

BEATING BACK THE AMNESIA: LOVE FOR NEIGHBOR IN THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE, 1975-1998

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In the formative years of the Church of the Nazarene a fairly well articulated theology of socially expressed holiness (love for neighbor flowing from entire devotion to a loving God) informed the church. This hardly requires demonstration. Evidence abounds that early Nazarenes considered love to neighbor as expressed in concrete acts of compassion toward the poor, the hungry, those in prison, the sick -- the generally vulnerable and marginal -- to be an essential expression of "perfect love" or "entire devotedness to God." What Nazarenes today have come to call "compassionate ministries" was viewed as an essential dimension of the church's calling by God. In some cases, in fact, the ministry of compassion was emphasized in such a manner as to place it very near to the center of the fundamental reason for the church's existence.¹ Such a sense of "holy compassion" was an authentic expression of the American Holiness Movement's roots in the Wesleyan Revival, in spite of the various modifications of and departures from Wesleyan models which marked some other aspects of the Holiness Movement.

As the Church of the Nazarene grew and developed through the twentieth century, however, the concern with concrete expression of love for neighbor weakened, and very nearly disappeared -- for a time. A kind of "amnesia" overtook the church, robbing it of its sense of true identity, and allowing it to "try out" new identities borrowed from a variety of sources.

The story of the onset of this "amnesia" has also been told already, although not so thoroughly, nor so often as the story of the earlier period of active compassion for those

in need.ⁱⁱ The story of the amnesia attack deserves and requires additional analysis. I would suggest, so that we Nazarenes can better understand what happened to us during those years, and thus have deeper understanding of our present situation, with both its possibilities and perils. Amnesia seems to be a condition to which religious movements are peculiarly prone, and to which they are vulnerable repeatedly. Continual and careful study of one's history is one of the most effective means of "curing" denominational amnesia when it has descended upon its victim, and of "inoculating" the church against subsequent attacks.

I. Identity and Amnesia

Without telling the story over again in detail, let me at least highlight several crucial aspects of the Church of the Nazarene's bout with amnesia which pertain especially to compassionate ministries. Then we will look briefly at the years 1975-1998, which are years during which significant effort was made to beat back, or throw off the enveloping amnesia.

First, one is struck by how soon and how quickly the church began to fall under the debilitating influence of amnesia. In fact, I believe the "standard" accounts of our beginnings as a denomination have greatly underplayed this aspect of our history. That is to say, we have – especially in recent years – proudly told the story of early Nazarenes as people who sensed a special calling to minister to the poor and oppressed, and who routinely attempted to meet the physical as well as spiritual needs of marginalized people. We have trumpeted – and rightly so – Phineas Bresee's well-known description of his Los Angeles "Glory Barn," or Board Tabernacle, as intentionally plain and simple so that "everything should say welcome to the poor."ⁱⁱⁱ What we have not noticed, however, or

not called attention to if we have noticed, is the fact that within two years of the construction of the “Glory Barn,” and only three years after the founding of the Church of the Nazarene, Bresee himself was pointing Nazarenes to an “expanded calling.” Noting that the first group of Los Angeles Nazarenes had taken “as their especial work the neglected quarters of our city,” they had “soon [found] that there are hungry hearts and neglected lives in homes that the world does not call poor, and so the work has broadened out beyond the field originally selected, until now they feel that the call is to go *wherever* lives are burdened with sin. . . .”^{iv} Also, in order to better minister to the people of this “broadened field,” the Nazarenes moved out of their Board Tabernacle only seven years after moving in, and occupied a new brick structure in a “respectable middle class neighborhood.” Within just a few years, the value of this property was nearly \$82,000. This means that at the time of the Nazarenes’ merger with the Association of Pentecostal Churches of America (1907), more than one third of the total value of church property owned by the merging groups (a total of 52 congregations) was attributable to the one congregation at Los Angeles First Church.^v

Thus, we have evidence very early in our history of a phenomenon that would quickly take the Church of the Nazarene out of the core of America’s urban areas and push it “uptown” and eventually “out” to the affluent suburbs – upward mobility. This was occurring while Phineas Bresee was still alive and the driving force in the movement, and Bresee appears not to have fought the trend. This trend would, of course, eventually place a great distance (both social and physical) between many Nazarenes and the neediest portion of the population, with the result that few Nazarenes had direct contact with marginalized people and the needs endemic to their situations in life. This was one

of the factors which over time desensitized Nazarenes to human need, and helped to weaken their inherited Holiness/Wesleyan/Christian sense of concern and compassion.

Another factor in the settling of amnesia upon the Church of the Nazarene was the process of “institutionalization” which gripped the church as a new generation of leaders assumed the reins from the founders, and as children born into the church reached their adulthood. This transformation pressed a number of new priorities upon the Nazarene movement. These included the need to clearly identify theological and behavioral boundaries, the desire for denominational expansion, the effort to “streamline” the growing organizational apparatus, and the strengthening of the Nazarene educational system, among other concerns. Conspicuous by its absence is concern for manifesting Godly love toward the poor and vulnerable through acts of compassion. Nazarenes, on the whole, in the 1920s and several following decades when this trend toward “institutionalization” was rapidly gaining momentum, evidence very little sense of the call to “perfect love” as a call to love one’s neighbor by caring for the most vulnerable members of society.^{vi}

A third factor in the Church of the Nazarene’s slide into historical amnesia concerning its heritage of social compassion was the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy of the early decades of this century. This religious (and cultural) battle was primarily confined to the United States, although it also touched missionaries serving U.S. denominations in other parts of the world, and some of its fallout eventually traveled around the globe – largely through the activity of American missionaries.

The Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy had a huge impact upon American Christianity.^{vii} Its shadow *still* looms over the American churches and affects them in

ways far too numerous to mention here. And, the Church of the Nazarene has by no means been immune to Fundamentalism's influence.^{viii}

In relation to the subject at hand – compassionate ministries – the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy cut the theological cord of Holiness/Nazarene social compassion. This happened because Nazarenes, like other theologically conservative Christians of the time, tended to reject Theological Liberalism's social views along with its theological views. The Church of the Nazarene never fully embraced the Fundamentalist Movement, but it did generally find itself more comfortable with Fundamentalists than with the Theological Liberals, or "Modernists," on issues like the authority and inspiration of the bible, Christology, the necessity of a personal experience of the New Birth, and the like.

Theological Liberalism tended to embrace the Social Gospel Movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century. In fact, theological Liberalism undergirded most Social Gospel theologizing.^{ix} In terms of a practical ethic, there was little difference between "Social Gospelers" and Holiness Christians – that is, prior to the heating up of the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy. Both challenged the complacent affluence of the "mainline churches" of America, and both called for Christians to address with Christian compassion the needs of the poor and most vulnerable citizens of industrial America.^x However, in doing this, advocates of the Social Gospel generally embraced "Higher Criticism," various forms of evolutionary thought, and more or less naturalistic interpretations of Christianity, and the Church.

Unfortunately for the Church of the Nazarene (and "Conservative Christianity" in the United States in general), the Social Gospel's ethical ideas were perceived as being so intertwined with its "Liberal" theology, that to reject the one was to reject the other. The

Social Gospel came to be seen by Conservatives (including Nazarenes) as the “humanistic” “do-goodism” of a theologically and spiritually bankrupt “mainline Christianity.” “Social Christianity” was viewed as an attempt to “save” society without saving individuals, as a human substitute for the proclamation of a miraculous salvation offered through the atonement of Jesus Christ. Such a perception gradually pushed Nazarenes, and other conservative Christians, away from social compassion toward the practice of evangelism as proclamation only, and toward other “denomination enhancing” activities.

II. Beating Back the Amnesia

These events – and others (including the emergence of government “welfare” in the 1930s and after) – signaled the onset of “amnesia” in the Church of the Nazarene with respect to “compassionate ministry.” Nazarenes essentially forgot who they had been, and hence who they were. The rich heritage of Wesleyan/Holiness/Nazarene social compassion faded from the collective Nazarene memory.^{xi}

And yet, today, we find ourselves here recalling and examining that once forgotten part of our past and of our identity. How is it that we have managed to “beat back the amnesia” which engulfed the Church of the Nazarene for several decades? Or, at least, how is it that we have *begun* to beat back the amnesia (assuming that we have perhaps not yet *fully* recovered our senses)?

No doubt a variety of factors has contributed to the present “rebirth” of compassionate ministries. Of these, two in particular seem especially significant to me. One is the publication of Timothy Smith’s *Revivalism and Social Reform* (and the appearance just a

few years later of *Called Unto Holiness*). The other is the transformation thorough which the United States passed during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

In the first instance, Timothy Smith's ground-breaking study of American Protestant revivalism focused intensely on a connection historians were then only beginning to notice – the connection between revivalistic Christianity and major movements for social reform in the nineteenth century.^{xii} Smith discovered not only that the major movements for social reform in nineteenth century America were largely driven by religious impulses and ideas, stimulated especially by periodic large-scale revivals or “awakenings,” but that a central impulse and idea of the revivalism of the time (and not just in Wesleyan/Methodist circles) was Christian perfection. Smith found “perfectionism” nearly everywhere in mid-nineteenth century American revivalism! And where he found a concern for Christian perfection, he found an active compassion for the needs of humankind, often taking the form of large scale efforts to meet immediate need, and – not stopping at this – to also transform social structures in order to eliminate the causes of injustice, poverty, war, and the like. Smith concluded from his study that these revivalistic perfectionists were the *real* creators of the Social Gospel in America, rather than the Liberal preachers and theologians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (a thesis which was controversial when *Revivalism and Social Reform* was published, and which continues to be controversial in circles where historians argue such matters).

Smith's fellow Nazarenes received his book with mixed responses (of course, many were not aware of the book at all). Some were rather distressed to discover that “Holiness” people once “dabbled” in Social Gospel “do-goodism” instead of giving all

their energy to saving the souls of the lost! Others, however, received Smith's work as a "revelation." It opened to them a world they had not previously known, a world which they discovered with excitement -- and relief.

In 1962 Smith's history of the founding of the Church of the Nazarene, *Called Unto Holiness*, was published. This work introduced some of the issues which Smith had raised in *Revivalism and Social Reform* to a wider audience. In particular, Smith emphasized the importance of "Holiness Social Work" in Nazarene beginnings.^{xiii}

A second critical factor in the "beating back of the amnesia" which descended upon the Church of the Nazarene was the social upheaval and transformation which occurred in the United States in the 1960s and early 1970s. Many young Nazarenes (myself included) underwent a process similar to that described by Donald Dayton in his book, *Discovering an Evangelical Heritage*.^{xiv} Dayton recalls his life on the campus of a small holiness college in the mid-1960s during a period when issues of great consequence were being battled over across America. He writes:

It is difficult to recreate the atmosphere of such a college in the 1960s. No doubt the incidents that loom so large in memory were not the whole of campus life. But the contrast between the pettiness of the issues that troubled us and the magnitude of the issues that were being dealt with in society is frightening. Campus life was circumscribed by cultural patterns and ethical mores called "prudentials" at my college. These included the traditional Evangelical prohibitions against drinking, smoking, dancing, card-playing, and theater-going. Our lives were largely bound up in testing the limits of these prohibitions. While other students responded to calls for civil rights workers or took to the streets in protest about Vietnam, we fought our administration

over whether the yearbook could picture male swimmers without T-shirts, struggled for the right to watch TV in the lounge on Sundays, and wondered if the Christian should attend the theater (legitimate or cinema) or read twentieth-century literature.^{xv}

Dayton then goes on to describe his struggle with a denomination -- and larger Evangelical environment -- which were largely hostile to the movements for justice and equality springing up across the country. Why should this be so, he wondered? Shouldn't Christians be on the front lines of such movements? "To many of us, the civil rights movement and its principles of fundamental human equality seemed not only more right, but more biblical and Christian than the positions taken by our elders," he writes.^{xvi}

What Dayton eventually discovered via a long, difficult personal journey of mind and spirit, was that the very denomination of which he was a part had been created during a time of intense turmoil in nineteenth century America -- a period not unlike that through which Dayton was living in the 1960s -- and that his denomination had been created largely to champion a controversial social and political cause -- abolitionism. "I discovered much to my surprise that the denomination was a product of the closest parallel to the civil rights movement in American history -- the abolitionist protest against slavery in the pre-Civil War period."^{xvii}

This discovery allowed Dayton to "claim his heritage" in the Wesleyan/Holiness tradition while at the same time "engaging" the crying needs of the world in which he lived. This was an option which had seemed impossible to him before he discovered the forgotten (or hidden, as Dayton tells it) identity of his church.^{xviii}

It is my perception, and my contention, that much the same thing happened to many young Nazarenes, and that this is a major part of the renaissance of compassionate

ministry in the Church of the Nazarene, a renaissance which has flowered largely since the middle of the 1970s. The Civil Rights Movement, and other movements of social protest (anti-war activism, etc.) spurred Nazarenes to ask what a holiness church was doing about the great issues of the time – or why it was doing nothing – or worse yet, why it often appeared to *oppose* what appeared to many to be movements for a more humane and just society.^{xix}

In this environment, some Nazarenes “rediscovered” the Nazarene/Holiness/Wesleyan heritage of love to neighbor expressed in concrete acts of compassion, while others began to “remember” something which they had “forgotten.”

One of those who contributed significantly to the church’s “remembering,” and hence slow arousal from amnesia was Thomas G. Nees. Nees reminded the church of its past, and challenged the church in two major ways. First, he wrote an important Doctor of Ministry thesis at Wesley Theological Seminary in Washington, D.C., *The Holiness Social Ethic and Nazarene Urban Ministry*.^{xx} And second, Nees modeled a viable, socially engaged and socially responsible contemporary holiness piety at the Community of Hope, an urban community that he founded in Washington, D.C. In this way Nees vividly demonstrated the relevance of the church’s past for doing responsible and faithful ministry in the present. And he gave scores of Nazarene visitors to Community of Hope a taste of Nazarene ministry firmly “in touch” with the church’s historical roots. This was a taste which appealed to many, and which inspired them to want to create similar forms of ministry where they lived and served.

Two other related developments occurring in the church at about the same time that Nees was creating Community of Hope, and writing his thesis, also helped to “beat back

the amnesia” afflicting the Church of the Nazarene. These were the growth of the church outside North America and the creation of the Hunger and Disaster Fund.

The remarkable growth of the church outside of North America in recent decades has of course altered, and is continuing to alter the shape of the church. I believe that the growing presence and influence of Nazarenes from so-called “developing countries” is pressing upon the church the need to look again at the Gospel’s relevance to human need in *all* its messy, concrete manifestations.

The Nazarene Hunger and Disaster Fund was established in the mid 1970s in part in response to the growing role of non-North Americans in the church. This was a fund to enable the church to respond in significant ways to major disasters in “world mission areas” -- including such things as hurricanes, earthquakes, drought, floods, and the like. It was also established to give Nazarenes who were already contributing significant sums of money to disaster relief and other programs administered by parachurch agencies a “denominational” way to channel their giving.^{xxi}

Of course, the major indication that amnesia was being fought in the Church of the Nazarene was the creation of the office of Compassionate Ministries in 1984 under the direction of a full-time coordinator. This occurred under prompting from a number of Nazarenes whose consciousness had been “raised” during the previous couple of decades through a process something like the one described above. By this action, the denomination “officially” embraced and endorsed “compassionate ministry” as a legitimate and valuable dimension of the proclamation and living out of Christian holiness.^{xxii} It also began to give considerable publicity to “compassionate ministry” of various kinds and to churches and organizations engaged in such ministry. High

visibility ministries like Community of Hope, the Lamb's Club in New York City, Golden Gate Ministries in San Francisco, Liberation Community in Fort Worth, and others became widely known to Nazarenes. The publicity accorded these and other works, I would submit, gave "permission" to many Nazarene pastors and laypeople who harbored "compassionate" impulses, but who had not had the courage or wherewithal to act upon them. Knowing what others were doing, and that the denomination endorsed and affirmed these, empowered many others to undertake similar kinds of ministry.

A major part of the publicity, and public endorsement of compassionate ministries was the first Compassionate Ministries Conference held in 1985.^{xxiii} This brought together those interested and involved in "compassionate ministries," giving them a sense of belonging to a significant enterprise, and one endorsed by their denomination. It also put persons involved in compassionate ministries in touch with each other, creating an active "network" to facilitate the exchange of ideas, personnel, and other resources. A similar conference was held again in 1989. Subsequent to this 1989 conference, regional conferences have been held at different locations in the United States as well as in other parts of the world.

A significant part of these more recent conferences has been the role that Nazarene colleges and universities have played in them. The U.S. regional conferences have been hosted by Nazarene schools, and large numbers of faculty and students from the schools have participated in them. The schools have also created numerous forms of compassionate ministry through which members of the educational community can reach out in concrete ways to those in need.^{xxiv}

III. Conclusion

A pathological condition is rarely cured “over night,” although it is my understanding that amnesia victims sometimes do regain a significant part of their memory rather quickly through some powerful and traumatic event. It took the Church of the Nazarene decades to descend into amnesia concerning its heritage in a “holistic” understanding of Christian holiness which regarded love to neighbor demonstrated in concrete acts of compassion as being at the very heart of the Gospel. It is probably unrealistic to imagine that the church will awaken from this state suddenly and completely.

However, the developments of the *last* three decades are certainly grounds for celebration and thanksgiving. A huge corner has been turned. The denomination has officially “owned” its heritage and endorsed the work of compassionate ministry, and Nazarene churches, and groups of Nazarenes, and individual Nazarenes all over the world have begun to rethink their calling as proclaimers and embodiars of the Gospel. As a result, scores of “works of compassion” now dot the Nazarene landscape.^{xxv} Some younger Nazarenes, in fact, don’t even know a church sunk in amnesia. Their only experience is of a church awake to human suffering and social need.

Thus, the process of “beating back the amnesia” has begun, and is well under way. There are certainly reasons for optimism. However, not everything is well. One might express concern about the tendency to “compartmentalize” compassionate work – to give it its “box,” its “corner” in which to exist – to make it a sort of “adjunctive” part of what we do in the church. My observation is that “compassionate ministry” has assumed this form in many local congregations. It is one sort of ministry which is there for certain

“types,” but it is not thoroughly integrated into the life or fundamental sense of identity of the congregation.

Another concern is the theological depth of the “renaissance” of compassion in the Church of the Nazarene. To what extent has it been, and is it being informed by careful theological reflection upon our tradition and its sources? Is it mostly a sort of “intuitive activism” rooted deeply in our dimly remembered past, but not carefully grounded in the theological sources of our movement? And, has the theological rationale for compassionate holiness been clearly communicated to our people? Can the current situation possibly be characterized as a renaissance of compassion – in search of a theology? If so, the present gathering represents a significant effort to strengthen this aspect of our “patient’s” treatment, as the patient struggles to “beat back the amnesia” of decades, and reclaim its true identity as a lover of a holy, compassionate God, *and* a lover of neighbor in God’s name.

ENDNOTES

- i This can be seen in many early statements and documents produced by holiness groups which eventually became part of the Church of the Nazarene.
- ii See for example Timothy L. Smith, *Called Unto Holiness, The Story of the Nazarenes: the Formative Years*. Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1962, 305-310, 322-348; R. Franklin Cook and Steve Weber, *The Greening: the Story of Nazarene Compassionate Ministries*. Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1986. 32-34; Thomas G. Nees, *Compassion Evangelism: Meeting Human Needs*. Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill Press of Kansas City, 1996, 13-18
- iii Quoted in Smith, *Called Unto Holiness*, 114.
- iv *Ibid.*, 121. Emphasis added.
- v Helpful information on this process is given in Charles Edwin Jones, *Perfectionist Persuasion: The Holiness Movement and American Methodism, 1867-1936*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1974. especially 107-115. Interesting – and illuminating – photographs of the “Glory Barn” and the new brick church at 6th and Wall Streets appear on pp. 110 and 113. The figures on total value of church property appear in the Proceedings of the First General Assembly of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene. Los Angeles: Nazarene Publishing Company, 1907.
- vi Smith, *Called Unto Holiness*, 272ff. touches in several places on this development. Also documenting the process – but without comment upon it – is W. T. Purkiser, *Called Unto Holiness, vol. 2, The Story of the Nazarenes, the Second Twenty-Five Years, 1933-1958*. Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1983. Further account of institutionalization – with specific reference to educational policy – is found in Harold E. Raser, *More Preachers and Better Preachers: the First Fifty Years of Nazarene Theological Seminary*. Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1995, 4-13.
- vii The standard, and best work on the subject is George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1980. A recent book which supplements Marsden’s work by tracing the story of Fundamentalism from 1925 up to the 1950s is Joel A. Carpenter, *Revive Us Again: the Reawakening of American Fundamentalism*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- viii See Smith, *Called Unto Holiness*, 305-310 on “Wesleyan Fundamentalism.”
- ix See, for example, Walter Rauschenbusch, *A Theology for the Social Gospel*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1917.
- x Studies of the Social Gospel Movement are numerous – far too numerous to list here. A very good one is Ronald C. White and C. Howard Hopkins, *The Social Gospel: Religion and Reform in Changing America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976. Highlighting the convergence between the Holiness Movement and the Social Gospel is the classic work, Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid Nineteenth-Century America*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1957. Another valuable work which examines “social Christianity” as practiced by theologically conservative Christians is Norris Magnuson, *Salvation in the Slums: Evangelical Social Work, 1865-1920*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1977.
- xi I grew up in the Church of the Nazarene in the 1950s and early 1960s in a large congregation which occupied a property bordered on one side by “Bresee Avenue” and on another side by “Wesley Street.” I cannot recall ever hearing about the Nazarene heritage of loving one’s neighbor through concrete acts of social compassion. What we heard about most was personal holiness, and our mission to support aggressive personal evangelism (including, of course, evangelism on “foreign fields”).
- xii See, for example, William Warren Sweet, *Revivalism in America: Its Origin, Growth, and Decline*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1944; Charles C. Cole, *The Social Ideas of the Northern Evangelists, 1826-1860*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1954; Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1950 for early studies which were beginning to explore the connections which Smith develops in his work. One of the most recent works which follows in this tradition is Robert H. Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994

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- ^{xiii} Smith, *Called Unto Holiness*, 47-53, and *passim*. It should also be noted that Smith's work was done at time when a general recovery of Wesley was underway in wider Wesleyan circles. This development was influencing Nazarenes to some extent already in the late 1950s, and would make a *significant* impact upon them beginning about 1970 or so.
1970s and after
- ^{xiv} Donald W. Dayton, *Discovering an Evangelical Heritage*. New York: Harper and Row, 1976
- ^{xv} *Ibid.*, 2-3.
- ^{xvi} *Ibid.*, 3.
- ^{xvii} *Ibid.*, 4.
- ^{xviii} Dayton tells in one place of the rumor embraced by some modern Wesleyans that the founder of the church, Orange Scott, "renounced his 'worldly' reform activities" on his deathbed. See Dayton, 79.
- ^{xix} Illustrative is the "activism" which began to emerge in some quarters of the denomination in the 1960s. For example, a group of students at Nazarene Theological Seminary in May of 1964 circulated a petition calling for a special prolonged prayer meeting in the seminary to pray about the upcoming General Assembly, that the Assembly would take a definite stand on the matter of racial discrimination. The petition stated: "We want to pray now that in these days of great decision our leaders will take a positive and clear stand for racial equality. We want it made known to all men that our doctrine of perfection in love is not only a written clause, but an activating force, something which our people live by, that can be overcoming in the face of evil, and which will help meet the problems of race." See "A Call for Special Prayer," May 6, 1964. Copy in the Nazarene Archives.
- ^{xx} Thomas G. Nees, *The Holiness Social Ethic and Nazarene Urban Ministry*. Doctor of Ministry thesis, Wesley Theological Seminary, 1976.
- ^{xxi} See Thomas G. Nees, *Compassion Evangelism*, 91-97. This fund was thus established to give already "socially awakened" Nazarenes a way to act on their convictions within a Nazarene denominational context. Denominational leadership was in this way responding to a "demand" being pressed upon it by the membership.
- ^{xxii} See R. Franklin Cook and Steve Weber, *The Greening: the Story of Nazarene Compassionate Ministries*. Also, L. Guy Nees, *Winds of Change: 1980-85, the Church in Transition*. Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1991, and Thomas G. Nees, *Compassion Evangelism*, 91-104.
- ^{xxiii} The papers and addresses delivered at this conference are collected in Albert Truesdale and Steve Weber, eds., *Evangelism and Social Redemption: Addresses from the 1985 Compassionate Ministries Conference*. Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1986.
- ^{xxiv} Thomas G. Nees, *Compassionate Evangelism*, recounts the growing interest and role of Nazarene students -- including local church youth groups -- in compassionate ministry.
- ^{xxv} For a listing of these, and description of some, see *Ibid.*, especially 109-113