phoebe)			#21	
Faust (Foust)	Albert F.			#15	u
Fisher	Frank			1895	**
Flanigan	Celia		Married Jacob T. Logan 1912	Pgh Conf	
Flesher	Edith		Married Ross Willobee	India	
Fletcher	Eliza		Married John Wesley Fletcher	Canada	
	Moroni			#9	u
Foss (Fass)	Hans			#12 Norway	

Last Name	First Name	Born	Family Relationships	Band Activity	W/dre 0
Foulk	Edward			#3	
Franz	Edward			#33	W
Garrett	Orrel			#34 1dr, 26	W
George	Grace			1894-85	
Gillingham	Christine		Married A. J. Damon	#4 1dr	
Good	Bro.			1899 India	
5101	Sister		Married Good	1899 India	
Graef	Mrs. W. H.		Married W. H. Graef	c1930	
	W. H.			c1930	
Hall	Ida			#32	W
	Jennie			#16 asst	
	Sadie		Married Milton Miller	Pgh Conf	
Hammond	Lillie			#9 1dr	
Hannah	John		Bro of Mattie	#15, 28	
	Mattie		Sis of John Hannah	#7	W
Hanson	Peter			#25 1dr	W
Harding	B. J.			1895	W
Hauck (Hawk)	Laura			1894-85	
Hawley	Eliza			#24 asst	W
Hayes	Delia			#29	
Hays	Sister				
Hill	Sadie		Married Miller	#21	W /
Hilty	Lottie M.		Married Albert Wilson 1899	Pgh Conf	" . L
Hodgson	Frances		Married T. R. Wayne 1895	c1892-93	
Holbrook	Ada		Half led 1. K. Wayne 10/5	1895	
Holub	William			1895	
			Manaiad Frank Hable		
Hotle	Ella T.		Married Frank Hotle	1895-	M
	Frank C.			Div ldr, India	
Huber	Watson			#12	
Hughes	Ida			#5	W
	John			1895	u
Hugill	David			1895	
	Delia			1895	W
	S. F.			1895	u
Hunsucker	Thornton			1895	
Hurlbert	Nettie	c1869	Married C. F. Andrews		
Jeffries	Sadie		Married John R. Klein 1906	#19	W
Jensen	George			#33 asst	U
Johns	Alfred			1895	
Johnson	Henry			#6, 28	U
	Ida			#2	
Jones	C. M.		Married Daisy	1920	
	Daisy		Married C. M. Jones	1920	
	Florence		Married FM pastor	#32	
Kah I	Maude H.	c1895?		c1912-	
Kennison	Cora		Married UW Spiker 1898; sis of Ellen	1893-98?	
Nemi 2011	VVI 4		1101. 150 mm opiner 10/01 313 of Files	10/0 /0:	

Last Name	First Name	Born	Family Relationships	Band Activity	W/drew19
	Ellen		Married Ralph A. Zahniser 1898	Pgh Conf	
Kerwood	C. Sumner			#3 Liberia	
Kimball	Carrie			#1 ldr	
(lein	John R.	11-27-76	Married Sadie Jeffries 1906	#I IOI.	
achman (Lackman)	Hannah		Married W. A. Hurd	Dah Cani	
deminan (Edeninan)	Lena		Married Louis Southworth 1892?	Pgh Conf #19	W
			THE TOTAL PORTION OF THE TOTAL	#17	w
athrop	Frank			1895	
.each	Mattie			#30 asst	W
eck	Dora			c1920	
_eech	Nettie				
.ight	George		Married Minnie	#27 1dr	
	Minnie		Married George Light	#27	
	Viola			#21, 30 ldr	
:-1	0				
ister	Susan			#16 ldr	
.ong	William G.	12-4-66	Married Mary Erb 1890	c1893-96	
largetta	Deborah			#2 1894	
lason	Charles			#4 1895	
	Effie		Married John Mason?	1895	W
	John I.		Married Effie?	1895	ü.
lcCready	William			1007 1	
1cDivitt	Sloan			1897 India	
1cNutt				#6	
	Lorenzo		4	1895	
lontonye	Flora			#19 ldr	
luzzy	Etta E.			#24 1dr	
lyers	Rose			#9 asst	
later	Otto H.			c1920	
le I son	Emily			#1 asst, 2	H
	Thomas H.		Married Flora Birdsall	Ldr 1892-1914	
lew1 ing	Thomas			1895	
lichols	Mary			1895	
lixon	Luella (Luia, Luiu)		Married A. J. Beattie		
forth	Mattie		Hallied A. V. Deattle	#30	
)brecht	J.			#7 asst ldr; 9	
ooi ecii t	Sister			#9 asst #9	
				",	
Osborn	Flora		Married Fred Osborn	#17	
	Fred L.		Married Flora Osborn	#17 Idr 1890	
, such	David			.1895	
	Martha			1895	u
Parson	Rob			#O	
Pedlar	Arthur			#8	
enrod	Sister			c1915	
Petterson					
	Nellie			#10 ldr	W
ressnai	Essie			c1915	
rimmer	Mary			#1	
	Minnie			#1 Mich	
				MT IIICH	
Rauch Risinger	Eva			#1 asst	

Last Name	First Name	Born	Family Relationships	Band Activity	M/qr. '0
Roberts	Clara			#26	
	Minnie			#32	W
	Nora			1895	
Rockenbach	John			#17 ldr	
Sanson	William			1895	W
Schamehorn	Reuben			#3 Mich	
Schooley	M. L.	3-31-56	Married Merinda Craig		
Shaffer	Agnes		•	#31	
Shannon	J. W.			1895	
Shelhamer	Elmer Ellsworth	12-16-69	Married Minnie Baldwin 1892; Julia Arnold 1903	Div Ldr	
Sherman	Susie	11 10 07	Daugtr CW Sherman; married GH Agnew 1895	#20 1dr	
Sherman-Ashton	Bessie		Daugtr CW Sherman; married Ashton	#13,16,2 ldr	
	Albert		baugh ow one many mail red Hanton	#35	
Shilling C:11-	Charles E.			#27	
Sills			Managed Linears Could		
Smith	Bertha B.	1074	Married Lincoln Smith	#20 B-b C (
	Ella May	1874	Married H. W. Armstrong early 1900s	Pgh Conf	
	F. A.		W	1895	
	Lincoln		Married Bertha Baldwin	#20	
Speer	Harry L.	8-22-68	Married Effie Swain 1897	#15	
Spiers	Anna			1895	W
Spiker	William Wilson	5-25-72	Married Cora Kennison 1898	1894-97	u
Sprague	Esther		Married Sprague	1910	
Talley	Frances			#19	u
Tate	Jennie				
Thomson	May			1895	
Tol 1	Grace		¥	#5 1dr 1887-	
Toonder	Henry			#10 ldr	
Torrence	Jennie (Mrs)		Married Torrence	#9 1890	
Towler	Chloe		Married Robert Towler	#26	
	Robert		Married Chloe	#26	
Tubbs	E. B.			#24	
Tucker	Elizabeth			1894-97	U
Turner	Delphina			#32 asst	U
U11 om	Rosalette	1879		1890-93	
Ulness	Sivert V.		Married Lillian Burt	#12	
Vail	Maggie			1895	W
Vandelinder	Lina			#16	W
Vinson	Worth			#10	
Walters	Donella (Nellie)		Married Edmund Zahniser 1900	Pgh Conf	
Ward	Ernest F.		,	#12 India	
Wayne	Thomas Rushton	7-21-70	Married Frances Hodgson	1891	
Weems	Mary		Married George Chapman	#3 div ldr	W
Wetherly	Clara Etta		Married Harmon Baldwin 1896	#1	
Whisler	F. B.		Married Iva C. Whisler	1920	
wii sie.	Iva C.		Married F. B. Whisler	1920	
Whittle	Bro.			#3 1899 India	
	Sister		Married Whittle	#1899 India	
Wiley	Bro.			1899 India	
W. 1.C./	Sister		Married Wiley	#2 India	
			manager on a standil standil standil	cook manualitati	

Last Name	First Name	Born	Family Relationships	Band Activity	W/drew195
Wilkin Willobee Wine Winne Woodcock Wornwood	Florence Ross V. John F. Vina Emma Alice (Allie) Ida		Married Edith Flesher 1911	#14 ldr 1910- India #8 #19 ldr #1, 31 ldr #14 asst	u u
Cou	int: 240				58