

**Factors Influencing The International Church Of Christ's Decision  
Not To Require Formal Theological Training For Its Ministers From 1979-2002.**

by

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## **Abbreviations**

ICoC            International Church of Christ (Some sources abbreviate: ICOC)

CoC            Churches of Christ

NRM            New Religious Movements

## Preface

During my ten years as a minister in the ICoC, I have often had to field questions from friends and relatives on why I had not formally studied theology. Many people crossing my path assumed that some form of theological education is a 'rite of passage' for those desiring a life in the church ministry. Most of the time I had no trouble explaining my view that ministry was a very practical vocation and not one learned in a classroom setting. Sometimes, however, I would agree with those skeptical of an approach that had so little in the way of deeper theological and biblical instruction. I was trained to thoroughly know my Bible, but I often felt that a richer instruction would be beneficial to both myself and those I taught. The ICoC has recently shifted more attention towards theological education, which has partially led to my choice of thesis topic.

I would like to thank all those who have made this possible. First, I would like to thank my wife Maura for her unending support during many late nights behind the computer. Without her, my master's degree would still be in the 'dream' phase. To Chuck Wanamaker, my supervisor, thank you for the many hours of input you have given me. Among the many areas of input, you have helped me to untangle some horrendous paragraphs and you have really taken an interest in my chosen subject. Thank you for your advice on my academic future and warnings not to use the material for this thesis to edit on *Wikipedia* in case it looks like I plagiarised from the articles I wrote. Chuck, you have been a great support and academic mentor to me. My thanks to Roger, JP, Al, Gordon, Steve, Douglas and Jack, who were kind enough to grant me interviews and who helped to make sure that I got my facts straight. I was also fortunate to have some very kind friends who looked over my work and gave invaluable input: Cyril Stevens, Marisca Erasmus and John Oakes, you have been so kind in carrying the bulk of my final proof reading. To the many others who checked a chapter here and there, your efforts are not forgotten.

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## Abstract

This thesis seeks to investigate why the International Church of Christ (ICoC) schism adopted a very different ministerial training approach to the one long supported by its parent church, the mainline Church of Christ (CoC). I explore how the ICoC (Formerly called the ‘Boston Movement’) became an independent Christian movement and identify specific reasons for the ICoC’s departure from the CoC’s expectation that church ministers receive an academic qualification in theology.

The conclusions for this research were drawn from four sources. First, I analysed the socio-historical influences on the ICoC’s philosophy of training ministers. Second, I drew from Max Weber’s theory of “*charisma and routinization*” to provide a theoretical understanding of how the ICoC’s philosophy of education was partially an issue of authority. Third, I examined the literature directly relevant to the ICoC’s training choices. Finally, I conducted a series of interviews with prominent members of the ICoC who gave their personal retelling of the early Boston Movement and why, from their perspective, the Movement adopted its methods of training.

I argue that although a simple rationale was given at the time, at least eight socio-historical factors influenced the ICoC’s pendulum swing towards an almost exclusively practical approach to ministerial formation. These influences were interlinked with a high degree of corroboration between them. The influences were:

- The Boston Movement’s schismatic conflict with the CoC.
- Kip McKean’s personal experience of formal theological training.
- The CoC colleges’ perceived loss of training credibility.
- Kip McKean’s authority within the Boston Movement
- The Boston Movement’s narrow definition of a ‘trained church minister’.
- The Boston Movement’s model of church replication and multiplication.
- The Boston Movement’s allocation of resources towards missions.
- A foundation of ministers who already had a formal theological education.

The thesis closes with a reflection on the findings and the ICoC’s transition into its second generation of leadership.

## **Chapter 1.**

### **Formal Theological Education in the ICoC**

#### *1.1 How the ICoC Evolved*

The Boston Movement, later called the International Churches of Christ (ICoC), arose from within the Churches of Christ<sup>1</sup> (CoC) during the late 1970s. A progressive campus initiative had started in the CoC and gathered momentum at a congregation in Gainesville, Florida under the leadership of Charles (“Chuck”) Lucas. The Gainesville CoC became the epicenter of the Crossroads Movement<sup>2</sup>, which influenced a number of CoC ministries by emphasising evangelism, high commitment and accountability. Among those trained in Crossroads was Thomas Wayne (“Kip”) McKean, who eventually led his own CoC congregation in Boston, Massachusetts. While Lucas and the Crossroads Movement eventually faded from prominence, McKean and the Boston Movement became the center of this progressive wave and eventually separated completely from the CoC. The schism, and the connection between the various Movements’ are detailed in Chapter two (Also see Appendix 1 for a schematic).

The Boston Movement was externally recognised as an independent ecclesiastical body in 1992 and renamed the International Church of Christ (ICoC) (Stanback 2005, 73). By 2004, the ICoC was reported to have 135,000 members in 430 congregations located in almost 150 countries throughout the world (Foster, et al. 2004, 213). In 2012, the reported membership was 99,384 in 632 churches<sup>3</sup> (ICoC 2013, 24).

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<sup>1</sup> The CoC is part of the Stone-Campbell (Restoration) Movement that was well established in the USA at the time. The CoC is recognised as one of the major national denominations of the United States (Newman and Halvorson 2000, 60).

<sup>2</sup> Both the Crossroads Movement and later the Boston Movement were grouped together as the ‘Discipling Movement’ during this period.

<sup>3</sup> The ICoC lost a significant number of members in the 2000s while it continued to pursue an expansive strategy of church plantings. This explains why there is a simultaneous increase in congregations and decrease in membership (See Chapter 2.5 and Chapter 6.2 for further explanation for this numerical decline in membership).

## 1.2 The ICoC's Change in Training Philosophy

Although many early Stone-Campbell preachers in the nineteenth century were self-educated (Hughes 1996, 331), by the mid-twentieth century a tertiary theological education became the standard route for those desiring a CoC ministerial position. More than ninety percent of ministers had either college degrees or certificates from schools of preaching (Foster, et al. 2004, 215). While a degree was never formalised into a requirement<sup>4</sup>, a graduate school education was certainly accepted as the right path into the ministry. The CoC therefore built a number of universities and Bible colleges' like Abilene Christian University, Pepperdine University, Sunset International Bible Institute and Harding University (Foster, et al. 2004, 219). By the 1970s, an internship had been added to the expectation of theological education. Upon completion of this “*medical residency*” type internship, it was expected that an educated minister would be ready to assume a full-time position in a campus ministry and eventually a church (T. Jones 2007, 39).

When the Boston Movement broke away from the CoC, the new movement took a completely different approach to training. Many CoC ministers joining the Boston Movement already had a theological degree, but new ministers were discouraged from pursuing this form of qualification. Instead of formal theological education, the ICoC chose a pattern of mentorship in order to train leaders in situ<sup>5</sup> (Stanback 2005, 58-59). In an editorial entitled *Revolution Through Restoration* (1992, 4), Kip McKean stated that: “...*though helpful in scholastic pursuits, seminary was not the way to train ministers, but rather, one minister walking with another, like Jesus and the twelve*”. His editorial on the Boston Movement's development covered principles of ‘training’<sup>6</sup>, and how McKean decided not to send ICoC ministers to attend seminaries (p. 5). McKean stated that those in the movement “...*came to believe that the best way to become an evangelist was to train full time and walk with and imitate the one you desired to become like as they followed Jesus*” (p. 9). While McKean's

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<sup>4</sup> The churches were largely autonomous and so no rules could be imposed beyond those established by the local congregation (D. A. Foster 2005, 1780).

<sup>5</sup> While mentorship (‘discipling’) was the most emphasised element of ministerial training, the Boston Movement did stress a serious commitment to knowing the Bible. Throughout the literature on the Movement, references were made to in-house “*Ministry Training Program(s)*” (Stanback 2005, 85) and similar Biblical training.

<sup>6</sup> In the twenty-one pages of his editorial *Revolution through Restoration* (1992), McKean referred to ‘training’ ICoC ministers on thirty one occasions.

rationale was clearly affirmed, this thesis will show that there were a number of socio-historical factors influencing the ICoC in the decision not to require formal theological education of its ministerial trainees.

### *1.3 The Structure of this Thesis*

This thesis is organised around six chapters:

In Chapter one, I define the parameters for this research, and give the rationale behind the choice of terms and date range. I also explain the methodology used to seek and draw my conclusions.

Chapter two offers an historical overview of the ICoC with two purposes in mind. First, the summary contextualises the ICoC as part the larger Stone-Campbell (or Restoration Movement) tradition of churches<sup>7</sup>. Second, as each period of the (ICoC relevant) Stone-Campbell history is conveyed, the philosophy of theological education is highlighted. The focus on theological education, or lack thereof, gives evidence of an undercurrent of social forces that impacted on the ICoC's decisions in this regard.

Chapter three provides a summary of key developments within Protestant theological education in the United States during the twentieth century. The chapter allows educational developments in both the CoC and ICoC to be compared to institutions outside of the Stone-Campbell churches. This allows for trends specific to the ICoC to be isolated.

Chapter four provides sociological insights into the ICoC's decision-making in its first generation. By using Max Weber's theory of 'Charisma and Routinization', a framework is laid which is used to contrast the authority residing in the Boston Movement's then leader, Kip McKean, and other sources of authority like seminaries. Some more recent scholars on religious schisms and new religious movements will

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<sup>7</sup> Included is a detailed explanation of the relationship between the Crossroads and Boston Movements' that later became the ICoC

also be used to provide insight on authority and its influence on decisions in first generation movements such as the one being studied.

Chapter five shows that at least eight definable factors contributed to the ICoC's decision not to require formal theological training from 1979-2002. The evidence for the thesis is presented by blending both the primary and secondary sources of qualitative data in these findings.

Finally, chapter six concludes with a reflection on the findings. I also describe some developments in the ICoC's post 2002 policy on the topic of theological education.

### ***Terminology***

In order to prevent potential ambiguity, I have provided definitions for three key terms that are sometimes given different meanings.

#### 'Formal Theological Training'

By 'formal theological training', I take Wytock's definition that describes formal theological training as: "*those formal studies in theology or divinity conducted through disciplined pedagogical forms involving a systematic course of instruction. This study thus draws out and develops mental or intellectual thought in the study of theology*" (Wytock 2003, 6).

#### 'Influencing'

I have chosen the word 'influencing' as opposed to a term that is more direct such as 'causing'. This decision was a partial result of Eliade's notion that reduction is the 'cardinal problem' in the study of religion (Eliade 1958, 29). Baker echoed this when warning against psychological 'reductionism' that occurs when scholars reduce complex social phenomena to a single cause (Baker 1999, 104). The definition also impacts on my analysis in which I chose not to weigh the findings. I do not assign

weights to the different factors because any such quasi-statistical result would be the result of an arbitrary and unprovable choice.

### 'Ministers'

There are different interpretations of the word 'minister' in religious contexts. To some Christian denominations, it is synonymous with 'priest' or a member of the 'clergy' (Pollard 2000, 513). The Encyclopedia of Christianity (Fahlbusch 2008, 540) defines ministry as: "*carrying forth Christ's mission in the world*" which has a universal application for Christian service and is not reserved for those in leadership positions. Alexander Campbell, and to a lesser extent Barton Stone, the founders of the Stone-Campbell Movement were opposed to a clergy/laity distinction (Tristano 1988, 86). In alignment with Campbell, neither the CoC nor the ICoC distinguish paid preachers and non-paid members through sacramental theology (Foster, et al. 2004, 663). The Stone-Campbell Movement has, however, continued to debate the understanding of, and terminology for paid ministerial offices. Each branch of the Stone-Campbell Movement has taken a different trajectory in terms of qualifications, expectations and terminology for its 'ministers' (Foster, et al. 2004, 521-533). The CoC took a strong anticlerical position and, similarly, the ICoC expects all members (paid or not) to perform pastoral duties (McKean 1992, 8). The ICoC's stance on leadership and congregational autonomy contrasted with the CoC as it employed and managed paid leaders in a formalised and structured way. For this thesis, I therefore define 'ministers' as those members of a church who are formally employed by the church in order to fulfill pastoral duties (also known as 'Evangelists' in the ICoC).

### ***Date Range (1979-2002)***

The date range for this thesis encompasses the tenure of Kip McKean from his move to Boston in 1979 until his resignation as the leader of the ICoC in 2002. As noted by Lewis and Lewis (2009, 3) and Wessinger (2005, 6513-6514), the exact date of a schism is often impossible to isolate. Both the Crossroads and Boston Movements' were essentially the same progressive wave with a change in name happening as the center shifted from the Crossroads CoC to the Boston CoC. This shift initially

happened because of Lucas's 1985 resignation from leadership at Crossroads and McKean's increased prominence. At this time, the movement began to be called the Boston Movement. The 1992 renaming of the Boston Movement (to the ICoC) was the external recognition of a schism that was already concrete in practice.

Due to the potential ambiguity in dating, I have settled on starting the research range in 1979, which was the year that McKean moved to Lexington, Massachusetts, and established the Boston CoC. In 2002, McKean resigned from his position as leader of the ICoC. He had taken an indefinite sabbatical in 2001 at the request of the senior leadership in the Los Angeles ICoC<sup>8</sup>, but there was still uncertainty as to his future (Stanback 2005, 121-125). After 2002, with McKean's departure from the helm of the Movement, the ICoC went through a transition. Most of the McKean-era hierarchy was dismantled and the Movement searched for a different model of leadership (D. A. Foster 2005, 1781). Although new religious movements' (NRM's) often only enter their second generation at the death of their founder (Fox 2005, 326) (J. G. Melton 1991, 1), McKean's resignation from all major leadership responsibilities<sup>9</sup> in 2002 can be regarded as constituting the end to the ICoC's first generation and hence the choice of dates.

#### *1.4 Research Methodology*

There is currently no unified record of the socio-historical factors influencing the Boston Movement's decision not to require formal theological education<sup>10</sup>. The testing of my thesis involves a qualitative investigation of literary and human sources both from within and outside of the Boston Movement (later ICoC). In order to extract the results relevant to this research, five groups of potential data are explored and combined as sources for a qualitative analysis. First, literature relating to the CoC's philosophy and history of educating ministers has been extracted from various sources on the Movement's history. Second, literature relating to theological

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<sup>8</sup> McKean moved the ICoC headquarters to Los Angeles, California, in 1990. Part of his rationale was to build a "super-church" in the city as an example to the other Boston Movement churches' (Stanback 2005, 108)

<sup>9</sup> McKean initially stayed on in the ICoC and led a congregation in Portland, Oregon, for a few years. He eventually left the ICoC to start a new movement (The International Christian Church) in 2006 (Harding 2012). His departure from the Movement that he was so instrumental in starting further makes the point that the first generation of the ICoC ended in the early 2000s.

<sup>10</sup> To the best of the authors knowledge as of February 2014

education in twentieth century United States allows me to isolate phenomena that are CoC/Boston Movement specific and not just trends in general educational theory at the time. Third, the writings of Max Weber and other sociologists of religion are used to help understand the authoritative forces in new religious movements such as the Boston Movement. The role and locus of authority is particularly relevant when comparing the power given to individuals as opposed to institutions of theological education. Fourth, the relatively limited writing on the thirty-five year history of the ICoC provides insight into the perceived and stated reasons for its decisions around formal theological education. Finally, building on the foundational knowledge of the above elements, a set of interviews with current senior members of the ICoC has been conducted. The interviewees were selected for their particularly strong ties to the first two decades of the movement and Kip McKean himself. The combination of these five elements allowed for conclusions to be drawn and to test the thesis that it was not only McKean's perspective on how to train ministers that influenced the Boston Movement's educational policy.

### *Analysis*

For qualitative analysis, I have drawn from the Miles and Huberman approach. The analytical approach comprises of a continuous three-phased process: 'data reduction', 'data display', and 'conclusion drawing/verification' (Miles and Huberman 1994, 4). The Miles and Huberman approach is an appropriate tool for this research as it assumes that qualitative research design should not be standardised and that a customised approach will create research that meets the needs of the central research question. The approach also allows for various forms of qualitative data, in this case literature and interviews, to be incorporated into the analysis (Fielding and Lee 1998, 40).

The reduction phase is the process whereby research material is selected and condensed. This is done based on a conceptual framework and keeps the central research question as the foundation (Miles and Huberman 1994, 430). By reducing the information relating to the research question, one is able to locate potential causal factors. This phase is also referred to as first level coding (Punch 1998, 205).

While the above process continues, the reduced data identified as relevant to the research question is arranged. The arrangement is done in order to allow the researcher to identify, focus on, and select potential interpretations of the data. The process is referred to as second level coding. With display, patterns become stronger and the first level codes are arranged into thematic clusters for analysis (Punch 1998, 204). Thematic clusters or ‘pattern codes’ assisted in the process of identifying relationships that exist between the data.

The final phase of analysis involves drawing “broad, but substantiated interpretations of displayed data” (Fielding and Lee, 1998: 42 citing Miles and Huberman, 1998). Verification of the data is done by cross referencing the different sources and then testing some early conclusions against the opinions of the primary sources. Additionally, verification is established by confirming whether findings under one thematic cluster were supported by other findings within the coded data. The verification is done as many of the identified factors could overlap and consequently build rigour into the research. While some researchers allow weighted values to be assigned to thematic clusters, this is not a necessary step (Punch 1998, 294).

Over the period in which I collected literary data (November 2012 – June 2013), a number of themes emerged relating to my thesis. While some themes had more direct correlation to the topic than others, an initial framework for my findings took shape. By including personal interviews, I added substantiation to some of the existing themes, and new themes were generated. The interviews caused me to question early assumptions and proved invaluable in testing my thesis. In the end, I could arrange my findings in a way that would account for the most prominent factors that influenced the ICoC (formerly Boston Movement) in the decision not to require formal education for their ministers from 1979 to 2002.

### *Sources*

There are a number of published works on the CoC and ICoC. The most comprehensive of these writings have come from historians within the Stone-Campbell tradition of churches. In the *Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (2004), the editors devote the first section of the book to highlighting

some problems with the general Stone-Campbell church historiography (Foster, et al. 2004, xxi-xxxv). One relevant point made by the editors was that many writings' from within the Stone-Campbell Movement had a bias towards triumphalism<sup>11</sup> (Foster, et al. 2004, xxxii). The early Boston Movement is no exception. The general problem of objectivity and selection in historical writing is further complicated when it comes to the study of church history (Evans 1997, 252-253). Bradley and Muller (1995, 55) recognise the challenges of studying church history that is intertwined with core belief of a God who acts throughout history. Each Church historian will view differently the involvement of God depending on his/her theological understanding and research stance.

Despite these challenges above, it is possible to gather enough information from these sources in order to address the research question with rigour as promoted by De Wet and Erasmus in their work on addressing reliability in qualitative research (De Wet and Erasmus 2005, 27-28). Gordon Heath correctly identifies the denominational press as a unique primary source of information for historical research as it reflects the views of the writers and influenced shaping contemporary public opinion (Heath 2006, 112-113). With this in mind, minor sources were no less relevant to the research. Unpublished and internal sources uniquely add to the data studied and their reliability has been handled appropriately. Where possible I have used published, peer reviewed sources and when this level of reliability has not been possible, the weight of the sources has been adjusted. Cross-referencing between unrelated sources also has provided evidence of factual consistency. Once the interviews were added, the themes relevant to this thesis became evident. I conducted seven interviews with senior ICoC members who were present in the early years of the Boston Movement. All of these interviewees were mentioned in the literature on the Boston Movement.

These men have intimate knowledge of the CoC, Crossroads Movement, Boston Movement and ICoC. They have been associated with the Movement as far back as the 1970s and 1980s. The interviewees' long-term involvement in the Boston Movement leadership provides detailed insight into the Movement's early decision making. Most of the interviews were conducted on a fieldwork trip to the United States in September 2013 (See Appendix 3 for details of the interviews).

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<sup>11</sup> the conviction that one belief or set of beliefs, especially religious or political ones, is victorious and far superior to any others (Encarta Dictionary: English (U.K.))

## **Chapter 2.**

### **Historical Overview of the ICoC and Its Policy of Formal Education Within the Greater Stone-Campbell Movement**

This chapter explores the history of education in the Stone-Campbell (Restoration) Movement<sup>12</sup> that led directly to the ICoC. I trace the roots of the ICoC back to the founders of the Restoration Movement, Alexander Campbell and Barton Stone, and have intertwined the general history of the ICoC with the greater Restoration Movement's continued debate on the education of paid ministers (or preachers). The chapter shows that there were significant socio-historical forces that not only influenced the Boston Movements initial schism, but also its policy around formal theological education.

#### *2.1 Introduction*

The ICoC is one of a number of schisms in the Restoration (Stone-Campbell) Movement, which has its roots in the first half of the nineteenth-century in the United States. Although less than two hundred<sup>13</sup> years old, the Restoration Movement has a complex history reaching back through the CoC to the period of the Second Great Awakening<sup>14</sup> (1790–1870) in the USA. Two movements, one led by Barton W. Stone and the other by Alexander Campbell were united by handshake in the state of Kentucky in 1832 and have since become known as the Stone-Campbell Movement or Restoration Movement. The ICoC is a schism from the 'traditional' (or 'mainline')

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<sup>12</sup> While there is room to debate the boundary between a 'movement' and 'institution' (as discussed in Chapter 4), Niebuhr (1988, 168) skillfully makes a distinction with the following statement: "*Institutions can never conserve without betraying the movements from which they proceed. The institution is static, whereas its parent movement has been dynamic; it confines men within its limits, while the movement had liberated them from the bondage of institutions; it looks to the past, [although] the movement had pointed forward. Though in content the institution resembles the dynamic epoch whence it proceeded, in spirit it is like the [state] before the revolution*". All of the movements discussed in this thesis are on the continuum of transition from movement to institution. While impossible to define the exact point of transition, writers like Hughes (1996) have strongly argued that that the CoC is already an institution even though defined as part of the Stone-Campbell *Movement* (emphasis the author's). The situation of the ICoC is discussed in further detail in Chapter 4.

<sup>13</sup> Taking 1832 as the official start of the Stone-Campbell tradition (See Hughes 1996, 12)

<sup>14</sup> The Second Great Awakening was: "*a religious revival movement during the early nineteenth century in the United States, which expressed Arminian theology by which every person could be saved through revivals. It enrolled millions of new members, and led to the formation of new denominations. Many converts believed that the Awakening heralded a new millennial age. The Second Great Awakening stimulated the establishment of many reform movements designed to remedy the evils of society before the Second Coming of Jesus Christ*" (Smith 1957, 68).

CoC. The CoC was itself recognised as separate from other branches in the Restoration Movement in the 1906 USA Federal Census (Foster, et al. 2004, 214).

The premise that initially united Stone and Campbell was the ideal of restoring “*primitive*” Christianity – the attempt to recover in the modern age the Christian faith as it was believed and practiced in the first century (Hughes 1996, 1). This has been a defining characteristic of the Restoration churches to this day, and, while it forms part of the Movement’s major identity, it is the cause of most tension within its branches. From its origins in the American frontier (specifically the region from Middle Tennessee to West Texas), by 1848 the Stone-Campbell movement had a membership of 200,000 (V. L. Miller 1860, 142). Over time, the total membership of the Movement became harder to estimate as the number of congregations grew in size but also autonomy. The *Atlas of American Religion* placed the membership at four million by 1990 (Newman and Halvorson 2000, 26)<sup>15</sup>. By the middle of the Twentieth Century, the Movement had three main schisms: the Churches of Christ (CoC), the Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ) and the Independent Christian Churches (D. A. Foster 2005, 1781).

Both Stone and Campbell were from strong Reformed Protestant backgrounds. The early movement, however, had an ideal of “*the unification of all Christians in a single body patterned after the church of the New Testament and its members do not identify as Protestant but simply as Christian*” (Hill, Lippy and Wilson 2005, 764). The brief historical overview below demonstrates that the ideal of a unified church and a clear definition of New Testament restoration has been a difficult task for the Stone-Campbell churches.

## 2.2 *The Stone-Campbell Period*

Alexander Campbell and Barton W. Stone were young ordained ministers with roots in Presbyterian churches. The two men had come to separate but similar convictions about restoring the New Testament Church in their day (then the early nineteenth century) and each had gathered a following committed to this cause. Theological

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<sup>15</sup> Another estimate puts the Restoration Movement’s global membership at around 4,500,000 by the beginning of the twenty first century (Scheer 2011).

convictions that drove them from their parent churches' eventually brought the previously unconnected movements together in 1832 (Hughes 1996, 12). The two movements had independently grown rapidly with Stone's 'Christians' numbering roughly 10,000 and the Campbell's 'Reformers' almost 12,000 (Williams, Foster and Blowers 2013, 29). Together, the now united movement that reached 200,000 members in the next three decades. The rapid growth led the Movement to becoming one of the ten largest denominational bodies in the United States (V. L. Miller 1860, 142).

Alexander Campbell (1788-1866) was a first generation Irish immigrant to America and son of Presbyterian minister Thomas Campbell (1763-1854). The younger Campbell believed in restoring early Christianity, but he also had strong convictions on postmillennialism<sup>16</sup>. Both he and his followers merged the dual focus of looking both back into the New Testament past and towards the Eschatological future (Hughes 1996, 29).

Campbell's Presbyterian Father, the Enlightenment, and particularly Francis Bacon<sup>17</sup> and John Locke<sup>18</sup>, influenced his thinking (Foster, et al. 2004, 142). A rational and scientific approach inclined Campbell toward a more fact-based biblical hermeneutic. Campbell used this type of approach to debate the theology of both the Catholic and Protestant churches at the time (Hughes 1996, 31-32). In his early days of leadership, Campbell opposed any form of creed and tradition and saw these as "*opinion*" at the heart of the sectarian church. His aversion to organisation included missionary societies, Bible and educational societies and, in fact, any ecclesiastical organisation

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<sup>16</sup> The Difference between postmillennialism and premillennialism, as the CoC sees it, is summarised in a CoC publication as follows: "*Postmillennialism expects Christ to return after the millennium, which usually is to come through the preaching of the gospel. This outlook is optimistic (the world will be converted), not particularly mission-minded (God will work it out in His own time) and is unspectacular enough not to attract special attention. Premillennialism looks for Christ to return before the millennium and to bring it about, saving man from his own destruction in the process. It is generally pessimistic (the world is getting worse every day; only Christ can save it), often is very mission-minded (not much time is left), and is frequently associated with spectacular announcements and movements (this all will come through climactic, supernatural events when least expected by mankind).*" (Fudge 1969, 5)

<sup>17</sup> Francis Bacon (1561-1626) "*established and popularized inductive methodologies for scientific inquiry, often called the Baconian method, or simply the scientific method. His demand for a planned procedure of investigating all things natural marked a new turn in the rhetorical and theoretical framework for science, much of which still surrounds conceptions of proper methodology today*" (Peltonen 2007).

<sup>18</sup> John Locke (1632-1704) "*is considered "one of the first British empiricists, following the tradition of Francis Bacon, and widely known as the father of Classical Liberalism. He was one of the most influential of Enlightenment thinkers"* (Broad 2000, 33-34).

beyond the local congregation (Hughes 1996, 34). Later in life, he had a substantial change in perspective finding more peace with Protestant Christianity. He surprisingly ended up becoming a champion of the Protestant faith (although not Protestant denominationalism). This was partially the result of the attempt to combat the perceived threat of Catholic control in the USA. It was also partially the result of his followers' failure to understand his ecumenical ideals (Hughes 1996, 36-37). Campbell, although initially against para-church organisations, founded Bethany College in 1840. He set the College's curriculum around the Bible in an attempt to circumvent a denominational bias (Hughes 1996, 40). His apparent change in stance about para-church organisations ironically led him to become the president of the American Christian Missionary Society. Campbell eventually even changed his doctrinal stance on baptism<sup>19</sup> which had been so fundamental to 'Campbellite' theology.

The difference between Campbell's stance in the early days of the Movement and that which he took towards his death was dramatic. Although somewhat unrecognised by his own followers, there was a strong response to these changes from the next generation of leaders. Influential men like Tolbert Fanning, David Lipscomb and Jacob Creath Jr. were scathing in their opinion of Campbell's theological shift. They attributed it to factors including senility, greed and selfishness. There was also speculation among members that he was disillusioned at the Movement's failure to bring about millennial unity. This disillusionment, they thought, had caused his drift towards accepting broader Protestant principles (Hughes 1996, 40-41).

Barton W. Stone (1772-1844), while drawing some similar conclusions to Alexander Campbell, had a very different, and arguably lesser, impact on the Stone-Campbell movement. While there are many conceivable reasons for Stone's smaller role, one was probably that he was heavily influenced by the revivals that sparked during the First and Second Great Awakenings. This influence would stand in contrast to some of Campbell's beliefs. Another probable reason was the practicality that he died in 1844, twenty-two years before Alexander Campbell (Foster, et al. 2004, 707; 721).

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<sup>19</sup> Alexander Campbell's initial stance saw baptism as essential for salvation. This was in opposition to mainstream Protestantism at the time. Later he softened his stance allowing for some flexibility on the Baptism's role in salvation but not on its place as an entrance requirement for the church (See Foster, et al. 2004, 60).

Stone was not only influenced by the Great Awakenings but became an initiator of revivals in his own community<sup>20</sup>. Many of his early followers were Separatist Baptists who supported the restoration of primitive Christianity (Hughes 1996, 115). He experienced what he judged to be the work of the Holy Spirit moving men and women to engage in Great Awakening phenomena like falling, jerking and barking. These, while certainly strange to some, were consistent with the Awakenings and the ministry of George Whitfield, the acknowledged soul of the Great Awakening (Hughes 1996, 96).

The revivals to which Stone was a part (and the Awakenings in general) had a number of points in common with Alexander Campbell's early theological thinking. The emphasis on non-denominational Christianity was a strong theme in the Awakenings as was unity under the banner of Christ (Hughes 1996, 113-114). These similarities influenced the two movement leaders toward each other. Stone's core beliefs were always, however, far less secular in orientation than Campbell. Possibly Stone's deepest philosophy related to his apocalyptic worldview in which he insisted that all denominations were equally wrong and constituted a "*wilderness of confusion*". He allowed that there were authentic Christians within the denominational world but believed that they should be called out to unite on "*the New Testament alone*", free from denominational bias. He believed that once the true Christians abandoned their denominations that these structures would eventually "*collapse into dust*" (Hughes 1996, 105). Alexander Campbell also differed with Stone on the work of the Holy Spirit in conversion. Campbell accredited the Bible as the only way in which hearts were moved. This and other tensions never left the partnership (Hughes 1996, 116).

Stone and Campbell agreed on the restoration principle and, with further shared convictions, united their followers (Hughes 1996, 4). While Stone and Campbell agreed that the restoration principle should serve to unify Christianity, their divergent thinking on sectarianism remained an underlying tension in the Movement. The umbrella of 'Stone-Campbellite' unity was not enough to contain the ever-present "*Stoneite*" and "*Campbellite*" division. Tensions relating to the restoration

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<sup>20</sup> Stone organised the Cane Ridge revival meeting where estimates numbered the participants between twenty and thirty thousand (Foster, et al. 2004, 164).

hermeneutic have influenced the branches of the Stone-Campbell movement right into the twenty-first century<sup>21</sup>.

Until Alexander Campbell's death, he was the central figure in the Stone-Campbell movement's philosophy of theological education. He believed that: "*The immediate goal of education should be the religious and moral endowment of the individual person. Intellectual cultivation facilitated that end.*" (Foster, et al. 2004, 292). His approach was pragmatic and he thought that anyone taught proper hermeneutical techniques would be able to gain correct moral direction through "disciplined, rational bible study" (p. 292). Campbell lectured at Bethany College but insisted that it was neither a "*seminary nor theological school*". They were, in his mind, secular in nature. The balance between knowledge and spiritual formation, he admitted, was hard to achieve but not negotiable. The debate about the nature of biblical education would never cease to be a point of contention as the Restoration Movement moved in to the twentieth century (Foster, et al. 2004, 292-294).

For the purposes of this background to the research, I have not delved any further into the complications and nuances of the first period of the movement. Stone and Campbell appreciated and accepted each other in fellowship and united on their interpretation of the core gospel, the essentials of the faith and the allowance for liberty of opinion on marginal issues (Garrett 2000). While grouped together as a common heritage, the difference between their movements was substantial and to consider the early Stone-Campbell Movement a homogenous group would be incorrect. They were an evolving amalgamation of theological principles, governance styles and hermeneutical philosophies with cracks that started to splinter progressively with time, and eventually they divided completely (Garrett 2000). In summary, according to Hughes, the main point of incompatibility lay in their vastly different sectarian approaches. Stone's focus was primarily a separation from denominationalism through the return to Christianity's ethical and spiritual roots; Campbell, on the other hand, was focused on the forms and structures of primitive Christianity (Hughes 1996, 92)

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<sup>21</sup> For more on this topic see Ronald Petter's thesis titled: "*The Role of the Restoration Hermeneutic in the Fractures of the Churches of Christ in the Twentieth Century*" (Petter, 2009).

### 2.3 *From Stone-Campbell to the Churches of Christ*

After the deaths of both Stone (1844) and Campbell (1866), the Movement became increasingly unstable. Multiple views over different topics began to test the fragile union to the point of separation. Among the more contested issues was the existence of para-church organisations like missionary societies. Many believed that these societies were not authorised by scripture and would compromise the autonomy of local congregations (Foster, et al. 2004, 534-537). The use of instrumental music in worship was another point of contention among the churches. Opponents argued that the New Testament provided no authorisation for its use in worship, while supporters argued on the basis of expediency and Christian liberty. Affluent, urban congregations were more likely to adopt musical instruments, while poorer and more rural congregations tended to see them as ‘an accommodation to the ways of the world’ (Foster, et al. 2004, 414-417). These discrepancies eventually became schisms. The Stone-Campbell movement also encompassed very different views concerning the role of clergy. Campbellites were strongly anti-clerical, believing there was no justification for a clergy/lay distinction, while the Stone branch had a higher view of clergy, believing that only an ordained minister could officiate at communion (Tristano 1988, 86). Division over the role of women in society and the church, as well as the role of black former slaves further pervaded the discourse within the movement (Williams, Foster and Blowers 2013, 45). The *Encyclopedia of the Stone Campbell Movement* (2004) noted that historians of each branch of the movement have interpreted some of these issues differently (Foster, et al. 2004, 414) but there is no shortage of clarity that numerous pressures were exerted on the unity ideal.

The Civil War in America (1861-1865) served to further divide the movement as it did the nation (Foster, et al. 2004, 224), and by the dawn of the twentieth-century, two distinct movements were forming. The racial, socio-economic and geographic factors related to the Civil War<sup>22</sup> were exacerbated by theological reactions, as well as differing views on ‘innovation’<sup>23</sup> (Williams, Foster and Blowers 2013, 81-84). What was soon to become two completely separate churches, the *Churches of Christ* (CoC)

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<sup>22</sup> The Victorious North was prosperous in comparison to the defeated and largely impoverished South and the role of formerly enslaved Africans contributed to this division (Williams, Foster and Blowers 2013, 45; 84).

<sup>23</sup> Among these ‘Innovations’ were instrumental music, resident preachers and fund-raising (Williams, Foster and Blowers 2013, 81).

and the *Disciples of Christ* were physically separating from one another. Court battles were determining which group would retain possession of church buildings. Appeals were made to ‘earlier’ and ‘later’ teachings of Campbell<sup>24</sup>. Although the division was bilateral, each stream was by no means homogenous with internal differences leading to further realignments in later years (Williams, Foster and Blowers 2013, 84). What could be described as an “*excessive number of schools*” (Foster, et al. 2004, 393) in the post-Civil War educational boom also fed the rivalry in the dividing Restoration Movement. Whether colleges were too sectarian or secularised pitted school against school and created internal fractures on campuses (Foster, et al. 2004, 393).

Almost fully separated by the latter decades of the nineteenth-century, the aforementioned 1906 USA Federal Census was the first external body to recognise the total separation of the Disciples of Christ (Christian Church) from the CoC<sup>25</sup> (Foster, et al. 2004, 214). A third major division came later with the Christian Churches/Churches of Christ<sup>26</sup> separating from the Disciples of Christ (Christian Church)<sup>27</sup> (See Appendix 2 for a schematic of the movement’s major splits).

Historian Richard Tristiano (1988, 109) summarised David Harrell’s convincing research on the social sources of division between the Disciples of Christ and the CoC in the late nineteenth-century (Harrell 1973, 334-350) as follows:

*“It can be generally stated that the Disciples of Christ were mostly northern, but also that they were urban; self consciously richer, they built large church edifices which were worth more money; they supported a college-educated clergy; and articulated an ideal which revolved around the businessman. On the other hand, the Churches of Christ were mostly southern and rural; they*

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<sup>24</sup> Hughes (1996, 46) described the Disciples of Christ as the offspring of the ‘later Campbell’ and the Churches of Christ belonging to Campbell’s earlier convictions.

<sup>25</sup> Hughes (1996, 17) claims that for some, even within the movement, it took fifty or more years to finally recognise that there were two streams within the late nineteenth-century Restoration Movement and not one.

<sup>26</sup> Having originated in a variety of places with different leaders and no centralised structure, there is no consistent nomenclature for the Stone-Campbell movement as a whole. A general trend does exist towards names that are directly related to Christ and discipleship. The name: ‘Stone-Campbell Movement’ itself only emerged in the late decades of the twentieth-century (Foster, et al. 2004, 551). The Christian Church/Churches of Christ also chose to keep names associated with the early Restoration Movement in spite of their current use in the other branches of the movement (Foster, et al. 2004, 185).

<sup>27</sup> The dating of this schism is problematic due to its slow, complex nature and the radical non-denominational stance that the Christian Church/Churches of Christ have subsequently taken. Dating the schism ranges from 1926-1971 depending on the criteria chosen (Foster, et al. 2004, 185-189).

*denounced elaborate church buildings and such practices as the wearing of fine, expensive clothing to church; built relatively more but smaller and more modest churches for smaller congregations; and articulated an ideal which remained the simple and austere yeoman farmer. They also tended to attack theological education because it created a professional clergy.”* (Tristano 1988, 109)

The CoC’s stance on theological education would, however, change in the twentieth century. This is detailed in the section below.

#### *2.4 From the Churches of Christ to the Boston Movement*

The end of the nineteenth-century saw the CoC solidifying its status as a sect<sup>28</sup>. It stood in judgment of denominations as well as cultural values of the world in which it existed (Hughes 1996, 137). Both Stone and Campbell held overlapping views on sectarianism but an underlying tension existed as to the foundation and nature of separation from society. Seeing merit in both, some well-known leaders in the CoC fought to reconcile both Stone and Campbell’s worldviews<sup>29</sup>. Eventually the CoC aligned with Campbell’s sectarian vision of “*separation from the denominations*” rather than Stone’s: “*separation from the world*” (Hughes 1996, 95). The CoC membership grew rapidly in a few decades following the 1906 census increasing from 159,658 to 433,714 by 1936 (Foster, et al. 2004, 215).

The USA’s involvement in both the World Wars had an impact on the CoC. These wars had gradually seen pacifism erode from the ethos of the CoC to the point that, by the time of the Vietnam War in the 1960s, pacifism had almost completely vanished (Hughes 1996, 145-149). The twentieth century wars also served to highlight certain problems in the unity of the CoC with a new set of disputes arising. Disagreements on premillennialism, institutionalisation and liberalism would consume the direction of the CoC for most of the century (Foster, et al. 2004, 219). Tensions in the CoC

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<sup>28</sup> A sect is: “a religious organization that insists that it – and it alone – constitutes the entirety of the kingdom of God. Typically a sect stands in judgement both on other religious organizations and on the larger culture in which it exists.” (Hughes 1996, xii)

<sup>29</sup> David Lipscomb (1831-1917) and before him Tolbert Fanning (1810-1874) had fought hard to fuse the positives in both Campbell’s and Stone’s theology. This, however, did not prove to be a possibility for the Church of Christ (Hughes 1996, 117)

surrounding the three issues had a profound impact on the state of the church in the 1960s, and were influential in the Boston Movement's eventual formation. Premillennialism was foundational to the Stone-Campbell movement's early theological and ecclesiological development, but, by the early twentieth-century, it had lost most of its support in the CoC (Hughes 1996, 167). More relevant to the eventual Boston Movement split and subsequent attitude towards theological education were the issues of institutionalisation and liberalism.

Post-World War II, the CoC went through an extreme institutional transformation. The church had increased in membership from 169,000 members at the beginning of the twenty first century to 915,000 in 1965 and over 1,24 million by 1980 (Foster 2005, 1781). Institutionalisation was focused on a number of key areas: colleges, missions, broadcasting and church buildings (Hughes 1996, 228-253). Each area had its own impact, and there was significant opposition to institutionalisation as the CoC began to look less and less like the movement founded in the previous century (Hughes 1996, 252). Earl West (1987) chronicled the development of many CoC institutions in the first half of the twentieth century. West said:

*“Thus, the energies and finances of a large segment of the brother-hood came to be turned toward benevolent and educational enterprises. Some were to be ‘modest, little’ schools or projects while others reached out as large institutions that would extend through many years”.* (West 1987, 138)

The very existence of paid ministers and their subsequent educational requirements had long been discussed<sup>30</sup>. In the early 1900s many of the preachers in the CoC did not have college education (Foster, et al. 2004, 215). The idea of higher education for preachers was violently condemned by many in the nineteenth century although that did not stop the establishment of church-related colleges (Hughes 1996, 228-229). As the CoC continued to institutionalise more and more Universities and Bible Colleges<sup>31</sup> were built. The building of these institutions became prolific among the churches in

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<sup>30</sup> The opposition to paid ministers had a number of facets but notable was the idea that the “clerics” would “*push aside the God-given Elders*” in the local congregations (Hughes 1996, 230).

<sup>31</sup> Bible Colleges or Schools of Preaching were a development within the United States religious history of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. They were designed specifically to train those desiring a vocation in the ministry. This was different to church-managed universities that offered liberal arts degrees and a balance of biblical and secular courses (Foster, et al. 2004, 92) (See Chapter three for more on twentieth century theological education).

the Stone-Campbell tradition with 215 known colleges and universities as well as a further 207 academies being built by the end of the twentieth century. Schools like Abilene Christian University, Pepperdine University and Harding University were added to the growing number of colleges, universities and academies that bore the CoC label (Foster, et al. 2004, 390).

Although many early Stone-Campbell preachers were self-educated (Hughes 1996, 331), by the mid-twentieth century a recognised theological education became the standard route for those desiring a CoC ministry position. More than ninety percent of ministers had either college degrees or certificates from schools of preaching (Foster, et al. 2004, 215). While a degree was never formalised into a requirement<sup>32</sup>, a graduate school education was certainly accepted as the right path into a ministry position. By the 1970s an internship had been added to the formal theological training in the CoC. The internship concept, as John Wilson<sup>33</sup> had initially developed it, was seen as something like a medical residency. Once a person completed the qualification, the expectation was that they would be ready to assume a full-time position in a campus ministry somewhere around the country (T. Jones 2007, 39).

A growing mid-twentieth century debate over liberalism in the CoC eventually set the stage for the Boston Movement schism (Hughes 1996, 307). In the 1960s, a youthful, progressive element had developed in the CoC. They were well educated, driven by a social agenda and found the “*traditional concerns of the CoC*” to be “*inadequate and irrelevant to the world in which they lived*” (Hughes 1996, 307). In reaction, a group of conservatives emerged that fought to absolutise the historic vision of the CoC. Both of these groups were criticised by the CoC mainstream (Hughes 1996, 308). One of the fronts in which this battle was fought was in the CoC campus ministries, this would eventually lead to a tipping point, and the Boston Movement split.

In the mid-sixties, some in the CoC became strongly influenced by the work of the evangelical organisation *Campus Crusade for Christ*<sup>34</sup>. The CoC leaders conceived of a similar model of campus ministry almost entirely centered on evangelism called

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<sup>32</sup> The churches were largely autonomous and so no rules could be imposed beyond those established by the local congregation (D. A. Foster 2005, 1780).

<sup>33</sup> At the time chairman of the missions department, Abilene Christian University (T. Jones 2007, 39)

<sup>34</sup> Campus Crusade for Christ is a non-denominational evangelism movement that was started in the 1950s by Bill Bright. It became extremely popular on college campuses in the United States (Turner 2008).

“*Campus Evangelism*” (CE) (Wilson 2010, 70). A series of seminars were subsequently established and designed to introduce this new model to those campuses already involved in the Bible Chair<sup>35</sup> Movement. CE was also intended to encourage the initiation of new campus ministries based on a more evangelistic model (Foster, et al. 2004, 150). Bill Bright, president of Campus Crusade, was invited to speak at the first of these seminars in 1966. These seminars grew in attendance and regularity and became a source of inspiration and growth for the CoC but also a place where tensions already present would spill over into the seminar agenda (Foster, et al. 2004, 150). In 1968, a seminar was held in Dallas, Texas, and it was here that CE announced that it would sponsor a pilot project ‘*Campus Advance*’ (CA) at the University of Florida in Gainesville. The project was to be led by Chuck Lucas, a campus minister (Wilson 2010, 70). CE was heavily criticised by the conservatives who disliked their accommodation of denominational influences, abandonment of traditional CoC structures and emphasis on the power of the Holy Spirit in the lives of believers. Funding was quickly stopped and CE officially folded by April 1970 (Hughes 1996, 345).

While CE did not endure, younger members appreciated the new emphasis on commitment and models for communal activity. This activity became identified by many with the forces of radical change in the larger society that characterised the late sixties and seventies<sup>36</sup> (Wilson 2010, 70). With CE fading away, *Campus Advance* was taking on a life of its own. The campus ministry in Gainesville thrived and sustained strong support from the Elders of the local congregation, the Crossroads CoC. By 1971 as many as a hundred people a year were joining the church. Most notable was the development of an aggressive training programme for potential campus ministers. By the mid-seventies a number of young men and women had been trained to replicate the philosophy and methods of the Crossroads Church in other places (Wilson 2010, 70).

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<sup>35</sup> Bible Chairs were campus ministry programmes’ within the CoC. They were conceived in response to two developments in the early twentieth-century CoC. These were: (1) The prohibition of religious education in public education and (2) increasing numbers of students in the CoC attending state universities as opposed to church-related colleges. Although there was some pastoral care, the hallmark of these campus organisations was academic study of the bible (Foster, et al. 2004, 91-92).

<sup>36</sup> The Vietnam War was a major catalyst for the surge of liberalism in the United States youth. The CoC had wrestled with the concept of pacifism but by the 1960s had become far more mainstream in their support of the USA going to war. This did not resonate with the youth in the CoC and was part of the foundation for the conflict within the church during the middle decades of the twentieth century (Hughes 1996, 266-268).

The evangelistic success of the Crossroads ministry was highly attractive to other university churches. Churches eager for more effective outreach hired young ministers trained at Crossroads. While some of these churches did experience growth, local church leaders soon discovered that Crossroads trained ministers looked primarily to their mentors in Florida for guidance. The growing national network of Crossroads trained ministers was not always inclined to accept the leadership of local elders (Wilson 2010, 71). Controversy began to unsettle CoC campus ministries throughout the United States. Local leaders began to question what they considered authoritarian attitudes by these campus ministers and excessive control over new converts. The Crossroads oriented ministers, in turn, believed that the opposition revealed a lack of commitment on the part of existing churches. Mutual distrust became widespread as the Crossroads Movement's "*revitalization*" of the CoC was heading, rather, towards a split (Hughes 1996, 363).

Among the early converts at Gainesville was a young man named Kip McKean who had been personally mentored by Chuck Lucas<sup>37</sup>. McKean's first job as a Campus Minister was in 1975 at Philadelphia's Northeastern Christian College. In 1976, McKean moved to a campus ministry at Eastern Illinois University in Charleston, Illinois, where he enjoyed considerable evangelistic success (Harding 2012). By 1979 his ministry grew from a few individuals to over three hundred making it the fastest growing CoC campus ministry in the USA (Stanback 2005, 46). McKean then moved to Massachusetts, where he took over the leadership of the Lexington CoC (soon to be called the Boston Church of Christ). Building on Lucas' leadership strategies, McKean only agreed to pastor the struggling church in Lexington as long as every member agreed to be "*totally committed*" (Stanback 2005, 48). The church witnessed rapid growth from thirty members to 3,000 in just over ten years (Foster, et al. 2004, 150). In search of a more vibrant and committed brand of Christianity, people flooded to what later became known as the Boston Movement. The Movement differentiated itself through high levels of commitment, accountability, strict mentorship and a numerical focus on conversions (Stanback 2005, 73). Numerous students were converted at Harvard, MIT, Boston College and Boston University (Wilson 2010, 71). The epicenter of the new philosophy of ministry training and evangelism began to shift from Florida to Massachusetts where an overt rebellion against the traditional

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<sup>37</sup> Lucas is credited with much of the early influence behind the Boston Movement although he personally did not align himself with McKean as the division widened (Stanback 2005, 42-43).

leadership practices of the CoC was being incubated. The relationship between the Boston Movement and larger CoC became more and more strained (Wilson 2010, 71).

Parallel to this, the Movement began to plant new congregations at unprecedented speed for the CoC at the time. The Boston congregation sent church plantings to Chicago and London in 1981, New York shortly thereafter, and Johannesburg in June 1986 (Foster, et al. 2004, 150). Soon these first-generation church plantings established second-generation plantings of their own. McKean was set on a vision for “*world evangelism*” with an ambition that was becoming intolerable for the conservative CoC establishment. McKean constantly vocalised his frustration with the lack of evangelistic fervor that he saw in the CoC congregations. Part of the solution, as McKean saw it, was to “*reconstruct*”<sup>38</sup> existing CoC congregations that were attracted by his committed and evangelistically focused philosophy. The reconstruction process often meant excluding members who did not accept the Boston Movement philosophy, and re-baptising many of those who stayed (Wilson 2010, 71). Many CoC members bought into McKean’s vision and, like him, began to see the CoC as “*heading toward extinction*”<sup>39</sup> (Gemple 1987, Bulletin). Reconstructions were a large source of membership for the early Boston Movement (Stanback 2005, 72-73). The CoC did not take this lightly and in 1986 *The Christian Chronicle*, which served as an unofficial newspaper for the CoC, announced it would no longer run stories about Boston Movement churches.

The training and mentoring methods of the Boston Movement also drew much of the criticism from the CoC. McKean was accused of legalistic and controlling mentorship and he became a regular feature in discussions about religious cults both inside and outside of the CoC (Stanback 2005, 362-363). McKean began to sever ties with CoC congregations that did not want to align with the Boston CoC and by the late 1980s it had almost a completely different identity from the rest of the CoC (Stanback 2005, 73). The tensions and mutual mistrust that had been simmering for over a decade finally led to overt schism. By the end of 1988 the churches in the Boston Movement were for all practical purposes a distinct fellowship, initiating a fifteen year period

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<sup>38</sup> This term was used for McKean’s invitation to train and strengthen existing CoC congregations in return for submission into the Boston Movement leadership structure (Zukeran 1996, 12).

<sup>39</sup> As mentioned earlier, the CoC in the USA had grown from 600,000 in 1941 to 1,240,000 in the 1980 (D. A. Foster 2005, 1781). It was declining by the 1960s and 1970s.

during which there would be virtually no contact between the CoC and the Boston Movement (Wilson 2010, 71).

In 1985, back in Crossroads, Lucas was asked to resign by the Crossroads elders. The request was reportedly because of unspecified sin in Lucas's life. Comments drawn from Stanback's interview with McKean seem to imply that Lucas's resignation led many Crossroads-trained ministers to give up any reservations about McKean, and to seek direction from McKean in Boston (Stanback 2005, 43). By the close of the 1980s, most progressives that remained in the CoC had either made their way back into the mainstream or left the CoC altogether (Hughes 1996, 351). While the CoC was experiencing a period of stagnation and had lost much of its sectarian nature altogether, the Boston Movement was experiencing quite the opposite.

A significant difference between the Boston Movement and the CoC was a shift in the Boston Movement's fundamental. This was articulated by McKean (1992, 5) when he wrote:

*"I came to differ with the Churches of Christ whose creed is "to speak where the Bible speaks and be silent where the Bible is silent." This creed dictated that one must have specific authorization by command, example or necessary inference from the Bible to do anything. It developed a legalistic, pharisaic mind set that sowed the seed for much dissension and division producing the factions of the Churches of Christ. For example, the whole mandate to only "call Bible things by Bible names" is contradictory because the word "Bible" is not even in the Bible! From the Scriptures I came to believe the opposite. I believe that we should be silent where the Bible speaks and speak where the Bible is silent. In other words, a Christian should simply obey where the Bible speaks and only speak (have opinions) where the Bible is silent. In building a life, a church or a "system" for a movement, we are "free" to do anything the Scriptures do not specifically, by command, by example or by necessary inference prohibit."*

(McKean 1992, 5)

This shift in interpretation further clarified the difference between the Boston Movement and the CoC. The Boston movement no longer had the restraint of

contested issues like congregational autonomy and the CoC ban on instrumental music (Hughes 1996, 362). Free to apply a less conservative hermeneutic, McKean continued with his vision.

### *2.5 The ICoC (Boston until 2002)*

McKean's vision of world expansion did not lose its intensity moving into the 1990s as part of his rhetoric was the slogan: "*The evangelisation of the world in this generation*"<sup>40</sup> (McKean 1992, 8, 16). McKean was regarded as the undisputed leader of this effort as he, and other Boston Movement leaders, developed a system of "*centralized*" governance believed to be essential in continued worldwide expansion<sup>41</sup> (Wilson 2010, 71). In 1989, at a church wide conference (Boston World Missions Seminar) attended by 12,000 members, mission teams were officially sent out to Tokyo, Honolulu, Washington, DC, Manila, Miami, Seattle, Bangkok and Los Angeles. That year, McKean and his family moved to Los Angeles to lead the new church planted some months earlier. Within a few years Los Angeles, not Boston, was the fulcrum of the Movement. At its peak (1999), the Los Angeles church reached a Sunday attendance of 14,000 (Wilson 2010, 72).

The Boston Movement was first recognised by an independent group in 1992 when John Vaughn, a church growth specialist at Fuller Theological Seminary, listed them as a separate entity (Stanback 2005, 73). At that time, Vaughn coined the name 'International Church of Christ' (ICoC)<sup>42</sup>. Within that year, a fifteen-member mission team planted a church in Moscow without one person being fluent in Russian. Within twelve months, the Moscow ICoC had 438 members and eleven years later had grown to thirty-one churches in fifteen provinces with 11,000 members in the former Soviet Union (Stanback 2005, 104). *TIME Magazine* ran a full-page story on the movement in 1992 calling them "*one of the world's fastest-growing and most innovative bands*

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<sup>40</sup> Although Nobel Peace Prize winner and long standing leader of the YMCA<sup>40</sup>, John Raleigh Mott, had come up with a similar paradigm before McKean (Neill 1990, 332),

<sup>41</sup> The church also initiated a centralised programme of outreach to the poor. HOPE*worldwide* successfully runs benevolent projects in a hundred countries with an annual budget of \$30 million (Stanback 2005, 107).

<sup>42</sup> The leaders of the Boston Movement eagerly embraced the name and have used it ever since (Bringardner 1997, information packet).

*of Bible thumpers*” that had grown into “*a global empire of 103 congregations from California to Cairo with total Sunday attendance of 50,000*” (Ostling 1992, 62).

It was at this time that McKean most clearly articulated his stance on training. In a guest editorial for the Movement’s in-house publication, McKean stated that “*though helpful in scholastic pursuits, seminary was not the way to train ministers, but rather, one minister walking with another, like Jesus and the twelve*”. In what was part an enduring Restoration Movement debate<sup>43</sup>, McKean expressed his personal experience of seminary and how he decided not to send ICoC ministers to attend this kind of institution. The editorial stated that McKean “*...came to believe that the best way to become an evangelist was to train full time and walk with and imitate the one you desired to become like as they followed Jesus*” (McKean 1992, 4). The ICoC’s interpretation of this biblical training was achieved through a hierarchy of often assigned mentoring (*‘discipling’*) relationships. Mentoring involved advice giving and taking, accountability, confession of sin and spiritual life coaching, all of which fell under the leadership of the local church Evangelist (Stanback 2005, 59). Congregational and inter-church hierarchies were also clearly defined at the time. Criticism of the Movement continued as emotional abuse from mentoring relationships was reported. The occurrence and report thereof contributed significantly to the church’s negative reputation over the years (D. A. Foster 2005, 1781). This philosophy of training had brought about such significant church growth that there was little open opposition from within the Movement. In 1992, McKean apologised for taking some of his initial thoughts on discipling too far when he said:

*“I was wrong on some of my initial thoughts about biblical authority. I had felt that church leaders could call people to obey and follow them in all areas of opinion. This was incorrect. I feel very badly for people who were hurt by this wrong stance...leaders are not to lord it over the church and not to bind it with burdens it cannot bear...”* (McKean 1992, 21).

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<sup>43</sup> McKean’s opinion was not unlike the words of late nineteenth century Stone-Campbell minister Benjamin Franklin who had a similar conclusion when he argued that it was “*ridiculous to imagine that one could train preachers in a theological school*”. Franklin insisted that the “*only effective training was hands-on training*”. He further said that “*teachers had to go into the field and work with young men, and show them how the work was done*” (Hughes 1996, 89).

Despite some opposition, growth in the ICoC continued globally, and in 1996 the independent organisation *Church Growth Today* (Vaughan 2013) named the Los Angeles ICoC as the fastest growing Church in North America for the second year running. Another eight ICoC churches were in the top 100 of that same list (Stanback 2005). By 2001, McKean was leading an independent worldwide movement that had grown from a small congregation to 125,000 members and had planted a church in nearly every nation of the world in only twenty years (Stanback 2005, 121-122). In stark contrast to the CoC, the ICoC did not make formal theological education a requirement for its ministers and chose a model of apprenticeship (McKean 1992, 4).

Growth in the ICoC was not without criticism. First, criticism came from within the CoC (Hughes 1996, 359), but soon those outside the CoC labeled the Movement a ‘cult’ due to some of its extreme practices (Stanback 2005, 61-73). The heaviest criticism of the ICoC was aimed at ‘discipling’, a practice in which each and every member was assigned a spiritual mentor who oversaw much of the member’s day-to-day life (T. Miller 2005, 6561). The Movement received significant attention from the popular media and anti-cult organisations, but the most comprehensive studies of it have come from members of the CoC. As Paden put it:

*“These studies have mostly taken the form of polemics denouncing the movement and generally depicting it as wholly different from the CoC in doctrine, attitude, and practice”* (Paden 1994, Abstract).

In the 1990s the ICoC was also increasingly attacked by organisations comprising of disgruntled ex-members whose focus was to criticise the practices of the ICoC. In spite of the negativity surrounding the early ICoC (some of which remains thirty years later), accusations of sinister practices like brainwashing were unsubstantiated<sup>44</sup>.

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<sup>44</sup> The ‘evil cult’ label was popular of new religious movements in the 1970’s and 1980s following the massive media coverage that followed the demise of The Peoples Temple in the 1978 Jonestown Massacre. The reality of the Jonestown deaths and the introduction of the brainwashing hypothesis into the conversations about new churches stimulated activism against new religious movements (T. Miller 2005, 6561). This would dominate new religion studies for the next decade although by the mid 1980’s a consensus had been reached in the major relevant academic associations that brainwashing, as articulated in court by the primary exponent of the brainwashing hypothesis, Margaret T. Singer, had no basis in fact (Melton 2005, 6522). In the 1990 case, U.S. vs. Fishman, and Richard Ofshe, Singer was not even allowed to speak on the subject as the court ruled against the scientific credentials of the idea. Subsequently, when challenged, courts have regularly rejected such testimony (Melton 2005, 6523). A majority of scholars eventually coalesced around what might be called a ‘freedom of religion’ position, agreeing that there was no basis for the sweeping condemnation of ‘cults’ as a category but

After some worrying signs of numerical decline beginning in the late 1990's, problems arose as McKean's moral authority as the leader of the movement came into question (Stanback 2005, 121). Expectations for continued numerical growth, and the pressure to sacrifice financially to support missionary efforts took its toll. Added to this was the loss of local leaders to new planting projects. In some areas, large decreases in membership began to occur (Wilson 2010, 71). The success (namely numerical growth) provided during the first two decades of McKean's leadership was beginning to run out.

In 2001, McKean was asked by a group of long-standing Elders in the ICoC to take a sabbatical from overall leadership. In 2002, he resigned from the office and personally apologised citing arrogance, anger and an over-focus on numerical goals as the source of his decision (McKean 2002, [Cited in Stanback, 124]). After a period of leading an ICoC congregation in Portland, Washington, he eventually started a new movement completely separated from the ICoC. This movement he called the International Christian Church (Harding 2012). The period following McKean's resignation from leadership and eventual departure was followed by a number of changes in the ICoC. Some transformation was initiated from the ICoC leaders themselves and others forced through members who brought to light underlying concerns and discontent with the ICoC's leadership<sup>45</sup> (Stanback 2005, 121-135). Chapter 6 has a reflection on the ICoC in the twelve years since McKean's resignation.

## *2.6 Conclusion*

Restated, my thesis seeks to show that there were a number of factors causing the Boston Movement to divert completely from the CoC method of ministry training by not requiring formal theological education. This history of the ICoC serves to highlight three major conclusions that relate directly to this thesis. First, the forces

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rather than a principle of innocent until proven guilty should apply to NRM's (T. Miller 2005, 6566). Academia even decided to change the name from 'Cult' to 'New Religious Movement' as a result of the findings (Wessinger 2005, 6515). Attempts to revive the brainwashing theory in the late 1990s by several sociologists have found little positive response from the majority of scholars who study new religions (Melton 1999).

<sup>45</sup> Most notable was Henry Kriete, a leader in the London ICoC who circulated an open letter detailing his feelings about theological and practical abuses of scripture and authority in the ICoC (Kriete 2003) (Stanback 2005, 127).

that led to the Boston Movement's schism from the CoC are the same forces that affected the Boston Movement's philosophy of training ministers. These were namely a conflict of ambition and methodology. Second, the Boston Movement's conflict with the CoC resulted in a pendulum swing in its view on training ministers. From the CoC's strong inclination towards theological education, the Boston Movement went to the other extreme of almost exclusive practical training without formal qualification. Finally, this chapter shows that the debate around the role of formal education was not just a twentieth century issue in the CoC. Education has been debated in the Restoration Movement from its genesis in the Stone-Campbell union.

## **Chapter 3.**

### **The Theological Education Debate in Twentieth Century USA and its impact on the ICoC's Training Decision**

While the twentieth century Stone-Campbell tradition of churches had a divided view of accredited theological education, the rest of mainstream USA's Christianity was also evolving in its approach to training ministers. In this section, I will summarise some of the debate with regard to ministerial formation in the period leading up to the ICoC's schism. By including some general discussion on educating twentieth century church ministers in the USA, it is possible to identify patterns that could influence the CoC and ICoC. The scope of my research does not require an exhaustive summary, and this section is focused primarily on institutions in the Reformed theology<sup>46</sup> tradition.

#### *3.1 Academia and Church*

As mentioned in the first part of Chapter two, Kip McKean did not write favourably about the education he received in graduate school. This does not, however, mean that the classroom was never the place of church reform. The reformers like Luther, Zwingli and Calvin all formed their new doctrines in the give and take of academic debate, and the classroom lecture was the first medium they used to spread their message. These leaders' argument was that if people would only read the Scriptures, preferably in the original languages, they might learn the truth (Marsden 1996, 13). Marsden argues that while the Reformation had the heart of a social movement, they did not neglect the educational foundation and actually saw it as a key factor in reforming the church. He claims that scholarship and technical knowledge of biblical languages and the biblical text was key to pastoral authority in the Reformation. In education, Protestantism promoted a well-educated clergy. The proof was also clear

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<sup>46</sup> Both Alexander Campbell and Barton Stone came from a Presbyterian background, and were thus influenced by mainline Protestant theology. Both men initially rejected many of the principles of Protestantism, and hence the Restoration Movement took a very different theological trajectory to most of the Protestant and Reformed traditions. Despite the differences, "ecclesiastical primitivism" (the ideal of restoring the New Testament church) is a concept familiar within Protestantism (Foster, et al. 2004, 635-636) and hence the Stone-Campbell Movement is more closely related to the Reformation than it is to Catholicism and, more recently, Pentecostalism and Evangelicalism. For this reason, I have decided to include views predominantly related to developments in Protestant institutions.

as throughout Protestant domains for centuries to come, the clergyman would be the best educated citizen. The claims of the Reformers hinged on the interpretation of texts and on a science of textual interpretation sufficient to challenge church authority (Marsden 1996, 37-38).

The iconic Harvard College itself was the first seminary prototype founded in North America in 1636, and it continued Reformation patterns. Though it was a college and technically not a seminary, Harvard was founded to educate clergy. The patterns of training and educating pastors at Harvard would, due to its influence, have a large effect on the educational philosophy and the spiritual strongholds found in all subsequent seminaries, universities, and accrediting associations in North America (Greig 1999, 1).

Three hundred years after Harvard was established in Massachusetts, the debate about how best to train clergy has come down to the use and combination of the four main sources of theology: Scripture, Reason, Tradition and religious experience (McGrath 2011, 120). In the twentieth century, very strong cases against the merits of seminaries have been made. This is especially true in the United States. The Murdock Report (1994), for example, investigated graduate theological education in seminaries of the Pacific Northwest against the background of seminaries across the USA. This report cited the scholastic, academic focus of seminary faculty and seminary programmes' as one of the chief factors that cripples the seminaries' ability to train seminarians to be effective pastors and church leaders (Greig 1999, citing the Murdock Report, 1994, 'Executive Report'). The issues brought to the forefront of the debate related to the seminaries tendency to give their graduates skills to study the Bible and theology but not skills to lead the modern church. The seminaries continue to emphasise academics with many pastors believing that their professors did not understand their need for ministry skills or mentors. (Murdock Report 1994, 63)

In the Murdock report, Dr. Kenneth Meyers, President of Trinity Evangelical Divinity School in Deerfield, Illinois, underscored the problem of the scholastic focus in seminaries. He noted that seminary curriculum generally calls for "*professionals of the academy, rather than professionals of the church*". He said of his seminary, that "*75% of faculty members had never pastored a church longer than a graduate study internship*" (Murdock Report 1994, 63).

In his summation of various findings on the subject, Greig is severe in his conclusion on traditional seminary education. He believes there to be four consequences to the scholastic focus of Seminaries. These consequences are: (1) the separation of head from heart; (2) the separation of theological education from church life and ministry; (3) the poor investment value for ministry preparation; and (4) entrenchment of traditionalism leaving seminaries structurally irreformable. (Greig 1999, 5).

### *3.2 Twentieth-Century Protestant Theological Institutions in the USA*

The United States in general had seen some major shifts taking place in the general education of Protestant clergy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the early 1930s, Brown and May of the Institute for Social and Religious Research undertook a major sociological study of United States ministry. The study included a major examination of Protestant seminaries and divinity schools that educated Christian ministers. In their analysis of Protestant ministers, Brown and May (1934, 23) made the case that ministry should be understood as a profession and that theological education should be understood as professional education. If ministry is a profession, then it could be argued that ministerial education should follow the educational patterns required of other professions (Aleshire 2010, 507).

As a response to this development in the professionalisation of the USA's church ministers and supporting the growing demand for ministers in order to fill churches, what became known as 'Bible Schools' emerged. As it had evolved by 1920, a Bible School was an institution – sometimes denominational, sometimes non-denominational – operating at roughly a high school level and training evangelists, missionaries, religious teachers, musicians, pastors, and other workers for the conservative Protestant evangelical churches (Brereton 1990, vii). The post-World War II religious boom fed thousands of people into conservative and evangelical Christian churches (Carpenter 1990, 128-151) – the Churches of Christ (CoC) included. Having lost the battle against joining many of the practices of mainline Protestantism in the United States, the CoC had developed a number of similar Bible Schools. Interwoven in the theological education provided by Bible Schools, and

indeed one of their most significant purposes, became the function of conveying denomination specific tradition (Roozen, Evans and Evans 1996, 156).

### *3.3 Conclusion*

This brief summary of the twentieth century theological debate in the greater Protestant USA highlights two issues. First, debating the merits of formalised theological education was not isolated to the CoC/ICoC. Many Protestant institutions continue to see Christian ministry training along a continuum of both formal and informal training techniques. Second, the CoC had followed a similar path to the rest of mainstream USA's denominationalism when it came to building educational institutions (Christian Universities and Bible Schools) in the twentieth century. The similarity to mainstream denominationalism added emphasis to the Boston Movement's view that the CoC had lost its sectarian spirit (See Chapter 5.1-3 for more on the Boston Movement's perspective on CoC theological institutions). Like many reformers in the past, institutionalisation is often a breeding ground for reform. The next chapter looks at the spirit of reform, institutionalisation and power dynamics in new religious movements.

## **Chapter 4.**

### **Authority in a New Religious Movement - The ICoC Case Study**

Kip McKean's authority as leader of the Boston Movement is central to my thesis. As the Boston Movement was being established, McKean's view on most subjects (like education) was almost singularly influential. In this Chapter, I present some theories' on first generation new religious movements (NRMs) that show how a movement's founding leader often holds significant authority. Using the theoretical framework of German sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920), who was instrumental in defining religious authority and institutionalisation, I show how McKean was able to command such a large, almost unquestioned, influence in the Boston Movement's training philosophy. The Chapter shows that McKean's display of authority in the early Movement was not unique, and that formal education often plays a significant role in the power relations of a NRM.

#### *4.1 Studying NRMs and Church Schisms*

The study of NRMs and religious schisms has been the source of much debate in the last five decades since their formal study was established (J. G. Melton 1999, para. 3). After the Jonestown Massacre in 1978, there were a few narrowly focused years in the study of NRMs in which scholars wrestled with the topic of mind control and brainwashing<sup>47</sup>. By the 1990's, however, most of the brainwashing myths had been debunked and NRMs were generally allowed to practice their religion in peace (T. Miller 2005, 6561-6566). This shift opened up space for deeper research on NRMs. Research into the sub-category of religious schism<sup>48</sup> has also increased in depth. Lewis and Lewis (2009, 3) illustrate this by defining why religions split by using sub-categories such as "*personal ambition and personality conflicts*" and "*behavioral norm disagreement*". While any environment may produce a NRM or schism, certain factors appear particularly conducive such as "*cultural disruption*" and "*oppressive environments*" (Wessinger 2005, 6513-6514). Ideological and social factors

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<sup>47</sup> The Boston Movement was also subject to such accusations (See Yeakley, 1988)

<sup>48</sup> A Schism is "*a process by which a religious body divides to become two or more distincy, independent bodies*" (Ammerman 1987, 8151).

(Boomjamra 2005, 8151-8153) also impact the likelihood of a schism, and relevant to this thesis, so could views on theological education.

Recent research<sup>49</sup> has brought greater clarity to the social forces present in NRMs and how these forces affect decision-making. Scholars writing on the evolution of NRMs and the distribution of ‘authority’ (‘power’) during a NRM’s first and second generation often build on the writing Max Weber as I have outlined in the next section.

#### 4.2 Max Weber on Authority: Charisma & Routinization

*The Sociology of Religion* (1956 (1922))<sup>50</sup>, one of Max Weber’s best-known writings, famously charted the course followed by new religious movements. The first generation is characterised charismatic leadership (“*charisma*”<sup>51</sup>), which eventually gives way to institutionalisation (“*Routinization*”). Though we are approaching a century since Weber’s death, his thoughts on this process continue to be pivotal in the understanding of authority in first and second-generation religious movements.

##### *Charisma*

First generation charisma, according to Weber, refers to self-determined and self-defining leadership (Weber 1968 (1922), 1112). This “*revolutionary force*” (p. 1117) was different to legal and traditional authority, the two other forms of “*legitimate domination*” defined by Weber. This authority applies most to religion (Potts 2009, 118) and is evident in religious leaders and prophets who supersede tradition and rules (Weber 1968 (1922), 1112,1117). In religion, charisma is often attributed to some

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<sup>49</sup> Examples such as: Lewis and Lewis (2009); Finke and Dougherty (2002); Stark and Finke (2000).

<sup>50</sup> Published post-humously

<sup>51</sup> Weber credited Rudolf Sohm with the word ‘*charisma*’. Sohm had derived the word from its Pauline use in ancient Greek, which refers to ‘*divine grace for the benefit of the community*’ (Potts 2009, 122). The word’s meaning was in a process of continual evolution. Nietzsche’s elevation of the ‘*Uebermensch*’ (‘overman’ or even ‘superman’) as a destroyer of convention and one abiding by his own code also had influence on Weber’s advancement of this notion of charisma (Potts 2009, 112). Today there is additional complexity in the use of the word ‘*charisma*’ as Weber’s use of it exerted influence far beyond the discipline in which it was first introduced. Within years of Weber’s writing it quickly escaped the boundaries of his theoretical system and was being used to refer to politicians with exceptional appeal like the Kennedys and other public figures or celebrities (Potts 2009, 109).

form of divine calling or status as acknowledged by the religious community. Weber used ‘charisma’ to explain the rise of religions and the power that religious leaders are able to command over their followers (since they are alleged to be ‘divinely inspired’). Leaders with charisma are required to “*prove*” themselves in a naturally unstable process by bringing “*wellbeing*” to their followers. When the provision of wellbeing stops, or is called into question, the movement experiences some antagonistic forces (Weber 1968 (1922), 1114). Eventually, whether through death, deposition or some other reason, charisma in a leader will be replaced.

### ***Routinization***

After a leader with charisma is gone, another process transforms the very nature of authority within a movement (Weber 1968 (1922), 1111). Weber dubbed the process ‘Routinization’ whereby the “*pure*” form of charismatic authority will always transform into some form of institutional authority. This eventuality usually renders the movement unrecognisable from its first generation (except on a purely analytic level) (Weber 1968 (1922), 1121). The very thing that charisma so often sought to battle in the first place (i.e., tradition) is the inevitability of every movement according to Weberian theory. In routinization, authority shifts from the “*natural*” leader to the “*appointed*” leader of a more bureaucratic system. While there may be charismatic tendencies in these later generations, they tend to recede with the development of permanent institutional structures (Weber 1968 (1922), 1133). Weber accepted routinization as inevitable and acknowledged that it was able to improve “*productivity*” as a movement grew (Potts 2009, 123).

Not long after Weber started being published in English, O’Dea argued that the tension between charisma and routinization was central to understanding the compromise between spontaneity and stability in second-generation movements (O’Dea 1961, 38). The eventual loss of charisma has been contentious as scholars and churches<sup>52</sup> alike have wrestled with institutionalisation. Stark even proposed that Weber downplayed the periodic reawakening of charisma that “*spawned reformations*

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<sup>52</sup> Some Pentecostal Christian Churches have even tried to redefine Weber by claiming the “*message*”, and not the leader, was “*prophetic*” (Poloma 1989, 90).

and revivals throughout history” and that Weber was not detailed enough in explaining charisma’s role beyond institutionalisation (W. Stark 1965, 203-211).

Weber died before revising much of his work<sup>53</sup>. He also never claimed that his work on charisma and routinization was definitive (Parsons 1956, lxi). Modern scholars have thus expanded his ideas and some have paid special attention to the role of formal education in institutionalisation.

### ***Charisma and Education***

For Weber, charisma was an innate “*creative force*” that could not be “*taught*”<sup>54</sup> (Weber 1968 (1922), 1117). Since the holder of charisma has self-determined leadership, they are not subject to an “*outside authority*”. Charisma could also not be transmitted or acquired by an educational programme. In the post-charismatic generations’, however, authority is often forced to become an object of education as routinization shifts the balance of authority towards the institution<sup>55</sup> (Weber 1968 (1922), 1143).

Closely related to Weber’s charisma and routinization theory, Finke and Scheitle (2009, 20) illustrate the exchange of power that occurs in a movement’s transition from centralisation to decentralisation. During the decentralisation process, denominational authority is exchanged between individual congregations, denominational agencies, seminaries, ministers, central authorities and members. The flow of resources between these elements is affected significantly by whether there is a central leader (charisma) or not. As charisma, and its dependence on the individual, fades from a first-generation church movement, the “*seminary*” becomes more important. The seminary can, in theory, replace the central leader as the source of authority and primary source of legitimisation (Finke and Scheitle 2009, 19-20).

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<sup>53</sup> A number of his writings were published posthumously (Whimster 2007, 157).

<sup>54</sup> Weber did, however, believe that it could be “awakened” (Potts 2009, 121)

<sup>55</sup> Weber never claimed that routinization meant that charisma needed to disappear completely. He just believed that it lost its revolutionary force (Potts 2009, 123).

### *Routinization and a 'professionalised' clergy*

There was some debate, in nineteenth century USA denominations, about whether seminary education was either necessary or desirable. One of the issues underlying the debate was the clergy's relationship with the larger denomination, and the degree to which they were "*professionalized*" (Finke and Dougherty 2002, 25). The mainline clergy argued that abandoning formal training would be "*absurd*" while upstart movements' not only admired their untrained clergy but also feared the "*professionalization*" produced by seminaries (Finke and Scheitle 2009, 25). NRM leaders claimed, in a very Weberian way, that their "*calling was from God*".

Organisational theory began to support some of these feelings that professionalisation changes the loyalty of the clergy (DiMaggio and Powell 1983, 147-160). Standardised educational criteria and increased professional support meant that allegiances shift from the local congregation to the larger organisation (Stark and Finke 2000, 162-163). The congregations themselves also become more dependent on the denomination for setting standards and making appointments. The decision to consciously move towards routinization provides protection from schism but also blocks change (Finke and Scheitle 2009, 26).

O'Dea (1961, 30-41) highlights some paradoxes in the transition from charisma to routinization when observing church leadership. He wrote that ministers can be in danger of mixed motivation marked by careerism, prestige, security and self-interest that could underlie their devotion to the movement. These pressures stand in stark contrast to the values of the first charismatic generation<sup>56</sup>. Miller (1997, 166) observed that when seminary education is adopted, a ministers peer group could also transform. Rather than members in the congregation, fellow seminarians easily become a minister's closest relationships. This further affects loyalty and the distribution of influence.

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<sup>56</sup> There are well-documented examples of these transitions in the nineteenth century as both the Baptist and Methodist churches switched to formal seminary education. Other movements, like Calvary Chapel and Vineyard Christian Fellowship, still approach seminary education with much caution. They do not prohibit seminary training, but preferring an approach involving "*classes*" and "*hands on training from a pastor in a local church*" (Finke and Scheitle 2009, 26).

Weber did separate genuine charismatic education from that of specialised professional training (Weber 1968 (1922), 1144) and this highlights the complexity in deciding what to teach and to whom. Congregational and moral leaders have a different role to theological educators of a movement. This difference is also true of with regard to the training needs of intellectuals and pastoral caregivers (Weber 1956 (1922), 74).

### *4.3 Conclusion - Authority in the ICoC*

Weber's framework is useful for understanding authority in the early Boston Movement. McKean (Like Chuck Lucas before him) displayed typical Weberian charisma as a reformer in the CoC and eventually the leader of the schismatic Boston Movement. Thousands of people from inside and outside the CoC were drawn to his vision and methods (Foster, et al. 2004, 213). As a reformer, McKean maintained a high level of authority in the Movement during its phase of rapid growth. Only when the members' "wellbeing", as Weber described it, faded did McKean lose influence<sup>57</sup>.

During the early half of the twentieth century, the CoC had been through a process of well-documented institutionalisation (routinisation) (Hughes 1996, 14). The absence of a central charismatic authority in the CoC (Hughes 1996, 233) meant that CoC publications and colleges were highly influential. Tension between the CoC and the Boston Movement was, therefore, neither surprising nor unique, as the structure of authority in each party was incompatible.

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<sup>57</sup> See Chapter two and six for more on McKean's loss of favour and eventual departure from the ICoC.

## **Chapter 5.**

### **The Factors Influencing the ICoC's Approach to Formal Theological Education**

I tested my thesis by identifying the socio-historical factors influencing the Boston Movement's decision not to pursue formal theological training for its ministers from 1979-2002. The results of the investigation show that there were more influencers than just those stated by McKean in 1992. In this chapter, I define and give the rationale for eight factors that informed the Boston Movement's decision. Whether McKean and the leadership of the Boston Movement were cognisant of how the various socio-historical forces were influencing the decision on theological training is not under review. Also not within the scope of this research is a judgment on the virtues or disadvantages of the Movement's approach to training at the time<sup>58</sup>.

By coding and memoing the primary and secondary data (See Chapter 1.4), the eight themes presented in this section surfaced. These themes became the 'factors' that inform this research. There was a high level of corroboration between the various sources and, while no secondary source exclusively covers the research question, results were meaningful and unambiguous. Although there is interrelation between the factors, I have not attributed causal relationships. Causal relationships are hard to quantify given the complexity of rationales informing the thesis. I recognise some identified factors to be more influential than others but, in a similar fashion to causal relationships, are impossible to adequately weight. I, however, propose that the essence of the socio-historical forces present in the Boston Movement's educational policy have been adequately evaluated below.

#### *5.1 The Boston Movement's Conflict with the CoC*

The Boston Movement's decision not to require formal theological education was positioned by McKean (1992) as an issue of training philosophy. While training philosophy is a core motive, the Boston Movement was also in the middle of a bitter

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<sup>58</sup> The data shows evidence for both advantages and disadvantages and this could form the basis for further research.

separation from the CoC. The ‘ugly divorce like’ separation impacted the Boston Movement’s relationship with the colleges that had educated so many of its early ministers and was partially underlying the Boston Movement’s decision not to be associated with the CoC educational system.

Chapter two of this thesis describes the progressive schism between the CoC and Boston Movement. At this point, I would like to restate that the formation of a fully independent ICoC was a process that started deep within the CoC. The emerging battle between CoC progressives and conservatives in the 1960s set the scene for Chuck Lucas and the Crossroads Movement to develop. It was the Crossroads-trained McKean and other predominantly Crossroads-trained ministers that eventually formed the core of the Boston Movement. Two things must be mentioned here: first, both the Crossroads and later the Boston movements’ were still part of the CoC until the mid-1980s (see Appendix 1). Second, contrary to McKean’s regular claim that Movement started in Boston<sup>59</sup> (McKean 1994, 5), the Boston Movement had its roots in the Crossroads Movement with Lucas and other progressive members of the CoC pushing for reform long before McKean became prominent.

The tension between the mainstream CoC leaders and those aligned initially with Lucas (Crossroads) and later McKean (Boston) created a deep rift. The actual schism materialised over a number of years and only reached the ‘point of no return’<sup>60</sup> in the mid to late 1980s. Exact reasons for the tension in the period preceding the schism are varied. As in any rift, there are often multiple perspectives on the basis for division and who was at fault. Sentiments explaining the rift are presented below, after which I point back to the conflicts influence on the Boston Movement’s educational policy.

As leaders, Lucas and then McKean had benefitted from the radical moral fervor typical of the 1960s and 1970s countercultural youth movement (Hughes 1996, 333-334). Authority was questioned and conservatism deemed unattractive in the Vietnam War era. Thomas Jones gave insight into this period in his biographical book: *In Search of a City* (2007). Jones was a minister in the CoC who joined the Boston

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<sup>59</sup> The statement: “*The Lord allowed me to begin the restoration of the New Testament church from a small group of 30 would be disciples in the Gempel’s living room in June of 1979 in Boston*” (McKean 1994, 5) became a much quoted part of ICoC internal history but in hindsight it functioned as a form of propaganda (Jenkins 2005, 22).

<sup>60</sup> Lewis and Lewis (2009, 3) describe that, in the progression of a schism, a point is reached where it is improbable that a new movement will re-assimilate back into the parent body.

Movement in 1987 and became the Chief Editor of the ICoC publishing house. His book contains first hand insight into the tension between the progressive movement and conservatives in the CoC in the decades before the Boston Movement formally broke away. Recounting his experience, Jones wrote of the distaste that some members of the progressive movement felt towards the rigidity and legalism of prominent CoC leaders at the time. Jones himself described the spirit of some of these leaders as *'legalistic, self-righteous and downright vicious'* (T. Jones 2007, 23). As the two camps within the CoC grew increasingly polarised, the cerebral nature of the CoC Campus ministry hierarchy was a growing source of criticism for the younger zealous generation. The abovementioned environment eventually gave birth to the Crossroads and Boston Movements and had a significant effect on the ICoC's eventual policy regarding theological training for its ministers.

J.P. Tynes, a current ICoC leader converted in the Crossroads Movement, spoke of how tension between the mainstream CoC and the "*Discipling Ministries*"<sup>61</sup> grew as the latter were gaining traction. He said that, since the Crossroads and later Boston Movements' had their focus on campuses, two camps would sometimes form within CoC congregations that had ministries aligned with Lucas and McKean. There would be a group of very committed college students mixed with minimally committed adult ministries in what felt like "*a church within a church*" said Tynes. He recalled that, as a Crossroads trained campus minister, he was almost fired three times in eight years by the eldership in his local congregation (Tynes 2013). Gordon Ferguson, a leader in the CoC before joining the Boston Movement in 1985, also mentioned the "*battles between church leaders and campus ministry leaders*" during the time. Ferguson claimed, from his perspective as an initial outside observer and eventual member of the Boston Movement, that there was fault on both sides. Much of the tension, however, came from the older generation refusing to acknowledge the successes of the campus ministries. He said that these older CoC ministers were threatened by their own declining conversion rate in comparison to churches aligned with the Boston Movement (G. Ferguson 2013).

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<sup>61</sup> Both the Crossroads and Boston Movements' were known informally as 'Discipling Churches' or the 'Discipling Movement'. This name came from their method of leadership that required all members to have a spiritual mentor ('discipler').

Al Baird, who has been part of the ICoC's leadership since the early Boston Movement period, spoke of the strain that was building within the CoC before the Boston Movement fully broke away. Baird said that there was a feeling in the Boston Movement that non-Boston Movement aligned congregations would “*damage the faith*” of young students converted in their ministries. At this point, McKean was already distancing himself from the CoC and it became increasingly less likely to encourage ministers aligned with Boston to train at CoC universities (Baird 2013). Jack Fredrick, a long standing Elder in the Boston and Atlanta ICoC, said that there was much jealousy in the CoC at the time. He said that the Boston Movement was experiencing high numerical growth that was drawing as much criticism as attention (Frederick 2013). During the period of tension, some leaders in the CoC raised their own questions about the numerical decline in CoC membership during the 1960s and 1970s (Yeakley 1979, iv-v) (Lemmons 1982, 2). These leaders would not go as far as some from Boston who eventually stated that the CoC was heading towards “*extinction*” (Gemple 1987, 1,7) (Wooten 1990, 80). McKean himself chastised many of the CoC students that he personally met in his college and early Crossroads campus ministry years. He accused them of being uncommitted and of engaging in many sinful activities. McKean concluded, from his observation of the CoC around him, that the spiritual condition of most congregations “*ranged from lukewarm to disgusting*” (McKean 1992, 1).

Criticism, however, did not only come from the progressive movement<sup>62</sup>. The CoC (and particularly the Bible Chair movement<sup>63</sup>) was equally critical of the Crossroads and Boston Movements' citing a number of problems. None of these issues were more prominent than the churches' mentoring practices. Accusations were made that the process of converting and mentoring was harmful (Yeakley 1988, 1-2) and words like cultism, mind control and ‘perverted Christianity masquerading as progress’ came from CoC publications at the time (T. P. Brown 1979, 114, 121). Wilson (2010), however, also records that many CoC leaders outside of the Crossroads and Boston Movements' admired the evangelistic success of those ministries. He wrote that, for more than ten years, CoC ministers made sincere efforts “*to work in tandem*”

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<sup>62</sup> See Chapter 2.6 for more detail on the “*progressive*” and “*conservative*” tension in the CoC at the time of the Boston Movement schism.

<sup>63</sup> The Bible Chairs provided religious instruction in state Universities and were conceived in the late nineteenth century to respond to the state prohibiting religious instruction in public education (See Chapter two) (Foster, et al. 2004, 91).

with the Boston Movement ministries but over time, these admirers began to experience that only those trained in the Boston Movement were accepted as partners (Wilson 2010, 71). Throughout the period of schism, the parties involved questioned each other's beliefs and methods. The issue of whether each could claim the status of being Christian was even raised between them. Inflexibility and dogmatism was thus something experienced by both parties as the gap between them grew (Hughes 1996, 357-363).

The antagonism eventually resulted in a complete schism and a collapse in relations between the CoC and what eventually became known as the ICoC. According to Baird, this breakdown lasted for well over ten years<sup>64</sup> (Baird 2013). The CoC, being a group of autonomous congregations, placed a heavy emphasis on their colleges as a source of unity (see Chapter two). As the general CoC view of the Boston Movement deteriorated, the CoC institutions stopped members of the new movement from teaching at their conferences and universities. The Boston Movement questioned and criticised the training policy of the CoC. Lamb noted that the CoC institutions became a hostile place for Boston Movement ministers to seek education (Lamb 2013). Frederick spoke of the “*jaundiced eyes*” that members of the Boston Movement experienced on the CoC campuses (Frederick 2013). This, according to Fredrick, was due to the perception (and the author's opinion reality) that the Boston Movement was there to “*recruit people away from the CoC*”. The hostility influenced the Boston Movement's general philosophy of ministerial formation, as formal theological education (especially at CoC institutions) became a diminished requirement for Boston Movement ministers.

## *5.2 Kip McKean's Personal Experience of Formal Theological Training*

During the formative years of the Boston Movement, Kip McKean openly expressed his disillusionment with the system of ministry training that he witnessed in CoC institutions (McKean 1992, 4). His experience as a theology student left him with a negative view of seminary education as a whole, and he was not swayed from that position during his tenure in the Movement (G. Ferguson 2013) (Jacoby 2013)

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<sup>64</sup> Since 2002, there have been some concerted efforts from both the CoC and ICoC to re-open communication (Wilson 2010, 72).

(Kinnard 2013). While others' may have had better experiences, as the central authority in the Boston Movement, McKean's experience was a fundamental deciding factor in the group's philosophy of training.

McKean graduated from the University of Florida in 1975 having been initially involved in the "*High Honors Chemistry Pre-med Program*" and ending with a degree in "*Speech and Communications*". During this time, he had already joined the Crossroads CoC in Gainesville where he stayed until his graduation. McKean then accepted a position as CoC campus minister at the Northeastern Christian College (NCC) near Philadelphia (Harding 2012). While there, the King of Prussia CoC gave him a scholarship to attend Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary. It was there that McKean had a significantly negative experience of university instruction in ministry. He had disagreements with university academics and was disillusioned by their liberal views on the Bible's authority as the inspired Word of God (G. Ferguson 2013) (Jacoby 2013) (Kinnard 2013). In 1976, while still pursuing his master's degree, McKean moved to Charleston, Illinois to work with the Heritage Chapel Church of Christ campus ministry (Harding 2012). By 1979 his ministry grew from a few individuals to over three hundred making it the fastest growing CoC campus ministry in the USA (Stanback 2005, 46). At this time, McKean received more funding from the Union Avenue Church of Christ in Memphis, Tennessee, to complete his studies at a CoC's Harding Graduate School of Religion. His continued pursuit of a Masters in Theology lasted two more years. It was around this time that he took a position in Lexington, Massachusetts, to start the Boston CoC (Stanback 2005, 48). He had not, however, completed his post-graduate degree.

By the age of twenty-five, McKean was in a position to compare and contrast different training methods offered under the CoC umbrella. He had first-hand experience of formal theological training in university and had been mentored by Chuck Lucas at Crossroads. Added to this educational perspective, he had seen campus ministries grow numerically under his own leadership. McKean took these experiences and concluded that formal education was not effective in training evangelists (McKean 1992, 4). He viewed seminaries as too academic and not practical for evangelism, and places where future leaders were "*removed*" from the lives of people (Harding 2012). McKean took the lessons learned from Lucas at Crossroads and implemented a mentorship ('discipling') programme in Boston. He

likened this to “*Jesus walking with His Twelve*”, or ‘the apostle Paul training Timothy and Titus’ (Harding 2012). When the Boston Movement eventually split from the CoC, McKean had increased freedom to pursue his own training methods. Instead of building on the traditional training methods employed by the CoC, he chose a path more like that which he learned in Crossroads.

Kinnard said that the topic of sending new ministers to get formal theological training was “*brought up from time to time*” but was not taken seriously during the first two decades of the movement. There did not appear to be room for debate based on other members more positive experience. Discussion about formal training for ministers eventually faded (Kinnard 2013).

### *5.3 CoC Colleges Perceived Loss of Training Credibility*

Kip McKean was not the only person to express disillusionment with ministry education at CoC institutions. A perception had emerged, within both the Boston Movement and parts of the CoC, that the CoC colleges had lost credibility in the purposes for which they were designed. In the 1960s and 1970s, debate was generated about how CoC universities were preparing their students for positions in the ministry. The progressives and the conservatives within the CoC had opposing ideas (Hughes 1996, 330-332)<sup>65</sup>. The colleges and universities were labelled as having lost credibility for the job for which they were designed: training ministers (McKean 1992, 4). This perception added to the Boston Movement’s decision not to pursue similar forms of theological training.

Questions about education did not just come from the separating Boston Movement. Within the mainstream CoC of the 1960s and 1970s, a debate had developed about the effectiveness of CoC colleges. The debate was specifically around the colleges’ ability to train CoC ministers for congregational positions. The “*well-educated and socially driven younger generation*” of the CoC felt that the customary concerns of the CoC were no longer relevant, and almost every tradition was questioned (Hughes 1996, 327). Conservative leaders in the CoC responded by an equally vocal and

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<sup>65</sup> See Chapter two for deeper discussion on this point

activist spirit as they were pitted against each other (Hughes 1996, 307). Part of the accusation made by the conservatives was that CoC universities were producing ‘intellectuals’ and not traditional ‘preachers’. Ira Rice and Glen Wallace, prominent leaders in the CoC at the time, contended that the Christian colleges had not been training the right ‘kind of men’ and were too focused on developing intellectuals (Rice 1970, 8) (Wallace 1968, 198) (Adams 1970, 109-110). These ‘intellectuals’, as they were so described, made up the core of the progressive movement.

During the period of conflict on the issue of college schooling, the conservatives not only established new publications; they also established new schools. Predominantly preacher-training schools, these institutions were designed to fill leadership positions in churches that had been steadily growing in the period after the Second World War<sup>66</sup>. The CoC related colleges were not, in the eyes of the resurgent conservatives, producing enough congregational (‘pulpit’) preachers.

Given the impetus of the conservatives, a number of these new preacher training schools quickly sprung up around the USA<sup>67</sup>. Batsell Barrett Baxter, a CoC writer, identified ten of these schools in 1970 (Baxter 1970, 387) and, according to his statistics, credited them with training twenty five percent of all students studying to preach among the CoC. The curriculum was intensive and covered over two years. Unlike traditional liberal arts degrees found elsewhere, these colleges offered no courses other than in ‘Bible’. For those who could not attend four-year liberal arts colleges but wanted to be trained for the ministry this was ideal and effective in relieving the shortage of CoC preachers (Hughes 1996, 332).

Rice and Wallace both discoursed publicly about the deeper motivation at play in the establishment of these schools (Rice 1970, 8) (Wallace 1968, 198). Pressure and politics within the instructional establishment became a contentious and disillusioning point. Conservatives were distrusting of ‘liberalism’ in some key CoC schools. The atmosphere was threatening as some CoC congregations felt it unacceptable that their ministers were ‘tainted’ by secular divinity schools and their theological training (Hughes 1996, 331).

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<sup>66</sup> The CoC in the USA had grown from 600,000 in 1941 to 1,240,000 in the 1980 (D. A. Foster 2005, 1781)

<sup>67</sup> This trend was in line with what was happening in other USA denominations at the time (See Chapter three)

It was in this divided environment that the Crossroads, and later Boston Movement, had been gathering momentum. As the rift between the CoC and Boston Movement deepened, the Boston Movement was formulating its methods to train evangelists and missionaries. To them, the CoC Universities and Bible schools did not represent a unified and healthy establishment. This disunity appeared to be incompatible with the smaller, highly structured and activist approach of the Boston Movement.

In recalling his experience in the CoC before join the Boston Movement, Tynes described the CoC campus ministers as “*college professor*” like. He said that these ministers were mostly concerned with taking care of their own members than being evangelistic (Tynes 2013). While Tynes had no criticism for the CoC’s desire to take care of people, this mentality was in contrast to the evangelistic focus developing in the Crossroads Movement. He said that Crossroads trained ministers were experiencing between fifty to a hundred conversions in a year. When these growing campus ministries were being compared to non-Crossroads aligned CoC ministries at the time, questions were raised about the effectiveness of traditional CoC training methods (Tynes 2013).

Steve Kinnard also compared the ministers trained in a “*classroom setting*” at CoC colleges with those who were being trained in the Crossroads and Boston ministries. He said that the CoC trained ministers were not perceived to be effective at evangelism. The concern among the new Movement was the idea of “*(handing) over our guys to these professors who are teaching Bible but in their own lives we don’t see them being effective church builders*” (Kinnard 2013). Tynes reflected a similar sentiment when he said that many of the CoC ministers had a Christian College degree but did not know how to relate to those outside of the church. They were graduates but their ministries were “*largely ineffective*” and the focus was more on looking after current members and people who had grown up in the CoC and less on attracting new conversions (Tynes 2013). Roger Lamb was involved in the 1976 hiring of Kip McKean as the CoC campus minister for Eastern Illinois University<sup>68</sup>. Lamb said that many of the CoC ministers with master’s degrees in theology lacked

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<sup>68</sup> Before McKean moved to Boston (See Chapter two and the previous point)

the “*passion*” for evangelism that was being seen from those in the Crossroads ministry (Lamb 2013).

Al Baird had similar personal experiences. He took a number of courses at the CoC’s Abilene Christian University and, while there were some theology courses that he spoke highly of, Baird said that the teaching had “*practically nothing on practical application*”. The focus was clearly aimed at Bible knowledge as opposed to applying the learning to “*real life situations*”. A course in sermon preparation stood out in particular to him. Baird mentioned how the lecturer questioned the rational of spending time preparing sermons when there are “*so many good sermon outlines available*”. This experience was proof to him that the emphasis at the colleges was too theoretical for the purposes of helping others effectively. Baird qualified that in the Crossroads Movement, a number of people had also completed a master’s degree in theology and that Bible knowledge was not deemphasised. His observation was that the colleges did not deal in “*practical application*” which, according to Baird, is not learned in a classroom setting but through apprenticeship<sup>69</sup>. This, he said, was missing in the CoC as mission teams were sent out with “*good hearted*” people who did not know how to convert someone or help a congregation to increase in size (Baird 2013). Ferguson and Lamb also said that the biblical training was thorough in the earlier days of the Crossroads movement and that it was only with time that the educational aspect of the training dwindled (G. Ferguson 2013) (Lamb 2013). Frederick’s opinion of CoC at the time was that they were “*excellent for knowledge*” but did not teach ministers to deal with “*life situations*” and to “*teach the heart*” (Frederick 2013). In his book, Jones (T. Jones 2007, 29) noted that the CoC campus ministry seminars of the early 1970s (during the Crossroads Movement phase) were ‘*more like what you would get in an academic environment*’ as most of the attendees and speakers were ‘*primarily Bible teachers, not evangelists*’. Jones used his own campus ministry co-workers at Missouri State University to illustrate his point; they were John Wilson (eventual Dean of Pepperdine University), Richard Hughes (professor of church history at Abilene Christian University), Royce Money (President of Abilene

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<sup>69</sup> According to three separate interviewees, theological education itself was initially valued in the Crossroads Movement under the leadership of Chuck Lucas. It was in Crossroads that McKean himself began his master’s degree as did a number of ministers that eventually joined the ICOC (Baird 2013)(G. Ferguson 2013)(Kinnard 2013)

Christian University), Prentice Meador (Professor at UCLA), Kathy Pulley (Professor at Missouri State University) (T. Jones 2007, 29).

It was not just CoC colleges that had lost credibility in the eyes of the Boston Movement. Baird said that the Boston Movement felt equal sentiments towards non-CoC colleges. He said that friends who studied at other “*liberal*” divinity colleges had “*lost their faith*” (Baird 2013). As more examples surfaced of theological education failing to produce effective ministers, it became increasingly clear to leaders in the Boston Movement that formal theological education alone was “*not the way to go*” (Baird 2013). According to Lamb, the mentality to avoid CoC congregations in case of having ones “*faith damaged*” was extended to the universities as their credibility in the eyes of the Boston Movement had diminished considerably (Lamb 2013).

#### *5.4 Kip McKean’s Authority and Conversion Success*

Kip McKean, as the founding leader of the Boston Movement, had great success in numerically growing church membership and multiplying congregations. In two decades, his charismatic style of leadership had transformed a small congregation in Boston, Massachusetts, into a multinational church movement of 135,000 members in 430 congregations located in almost 150 countries (Foster, et al. 2004, 213). McKean’s success provided him with a significant amount of authority in the Boston Movement<sup>70</sup>. McKean’s method of training ministers (without the need for a formal education) had proven successful in achieving the Movement’s goals<sup>71</sup> and thus formal education had diminishing relevance.

The ICoC members interviewed for this thesis recounted the effect of the Boston Movement’s growth on McKean’s authority. Tynes said that when many CoC ministers heard of McKean’s success, they would go to Boston to learn from him (Tynes 2013). Lamb first experienced the draw of McKean’s methods after hiring him in an Illinois CoC’s campus ministry. Lamb recounted how his own commitment was challenged by McKean’s example of faith and commitment. This, Lamb said, continued to be true when he later joined McKean in Boston (Lamb 2013). There was

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<sup>70</sup> See Chapter four’s discussion on authority

<sup>71</sup> At that stage, the goals were mainly growth in committed and baptised Christians (McKean 1992, 8-19).

no ambiguity in McKean's approach to growing churches. He said that "*education is fine but you are not going to learn how to be an evangelist by having a degree*". McKean stressed, according to Tynes, that an "*evangelist can train other evangelists*". Over time, this conviction began to mean that more people went into the ministry without formal theological education (Tynes 2013). Ferguson pointed out, however, that the Boston Movement's success under McKean should not negate the fact that Chuck Lucas's ministry in Crossroads was also extremely successful. Like McKean, who was converted and trained there, some Crossroads trained campus ministries were converting "*a hundred people a year*" long before McKean moved to Boston (G. Ferguson 2013).

While numerical success continued<sup>72</sup>, McKean's aggressive evangelistic philosophy was rarely questioned and his authority seldom doubted (T. Jones 2007, 106-107). During the early years of the movement his strong personal beliefs made their way into the psyche of all those who were closely tied to him (T. Jones 2007, 120). In Chapter four, I described Max Weber's theory of 'charisma' and how it explains McKean's authority in the Boston Movement. According to Weber, a new movement's leader is often characterised by 'charisma', which purportedly places them directly under divine authority. The leaders 'charisma' (authority) supersedes all others, and gives them large influence in shaping their movement. In this Weberian model, McKean's inclination away from formal theological training became the inclination of the movement. Although displaying Weberian 'charisma', McKean never claimed to be a uniquely inspired Prophet or Apostle. He did, however, see himself as being used by God (McKean 1992, 23). While not claiming the office of Prophet, Tynes said that during the early Boston Movement period, to question McKean (and to some extent Lucas) was seen as tantamount to questioning God (Tynes 2013).

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<sup>72</sup> An example of this kind of success was the Boston Movement's Russian church planting. A fifteen-member mission team planted a church in Moscow. Eleven years later the planting had grown to thirty-one churches in fifteen provinces totalling 11,000 members (Stanback 2005, 104). This and other similar occurrences offered little to discredit McKean's claim that they were: "*God's modern day Movement*" (McKean 1992, 12).

Lewis and Lewis (2009) explain that institutional education stands in direct opposition to individual ‘charisma’, which is meant to be divine and not from education<sup>73</sup>. The Boston Movement illustrated ‘charismatic authority’, because as McKean grew in influence formal education diminished. Only once growth began to decline in the 1990s did McKean’s authority come into question. McKean’s eventual resignation opened up doors to explore new avenues of church governance and with that training.

### *5.5 The ICoC’s Narrow Definition of a Trained Church Minister*

The Boston Movement had a definition of what it required to lead a growing church that was heavily focused on being able to convert people. Those aspiring to lead churches were trained to be ‘Evangelists’ and ‘evangelism’ was emphasised in every area of the church (Stanback 2005, 76-77). By defining a church minister as an Evangelist, other forms of leadership (Elder, Teacher, and Deacon) became less important. The Boston Movement, under McKean, used success in converting people as the dominant mark of a trained and faithful minister<sup>74</sup>. Since converting people generally did not require a deep theological education, the need for such qualifications became redundant as new ministers were trained in the Movement’s methods of conversion.

The development of the Boston Movement’s training methods under McKean leads back to the Crossroads Movement and Chuck Lucas. It was in Crossroads that McKean inherited Lucas’s vision for a committed and highly accountable brand of evangelistic Christianity. While Lucas eventually rejoined the mainstream CoC, McKean continued to develop these methods in his own style (Stanback 2005, 43). Very prominent in McKean’s style of leadership was a practical approach to training<sup>75</sup>. While most CoC ministers had theology degrees, McKean slanted training in Boston towards his practical approach. Interns in the Boston Movement had to

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<sup>73</sup> Education becomes a way of perpetuating ‘charisma’s’ influence in later generations (See Chapter four for more on this)

<sup>74</sup> See Chapter 5.6 for a deeper look at the Boston Movement’s conversion technique.

<sup>75</sup> Several catalysts influenced the training and mentoring ideology of the early Crossroads and Boston Movements. Books like: *Mandate to Witness* (Keck 1964) and later: *The Master Plan of Evangelism* (Coleman 1963) were prominent in their influence (T. Jones 2007, 31). The latter focused on mentor training that McKean had witnessed being so effective in Crossroads and which he brought to Boston.

show themselves to be effective under the guidance of a mentor before being considered for greater church leading responsibility. Ministry promotion was subjective and given to those perceived as most capable for the task as designated by the leadership of the church, namely numerical growth<sup>76</sup> (T. Jones 2007, 106-107). The apprenticeship approach to training proved effective in quickly developing leaders and was deemed necessary to meet the demand in rapidly growing congregations (Stanback 2005, 59).

Describing the leadership model in the Boston Movement, Stanback (2005) wrote that:

*“The primary role was that of evangelist, a position that was granted after one had served effectively for a period of time as an intern minister. There was no previously set time requirement to be fulfilled as an intern to attain the position of evangelist – advancement depended upon the growth of the intern’s ministry, the approval of higher-level leaders, and the need to replace evangelists who had left. On the foreign field, appointments occurred rapidly because of desire to place the leadership of the churches into the hands of nationals as quickly as possible”* (Stanback 2005, 59).

The dissimilarities between the more educationally inclined CoC and the approach in the Boston Movement was summarised by a leader in the Boston Movement in the 1980s:

*“One of the biggest differences is we do not believe in classroom instruction only. We do have classroom instruction in Bible, counseling and church history specifically geared for those going into the ministry. However, the biblical mandate is to raise up evangelists by one who is an evangelist walking with another wanting to be an evangelist. And in time he not only takes on the evangelist’s ability to counsel, to teach and preach, but also he takes on that man’s heart. That’s the secret of discipling. Secondly, another major difference from the other schools of preaching is that we pay as much*

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<sup>76</sup> The Boston Movement’s focus on numerical growth was justified through McKean’s pragmatic interpretation of the Bible. This interpretation was strongly inclined towards achieving conversions (T. Jones 2007, 106-107).

*attention to the wife as we do to the husband. She gets as intense a discipling as her husband, not only in areas of evangelism and discipling of women, but in how to be a great mother and wife” (M. Wooten 1987).*

While the core Boston Movement leadership came from a CoC background, with at least some formal theological education, the balance began to shift to the new approach. Since the Boston Movement had begun as a campus movement, university and college students were the primary evangelistic targets for most of the 1980s and 1990s. The focus on campus students kept the church membership relatively young and full of talented, zealous and trainable people. Stanback notes:

*“some of the newly-appointed ministry staff came from the corporate world and brought training in task and productivity management to bear on their ministerial duties, thereby hyper-activating the accountability system already in place” (Stanback 2005, 60)*

The influx of highly competent, non-seminary-trained leaders proved a source of great value to the Movement’s ambitions. Proven ability to achieve the tasks associated with being an Evangelist in the Boston Movement was regarded as more valuable than a theological education.

The ICoC members interviewed for this study recounted their personal experiences of the early Boston Movement leadership training. Al Baird described the mentorship training as a reaction to the overly academic practice in the CoC. He said that the philosophy of training people by ‘walking with them’ in mentorship relationships was likened to the way that Jesus approached his disciples (Baird 2013). According to Ferguson, the illustration of Jesus as a mentor was widely used in the Boston Movement and in hindsight was an oversimplification of Jesus’s methods by McKean. Ferguson said that the idea of theological education was discussed at times but was very much downplayed (G. Ferguson 2013). Douglas Jacoby, who was converted in the Crossroads era, recalled incidents where ministers were close to finishing their degrees but then were discouraged from completing them in favour of going on mission teams to plant new churches. McKean justified the move away from seminaries by teaching the perception that Jesus and the apostles did not have

theology degrees. Consequently, the importance of formal theological training had greatly diminished as the movement expanded (Jacoby 2013).

When discussing the early Boston Movement leadership, Kinnard and Jacoby both pointed out that, to their knowledge, none of the ‘World Sector Leaders’ (WSLs)<sup>77</sup> had master’s degrees in theology (Kinnard 2013) (Jacoby 2013). Although many ministers in the Movement did have degrees in theology, the fact that the most senior leaders did not is illustrative of the training focus. Baird said that, in his experience, the people sent on mission teams did not suffer in effectiveness without a theology degree. He said that ill effects of a deficit in education were felt, but not in the ICoC’s core focus on evangelism (Baird 2013). Ferguson agreed that the effects of limited theological education were particularly seen in preaching. He said that parts of the Bible were often quoted out of context. Ferguson, however, balanced his point by stating that some of the most educated people he knew were not effective evangelistically (G. Ferguson 2013).

As the Boston Movement grew and solidified its approach to training and multiplying ministers, the definition of an effective church leader was focused on evangelism<sup>78</sup>, which meant that formal theological education became a diminished consideration in Boston<sup>79</sup>.

### *5.6 The ICoC’s ‘Model’ of Church Replication and Multiplication*

The definition of a trained minister was not just related a person’s ability to convert new members, it also included the ability to replicate the Boston Movements ‘model’ of church expansion. Possibly the most important principle, from a practical perspective, was training leaders to arrange and conduct a simple set of personal Bible teaching sessions dubbed ‘First Principles’. The mastery of First Principles was seen as central to evangelistic success in the Movement. The church expansion plan was, therefore, achievable without ministers and mission teams with formal theological education.

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<sup>77</sup> World Sector Leaders were a group of nine senior ICoC leaders that were each responsible for the churches planted in specific regions or specific functions within the ICoC (Stanback 2005, 88).

<sup>78</sup> While not in the scope of this thesis, the ICoC’s definition of ministry competence and success would have had implications in many other areas of the church and not just training philosophy.

<sup>79</sup> Although, as stated earlier, Crossroads still valued education for its ministers

The First Principles Bible study sessions were aimed at prospective new converts with an emphasis on core doctrinal beliefs of the Boston Movement. The sessions were a mix of teaching from the Bible and accountability for decisions to take up presented challenges. This teaching tool, often criticised by detractors as misleading, proved effective in converting people to Christianity. First Principles was standardised into roughly nine topics<sup>80</sup>, and then taught throughout the Movement. (Stanback 2005, 53-54). The teaching sessions were uniform, but the skill of effectively convincing someone to apply the principles required talents of persuasion and a thorough knowledge of specific Bible passages. Members were taught the skill of effectively conducting the teaching sessions through their mentoring relationships.

Every member, no matter how educated or experienced, was trained how to teach the First Principles bible studies. While not formally a creed, all converts knew the studies and were held to keeping the standards discussed in them. There was a cultural understanding that First Principles defined the core doctrine and practices of the church (Stanback 2005, 53-55). McKean said of his approach to First Principles:

*...all (no matter how extensive their experience or Bible background) had to begin their training as if they were young Christians. For example, everyone was encouraged to take the First Principles Class. We found that these leaders had to unlearn their past traditions and misconceptions before they could really learn how to build churches. The training for someone baptized out of the world in Boston and for someone who moved to train in Boston was exactly the same. Before any man was sent out to lead a church, he had to become a proven builder in Boston or one of our plantings.*

(McKean 1992, 11)

As stated in the previous section, promotion within the ICoC leadership was largely based on success at converting people using First Principles. Those members who succeeded at lower levels of leadership were promoted whether or not they had a

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<sup>80</sup> The topics taught were: (1) The role of the Bible (Word Study), (2) Following Jesus (Discipleship Study), (3) The church (Kingdom Study), (4) Sin and Repentance, (5) The Crucifixion of Christ (Cross Study), (6) Baptism (Light and Darkness Study), (7) False Doctrines, (8) The Holy Spirit, (9) The Church (Stanback 2005, 53-55). Forms of these topical bible studies are still widely practiced in the ICoC (e.g., Pocta 2012).

background of formal theological education. People competent at teaching people the Bible individually (and helping other members to do the same) would be promoted to leading small groups. After leading a smaller group, depending on ability, a leader would lead larger groups. The ministry staff was selected from those lay leaders who were most effective in leading at a smaller group level (Stanback 2005, 58). Both Kinnard and Baird observed that, although hardly any of the top level of leadership had a theology degree, they were very effective in leading congregations in the evolving Boston Movement church model.

In designing First Principles, McKean saw the Movement as a rediscovering biblical church. He described the process as

*“...both frightening and exhilarating, for only by studying the Bible and then by trial and error implementation of these rediscovered teachings can a movement be forged like the original that shook the entire world in one generation.”* (McKean 1992, 2).

In a similar spirit to Stone and Campbell (See Chapter two), McKean promoted an ideal of primitive Christianity. He called for ‘*a return to the doctrines and lifestyles of the first century church*’ which McKean said ‘*can only occur when we abandon the apostatized systems and their poisoned foundations of traditions and hypocrisy*’ (McKean 1992, 2).

As the First Principles and church leadership model became more inflexible, a shift began to occur. Tynes observed that what started as an ‘adventure’ with the leaders experimenting and learning, became very rigid. There was a sense that the process of building churches had become “*mechanized*”. Tynes spoke of how McKean had a military family background that influenced his rigid leadership approach. The movement became highly regulated and hierarchical. As the structure was designed around personal ministry success, formal education became less relevant or necessary (Tynes 2013).

### 5.7 Allocation of Recourses Towards Missions

As the Boston Movement grew, there was an increased emphasis on planting churches outside of the USA in what became known as ‘world missions’<sup>81</sup>. The expansive strategy contributed to a fading need for formal education as resources were allocated to replicating the success in the Boston church worldwide. The idea of taking young and zealous new ministers and sending them to theology school instead of on mission teams was not entertained<sup>82</sup>.

There are some missionary examples that were written about in the Movement’s publications as evidence of success<sup>83</sup>. One such example was Scott and Lynne Green, who led a group from Boston to plant a congregation in Hong Kong in 1987. While in Hong Kong, the leaders initially spent roughly thirty hours a week learning Cantonese. Since they arrived with a church model that had been successful elsewhere, it was perceived that just the language barrier needed to be overcome. Less than ten years later, two thousand people were meeting for church in Hong Kong. In addition, the Hong Kong church had also sent its own mission teams to Taipei, Taiwan and mainland China (Stanback 2005, 102).

McKean claimed that what was perhaps “*unappreciated by the casual observer*” was the challenge to meet the needs of the “unprecedented number of new converts”<sup>84</sup> (McKean 1994, 8). Highly structured and regulated mentoring kept the rapidly growing Movement together. There were Elders appointed to support the Movement’s leaders and take care of the family and personal needs arising in the church. Resources, however, were heavily invested in new converts who often came at the cost of helping to existing members (Ferguson, et al. 2003).

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<sup>81</sup> Kip McKean gave himself the designation ‘World Missions Evangelist’ (Stanback 2005, 90)

<sup>82</sup> In contrast, Petter refers to Yeakley (1988) when he described the “*mainline Churches (CoC) as a stagnant fellowship with lack of numerical growth due to little concern with sending missionaries and most resources were inward focused to preserve and defend sound doctrine*” (Petter 2008, 70)

<sup>83</sup> The Boston Movement was prolific in publishing their own success stories. ‘LA Story’, ‘UpCyberDown’ and ‘KNN’ were all ways in which news was spread around the churches (Stanback 2005, 115).

<sup>84</sup> In the Boston congregation alone, there were over two thousand people converted in the first six years (Stanback 2005, 62).

The ICoC benefited numerically from the good in this practical approach but also suffered some negative consequences. The classroom instruction given to ministry trainees was more extensive in the early years but steadily diminished. Eventually, classes took the form of a Bible lessons tailored to the specific needs of the moment, which usually included church growth (Stanback 2005, 59). Focus was narrowing and the proportion of ministers who did not have theology degrees was growing. Stanback observed that in retrospect, one of the disadvantages of the lack of formal training was also a high turnover rate among ministry staff (Stanback 2005, 59).

Steve Kinnard, an Evangelist and Teacher in the New York ICoC, received a master's degree in theology prior to joining the Boston Movement. He felt that it would have been difficult for him to get his masters qualification had he joined the movement before completing his studies (Kinnard 2013). Baird said that it was not a consideration to send new leaders to get a theology degree. Candidates earmarked for leadership and church plantings tended to be very capable, according to Baird. He said that with the "urgency to send out mission teams" at the time, "we were not going to wait years for someone to get a bible degree before they went" (Baird 2013). Lamb noted that, because churches were being planted so quickly, there was a felt need to prepare leaders in a timelier manner. The need to reproduce leaders rapidly meant that formal education was "*squeezed out of the equation*" of the ICoC's development (Lamb 2013).

### *5.8 A Foundation of Ministers who Already had Formal Theological Education*

While not stated explicitly, the fact that many of the early Boston Movement ministers' came from a CoC background had an impact on the Movement's training philosophy. Having been trained in the CoC tradition, many of these ministers had theology degrees from CoC institutions. Although the ratio of ministers with theology degrees changed as the Boston Movement expanded, the initial pool of educated ministers diminished the perceived need to send more young ministers to get theology degrees.

In the early 1980s, as many of the CoC's college-trained ministers began to align themselves with McKean, the Boston Movement's paid ministry staff was a "veritable 'who's who' from the CoC campus ministry seminars" of the previous decade (T. Jones 2007, 98). Many of the initial additions to the Movement were ministers who had trained in the CoC mold but were attracted by the Boston Movement (Jacoby 2013). These CoC ministers formed the foundation as the movement initially multiplied. Although the ideology on training in the Boston Movement was clearly different from the CoC, the Movement gleaned much benefit from the education of ex-CoC ministers. While not all leaders in the 1980s and 1990s fell into this category, many theologically educated ministers would handle the teaching needs in the churches.

Baird mentioned that some key leaders had advanced degrees in the early days of the Movement. These leaders compensated for the younger group of ministers who were converted on campuses most without theology degrees. According to him, there was "no feeling of deficiency in bible knowledge" within the movement in its early period. This issue, according to Baird, partially masked the problem as a growing pool of preachers in lower levels of leadership who, while having much practical training, had not been trained in theology (Baird 2013). According to Tynes, the ratio of theologically educated to those without theology degrees diminished slowly and was not obvious at the time (Tynes 2013).

Douglas Jacoby, one of the more academically inclined evangelists in the Boston Movement, was part of the initial move to create a new office of 'Teacher' within the Movement. In 1993, at a major gathering of the Movement's leaders in Los Angeles, California, four of these official Teachers were appointed<sup>85</sup> (Stanback 2005, 60). The teachers became the scholars of the Movement and wrote articles, pamphlets and books through the ICoC's internal publishing house DPI (Discipleship Publications International). They were also tasked with educating the church at a deeper theological level. Adding a new dimension to the Movement, these teachers published many of the one hundred and seventy five DPI titles with a printing of more than two million volumes in twenty-five languages over a period of ten years from 1993 to 2003 (T. Jones 2007, 104) (S. Jones 2013). Many of these books became staple

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<sup>85</sup> Two of these initial Teachers, Douglas Jacoby and Gordon Ferguson, were interviewed for this thesis.

reading for members of the movement. Douglas Jacoby himself maintained a website with over three thousand articles and personally answered close to 1,300 theological questions sent to him (Douglasjacoby.com 2013).

Although the new office of Teacher had been created, it was not developed as a widely accessible ministry role and was primarily reserved only for the seasoned individuals who were initially named as teachers (Stanback 2005, 60). A few more were added to the number in the early years of the Boston Movement but, to most, it was an additional title to the one that they already had (Elder or Evangelist). In general, those who wanted to teach in the church still had to follow the conventional pathway of becoming Ministry Interns and Evangelists (Stanback 2005, 60).

A tension eventually developed in the Movement between McKean and the teachers group. In an interview with Douglas Jacoby, he spoke of another side to the story that McKean publicised about the appointing of Teachers (McKean 1994, 10). On the one hand, the new office of teacher was presented as a help to the central leadership. These Teachers were, however, very limited in how much McKean allowed them to help direct the doctrinal direction of the church. Jacoby said that Teachers were not invited to the ICoC World Sector Leader meetings. This exclusion, according to Jacoby, showed that Teachers were not held in high regard (Jacoby 2013). Both Ferguson and Jacoby mentioned the tension between the Teachers and McKean. As the Teachers began to question some of McKean's teachings and practices, they fell increasingly out of favour (G. Ferguson 2013) (Jacoby 2013). Jacoby felt that, in hindsight, there was a deeper motive behind the appointment of teachers in 1993. He said that there is reason to believe that the appointment was partially to 'quarantine' and distract the leaders that were inclined towards theology. This, Jacoby believes, would help direct their attention away from criticising the movement. McKean is believed to have said that one of his biggest mistakes was to appoint Teachers, as they were the first group to call for his resignation in 2001<sup>86</sup> (Jacoby 2013).

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<sup>86</sup> Jones (2007), who was the editor-in-chief of DPI for eight years, reflected that theological and practical concerns about the direction that the movement had been voiced to Kip McKean during his tenure. Like Jacoby, Jones also noted that these concerns did not have a major impact on McKean's decision-making and leadership style. In spite of this apparent barrier to compromise, Jones was very respectful of McKean after the latter's departure in 2002. He is quoted as saying that in all his years McKean had "*never questioned or tried to influence what was published and distributed by DPI*" (T. Jones 2007, 104-105).

Stanback recorded that one of the original reasons for the Teacher office to be formed was to help the Boston Movement define their various doctrinal stances (Stanback 2005, 60). McKean proved to be only marginally open to this form of guidance. Jones chronicled how some of his conversations with McKean were met with a listening ear but that ultimately McKean's pragmatic hermeneutic was not open to much needed criticism from others. McKean's interpretation of scripture became the interpretation for the whole movement (T. Jones 2007, 106) and Jacoby was clear in stating that the teaching ministry was allowed a minimal influence on that by McKean (Jacoby 2013).

As stated earlier in the Chapter, the fact that there was a foundation of theologically educated ministers only partially informs the thesis as most of the World Sector Leaders<sup>87</sup> did not have theology degrees (Kinnard 2013). Jacoby added that the important World Sector Leader position was seen as a managerial and inspirational position and so formal theological education was not a prerequisite (Jacoby 2013).

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<sup>87</sup> See Chapter 5.6 for more on World Sector Leaders

## **Chapter 6.**

### **Conclusions and Reflection**

#### *6.1 Conclusions*

In Chapter five, eight factors are presented to account for the ICoC's decision not to require formal theological education for its ministers from 1979-2002. These factors explain the pendulum swing away from the traditional CoC training methods during those decades. While these eight factors serve to answer the question raised in this thesis, below I have made some additional conclusions with full awareness that future evidence may lead to additional insights on this topic. I would like to restate here that my methodology does not include weighting the strength of each influence, as complex social phenomena should not be subject to excessive reduction.

While the ICoC's training decision was intentional and documented, the influences were not systematically analysed at the time. Some of these influences have their social roots deep within the Stone-Campbell Movement; others are attributed to the revolutionary and counter-institutional nature of a new religious movement. The fact that the Boston Movement was an unamicable schism from the CoC meant that multiple social forces were acting on the Movement at the time (See Chapter 2.4 and Chapter 5.1-3). These forces directly impacted the Boston movement's approach to formal theological training. Other factors' were more directly connected to McKean, such as his negative experience of theological education. The ICoC's success in missionary endeavors and easily replicatable model of growth influenced the way resources were spent.

#### **The Boston Movement/CoC Conflict**

The Boston Movement schism was partially in reaction to an apparent stagnation in the CoC of the 1960s and 1970s. This reactionary element had a counter-CoC thrust as the Boston Movement's ideology developed in contrast with the CoC. The general CoC has no central leadership, a number of colleges and low levels of accountability between members. In contrast, the Boston Movement had a rigid hierarchy and central leadership, no formal theological education and high levels of accountability.

The Boston Movement's decisions around training were, therefore, as much reactionary as they were methodologically constructed. There may have been room for more negotiation on the topic of education had the Boston Movement more amicably parted ways with the CoC. This was not the case, and partially due to the tense and unpleasant separation, institutional education was disregarded.

#### Authority was a significant factor

Comparing the Boston Movement's philosophy of training to both the CoC and other twentieth century Christian denominations' shows that the training debate was not just about training methodology. The debate hinges as much on the nature of authority within a movement or denomination, as it does on issues of effectiveness in training.

The CoC's stance against a 'clergy' class has traditionally placed significant authority in the hands of its publications and academic institutions. The Boston Movement, under McKean's leadership, had a defined leader with strong decision-making authority. This *charisma* (See Chapter four) created a power dynamic not seen in the CoC since Alexander Campbell and Barton Stone (See Chapter two). While there were influential leaders in the CoC, none claimed the authority to direct and unify churches under a singular authority. McKean's position, as the primary leader of the Boston Movement for twenty-three years, gave him unparalleled authority in the Movement's major decision making. While not everyone agreed with McKean during this period, there was little room for alternative opinions.

The CoC's academic institutions were designed in a system of autonomous congregations. Max Weber's observation that charismatic leadership and institutionalisation are opposing forces was illustrated by McKean's growing prominence and its effect on the Boston Movement's perception of institutionalised education.

#### McKean's College Experience

By the time he arrived in Boston, the twenty-five year old McKean had been a student at three institutions, and a minister on two other US campuses. He was significantly influenced by his educational experience, and subsequently considered seminary-type

training to be of little practical value for training church ministers. McKean's authority in the Boston Movement placed his experience above others with respect to the seminary training debate. The fact that other ministers, including his early mentor Chuck Lucas, were not opposed to some form of theological training did not influence McKean's perception.

### The Wider Debate on Theological Education

The Crossroads and Boston Movements' were CoC revivals in the post-Vietnam war period that saw a number of changes in the USA's Christian society. This same counter-cultural fervor created an environment where many Christians were looking for inspiration outside of the establishment. A century earlier, in the USA's post-Civil War (1861-1865) period, there was an opposite reaction as the educational establishment boomed in the USA. Both of these post-war reactions influenced the CoC as much as it did the rest of the Christian United States.

The nineteenth century institutional boom influenced the Stone-Campbell churches to establish multiple colleges in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. By the time of the Crossroads Movement, the CoC had close to two hundred known colleges and universities as well as a further two hundred Bible academies. Conversely, the mid-twentieth century anti-establishment sentiment fueled the CoC's conflict between progressive and conservative. This sentiment, and the influence of Campus Crusade, eventually led to the Crossroads Movement and a shift away from the CoC establishment.

The social forces leading to the formation of CoC colleges, as well as the later reaction against them, were part of a larger shift in socio-cultural ideology. As much as McKean had a strong opinion on the Biblical mandate for in situ ministerial training, the rest of the United States Christian youth was also questioning the constraints of the institutionalised church. I cannot say whether McKean was cognisant of the impact of these forces, nonetheless they existed and had an influence on the developing Boston Movement ideology.

### The Education Philosophy was fuelled by Success in Growing the Movement

During its growth phase (1980s-1990s), there was little apparent reason to question the Boston Movement's training methods. The church was growing and there seemed little negative consequences to its move away from formal theological training<sup>88</sup>.

Like successful revolutions in politics and entrepreneurial success in business, new religious movements' have flexibility and drive that fuels their initial growth. By shedding the time and resources required to put ministers through theology school, the Boston Movement was able to take its brightest converts and give them a vision and role that was immediately attainable.

### A decision with Consequences

The next two sections show some of the long-term consequences of the ICoC's training philosophy. While the post-McKean developments in the ICoC are not directly within the scope of my thesis, by reflecting on the ICoC's recent introspection, some additional insight is gained.

## *6.2 The Post-McKean ICoC (2002-2014)*

Kip McKean's 2002 resignation ended the first generation of the Boston Movement. In 2003, an incriminatory open letter was released and circulated within the ICoC. Henry Kriete, a long-standing minister in the London ICoC, wrote the letter which outlined his perspective on, among other issues, the ICoC's hierarchy and obsession with conversions (Stanback 2005, 127-129) (Kriete 2003). These criticisms resonated with many in the ICoC as "*open forums*" were held in churches around the world to discuss issues raised in Kriete's letter (Wilson 2010, 72). Many leaders resigned or were fired by the congregations. Apologies came from various leaders who began to admit to personal and systematic mistakes. Missionaries returned home as growth stagnated further. One estimation is that as many as thirty percent of the ICoC's

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<sup>88</sup> See Chapter 6.3 for a brief retrospection on the decision

global membership left in the decade after Kriete's letter was circulated<sup>89</sup> (Taliaferro 2012). Some leaders saw the upheaval caused by the letter as divine discipline and a sober call to reform (Wilson 2010, 72).

In 2007, after a period of steep decline, the ICoC reorganised under a “*unity proposal*” (Fontenot, et al. 2006) (Taliaferro 2008). This proposal was a statement of principles unifying those choosing to accept its terms. This effort sought to clarify the doctrine and mission of the ICoC and to develop new ways of working together since the upheaval in 2002-2003<sup>90</sup> (Fontenot, et al. 2006). Approximately 500 ICoC congregations signed the proposal as a period of recovery began (Wilson 2010, 73). Conference attendance (a traditional litmus test of health in the ICoC) increased<sup>91</sup> and it was reported that in the years between 2003 and 2008 that ninety-eight new congregations had been planted (Taliaferro 2008). The 2012 International Summit in San Antonio, Texas, had 17,000 members of the ICoC from ninety countries in attendance (Taliaferro 2012). At this time, one ICoC leader confidently stated that: “*the storm was passing over*” (Taliaferro 2012).

Although the scope of my research does not require an analysis of the ICoC's approach to formal theological education post 2002, I have included a brief reflection below. Observing the ICoC's early second-generation routinization highlights the issue of authority in the ICoC as addressed in Chapter four. The reflection also underscores the transforming philosophy of education in a post charismatic era.

### *6.3 Formal Theological Education in the ICoC (2002-2014)*

The events following McKean's resignation (2002) opened the door for deeper discussion surrounding theological education in the ICoC. Many of the Movement's leaders went through a period of reflection on the subject of theological education and

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<sup>89</sup> Carrillo (2009, 154) recorded that: “*the ICoC lost nearly a third of its membership, dropping from 135,000 to 88,000 between 2001 and 2006*”.

<sup>90</sup> The proposal formed the basis of a working party leadership structure with service teams and delegations attempting to steer the movement forward by consensus in the absence of a singular leader. Regional representatives form a decision-making delegation and service teams provide resources and direction for various aspects of the movement (Lamb, Delegates 2009) (Fontenot, et al. 2006).

<sup>91</sup> The ‘*International Leadership Conference*’ increased in attendance from 400 (2003) to 1000 (2006) to 2000 (2011) delegates (DisciplesToday, ILC 2012). The ‘*International Campus Ministry Conference*’ went from 200 (2005) to 2500 (2012) delegates (Miller, et al. 2012).

dialogue was opened between the ICoC and CoC universities. In 2004, at the initiation of Abilene Christian University, leaders from the CoC and the ICoC met “*both privately and publicly before large crowds at the (CoC’s) Abilene Bible Lectureship*”. Since then, leaders from CoC have been invited to speak at various ICoC events (Wilson 2010, 73). These initiations have been steps towards healing the rift between the CoC and ICoC, and as one researcher stated:

*“Many of the evangelists and other leaders began research and self-examination, seeking further education both in secular institutions and in theological schools including Harding, Abilene Christian and Pepperdine Universities. Most were searching for understanding and answers to their questions about how to build better, healthier churches.”*<sup>92</sup>

(Carrillo 2009, 154)

During the period directly following the release of Kriete’s letter, leaders in the ICoC made public apologies for causing hurt. Theological education was a topic that featured regularly in these statements’ of apology. The following statement was made by some of the core Los Angeles ICoC leaders:

*“We have not seen to it that the staff has been trained in the Bible as they should and that the flock has been fed the scriptures in depth. Too often sermons and midweek lessons have left our members hungry”*

(Stanback 2005, 133)

The Boston ICoC also released the following statement:

*“We recognize that we have not placed the priority on the careful study of the Bible that is needed. Our schedules and our various efforts to grow the church have often reflected a humanistic attitude. We have not given a high priority to in-depth biblical teaching, which is so vital to our faith and to our ability to build the kind of church that God desires. For this we are sorry and pledge*

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<sup>92</sup> Since 2002, several leaders have earned doctorates in biblical or ministry studies (T. Jones 2007, 216).

*ourselves to make the necessary changes so that our ministry is based on this type of study of scriptures.”*

(T. Jones 2007, 178)

In Jones' (2007) summary of the lessons learned at this crucial stage in the ICoC's history he mentioned the following:

*“We have seen that our churches must be taught the Bible in an in-depth way and that frothy motivational or entertaining messages are not enough.”*

(T. Jones 2007, 139)

He also said:

*“We have seen the scriptures wrenched from its context and used and abused to defend some grand scheme of men when we need to read scripture contextually with all its balance and healthiness, letting scripture determine our agendas.”*

(T. Jones 2007, 139)

In order to address some of these issues, the ICoC commissioned a “*Teachers Service Team*” to reflect on and develop the ICoC's approach to theological training. A number of new Teachers have been appointed in the ICoC, and the service team has revived what was previously known as the ICoC “*International Teachers Seminar*”. Many ICoC congregations have developed in-house theological training programmes' or aligned themselves with Teachers' in other parts of the Movement. More recently, a “*Teachers Mission Statement*” was released in order to define the role of an ICoC Teacher (Kinnard 2012). While the policy of formal education in the ICoC is still under deliberation, a number of ministers have received advanced degrees in theology since 2002 (Baird 2013). Teachers in the ICoC have also provided more in-house training programmes, which have grown significantly in the post-McKean era (G. Ferguson 2013) (Kinnard 2013) (See Appendix four).

#### 6.4 Reflection on the ICoC's Future Approach to Formal Theological Education

As the ICoC settles into its second generation, new challenges will emerge in defining its approach to theological education. There is no doubt that routinization has taken the controversial edge off the Movement<sup>93</sup>. Wallis (1981, 97-132) noted that the keys to denominationalism are the “*shedding of exclusivity and attainment of public respectability*”. It is likely that the organisation and systemisation of the ICoC's approach to theological education will aid the process towards denominationalism. The ICoC is enquiring about formal accreditation for its training programmes and already has increased its number of regional and international training academies<sup>94</sup> (Kinnard 2012).

In 1987, Haymes described the CoC as being a “*sect of the nineteenth century*” that became a “*mainstream denomination*” of the twentieth century (p. 48). How the ICoC adjusts to routinization and the distribution of post-charismatic authority will be pivotal in defining the Movement's future. How far will the ICoC go in converging with mainstream methods of theological training? One of the questions that this current generation of the ICoC will need to answer lies in how it defines a ‘trained minister’ and whether it will keep the vision, upheld by McKean for so many years, of a radically committed Movement that is not “*buried in the halls of academia*”<sup>95</sup>.

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<sup>93</sup> The author has noticed that during the 1980s and 1990s there were a number of articles published in campus newspapers and Anti-Cult Movement (ACM) publications like the *Cultic Studies Journal*. These articles related predominantly to mentoring practices, and what was perceived to be aggressive evangelism tactics. Similarly, disgruntled ex-members created blogs detailing their experiences of ICoC abuses. The frequency and intensity of anti-ICoC publishing (online and other) has diminished significantly in the last decade.

<sup>94</sup> See Appendix 4 for a sample of current ICoC training academies.

<sup>95</sup> While embodying McKean's views while in the Boston Movement, this phrase not attributed to McKean and taken out of context from: Gail Stenstad's (2006) book: *Transformations: thinking after Heidegger*.

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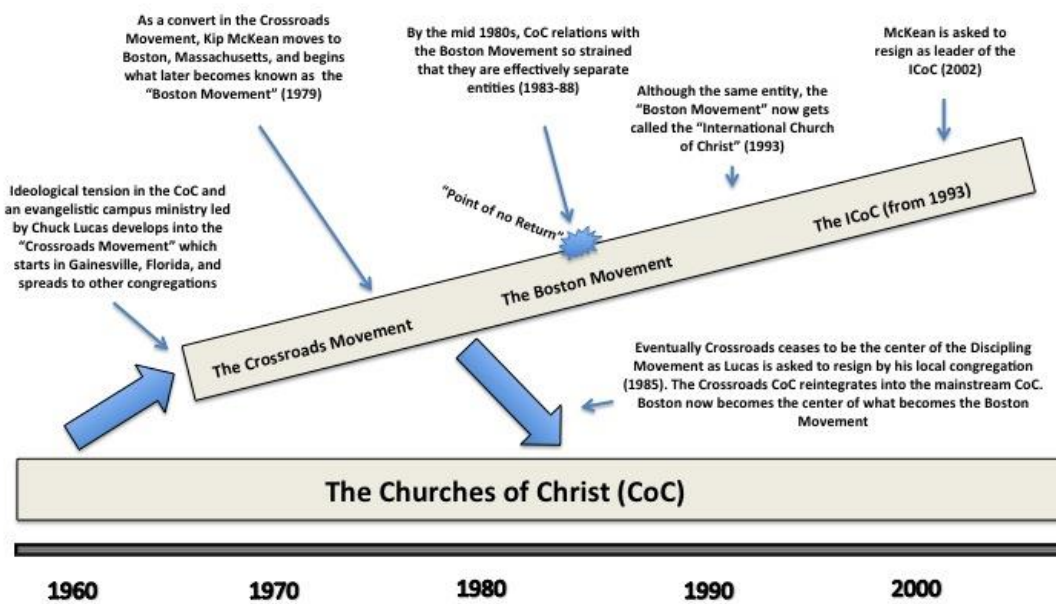
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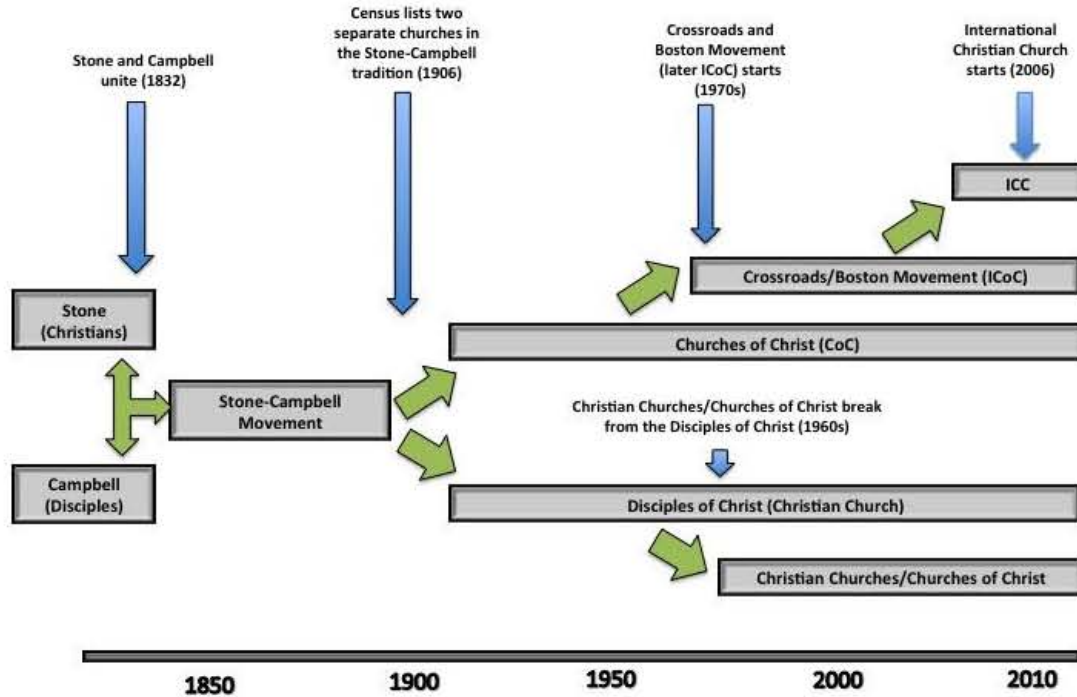
Appendices

**Appendix 1: The CoC – ICoC schism**

**How the Discipling Movements' in the Churches of Christ eventually became the ICoC:**



## Appendix 2: The Stone-Campbell movement – Major Splits



Stone-Campbell (or Restoration) Movement Timeline (Major Splits)

### **Appendix 3: The Interview Process**

As outlined in the research methodology (Chapter 1.4), a set of interviews was conducted as part of this research. In this Appendix, I outline the process by which interviewees were chosen and some biographical details to show their relevance as subjects. I have also attached the ethics clearance and consent forms used in my fieldwork.

#### **Choosing a Sample of Interviewees**

While the secondary sources proved significant, I saw the value that some first-hand testimonies would bring to informing this research. A timely bursary provided me with the resources to visit New York, USA, for a large gathering of ICoC leaders in September 2013. This conference, hosted by the New York ICoC, was an ideal opportunity to set up interviews with long standing members of the ICoC. I was particularly interested in finding members who were connected with the early Crossroads Movement and Boston Movement. Equally so, I wanted to interview ICoC leaders who had a history in the CoC and could provide perspective from their experience in both the parent body (CoC) and the schism (Boston Movement). I chose a sample made up of leaders who featured strongly in the existing literature on the Boston Movement in order to further validate the choice of interviewee. By sourcing emails from my own records, the records of friends and various church websites, I contacted seventeen current ICoC ministers who met my criteria and were likely to be in attendance at the New York conference. Of the seventeen, seven people made themselves available to be interviewed for this research.

I did not attempt to contact Kip McKean as his opinion featured strongly in the secondary sources. McKean's views were covered by his own self published sources as well as sources from both detractors and proponents of his methods. This was done to provide an unbiased reflection of his perspective. An increased sample size could have added some level of increased reliability (Punch 1998, 193) but the scope of this research did not require this.

The interviewees were contacted before the fieldtrip and appointments were set up in advance. They were given a full explanation of the research and signed consent forms.

### **The interview process**

The interviews consisted of an introduction to the theme of this research followed by an open-ended question. The question was as follows:

*“Why do you think the Boston Movement decided not to follow the CoC tradition of sending their training ministers to get a formal theological education?”*

The interviewees were allowed time to give some personal background followed by a personal statement in answer to the topic. At times, I would prompt further explanation and I would occasionally push on a lead gleaned from the literature or other interviews. The interviews lasted between ten and sixty minutes depending on the availability of the interviewee. All interviews were audio-recorded for accuracy in representing the interviewees’ responses, and so that verbatim quotations could be used when desired.

### **Summary of the interview experience**

I am grateful for their cooperation with this research and willingness to participate and be transparent and objective about their experiences in the early days of the movement. There were a number of points from the interviews that provided insight not present in the secondary sources. The respondents have reviewed the inclusion of their statements and have acknowledged satisfaction that their views are accurately reflected. I am grateful for the value that they added to the findings and conclusions.

### **Research Ethics**

The ‘University of Cape Town Code for Research Involving Human Subjects’ was applied as a guideline for conducting this research<sup>96</sup>. I conducted the research in a responsible and respectful manner in accordance with these ethical principles. I have

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<sup>96</sup> See ‘University of Cape Town Code for Research Involving Human Subjects’

tried my best throughout this research to ensure scholarly integrity and accountability. With emphasis on informed consent, I assure that truthful and respectful exchanges between the primary sources and the researcher (author) have taken place. When referencing secondary sources, I have paid close attention to context and have referenced in accordance with Chicago guidelines. All transcripts and consent forms related to this research have been stored in an appropriate manner.

### **Interviewee Biography**

Below is an alphabetical list (Surname, preferred name) of interviewees and a brief biography<sup>97</sup>.

#### **Baird, Al**

Al Baird grew up in the CoC in Texas and graduated from Abilene Christian College and then the University of Texas in 1968 with his Doctorate in Physics. Baird and his family moved to Boston as a part of a CoC church planting consisting of about forty families who all moved from the Southwest, USA. He worked in research for fifteen years. In 1983, he and his wife Gloria became a part of the Boston Movement. There Baird gave up his career in physics and entered the full-time ministry, where he continues to serve both as evangelist and elder. He left Boston in 1992 to join the Los Angeles ICoC. From the time Al became a part of the Boston movement in 1983 until Kip McKean left the ICoC twenty years later, Kip and Al had a close working relationship and a great friendship. All three of Al's daughters and their husbands are faithful members of the ICoC as well as the three of his nine grandchildren who are old enough to be baptised.

#### **Ferguson, Gordon**

Gordon Ferguson spent his childhood and early adulthood attending the CoC. As a young married man, he decided to go into the ministry and attended the Preston Road School of Preaching in Dallas, Texas, graduating from this two-year programme in January of 1972. He then worked with churches in the states of Washington and Texas, serving for a number of years as a teacher in the Preston Road School. During

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<sup>97</sup> The biographies were compiled from a combination of information gained from published sources, the interviews conducted for this thesis and some personal statements in emails sent to the author.

his tenure there, he also completed a Master's Degree in New Testament Studies from Harding Graduate School of Religion. He gradually grew frustrated with the state of the CoC, particularly in the areas of evangelism and 'discipling'. He sees discipling as a missing ingredient from the CoC, and values it as both a way to train and transform disciples and a way to help a person deal with sin at the temptation before it could do serious damage spiritually. After having met the Discipling Movement first in 1981, he joined their ranks in San Diego in 1985. In the years since, he has served as an Evangelist, Elder and Teacher for different lengths of time in Boston, Phoenix and now Los Angeles. Currently he is totally focused on his teaching and writing ministry, having written a dozen books and many articles. He serves as the Director and primary instructor for the Pacific School of Ministry, sponsored by the Los Angeles ICoC.

### **Frederick, Jack**

Jack Frederick grew up attending a conservative CoC, and in 1971 he was baptised in a campus ministry at Auburn University. After graduating with a degree in Chemical Engineering, Jack worked a secular job while leading the campus & teen ministries of a large church. He was disfellowshipped from that congregation in 1984 due to conflict with the "*reactionary leadership*" and conservatism in the eldership. Based on his observation of children growing up in churches, he felt the need for his family to be in an environment of strong faith & expectations. Jack moved to Boston in 1988 to be part of the Boston Movement. His goal was to learn from the leaders there and to allow his young family (wife Gail and children ages 4,6 & 10) to grow in the atmosphere of faith and action. He left a dream job at NASA, and took a new engineering in Boston.

He served in various roles during his time in Boston including one of six Elders leading the church of 2,000+ members. Jack moved to Atlanta, Georgia, in 2010. Jack has since retired from his engineering career and continues to be involved in a number of educational and business enterprises while serving as a Deacon in Atlanta ICoC and mentor to small ICoC churches and church plantings across the Southern United States.

**Jacoby, Douglas**

Douglas Jacoby grew up in the CoC and joined the a campus ministry connected to the Crossroads Movement in 1977 while he studied at Duke University in Durham, North Carolina (B.A. History, 1977-1980). This was followed by postgraduate study at the University of Oxford, Harvard Divinity School, and Drew University. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree in history, a master of theological studies degree in New Testament, and a doctor of ministry degree in ministry and education. Jacoby moved to England to serve in Boston Movement/ICoC churches for the next two decades. He married Vicki in 1985 and worked in ICoC churches in London, Birmingham, Sydney, Stockholm, Philadelphia, Indianapolis, and Washington DC. He was appointed as one of the first Boston Movement teachers in 1993 (see Chapter 5.8). After over twenty years in the ICoC ministry, in 2003 Jacoby turned to a full-time teaching ministry where he has enjoyed much success. Jacoby is currently an Adjunct Professor at Lincoln Christian University, Illinois. He is the founder and principal teacher of the Athens Institute of Ministry. To date, Jacoby has taught in 110 countries, written over twenty books, engaged in public recorded debates and has a website with 3,000 articles relating to Christianity.

**Kinnard, Steve**

G. Steve Kinnard is a fourth generation Church of Christ member from Middle Tennessee. He went to college at Freed-Hardeman College, a Church of Christ school in West Tennessee. While there, he learned of the Crossroads movement. He moved to Raleigh, North Carolina in 1981 to be part of a church that had connections with the Crossroads movement. While in North Carolina, Steve earned a Master of Divinity with Languages degree from Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary. In 1983, Steve and his wife Leigh moved to New York City to be part of a church planting which had been sent by the Boston movement. He became an evangelist and a teacher in the New York City Church of Christ. Steve has been serving that church for over thirty years. Steve earned a Doctor of Ministry degree from Drew University in Madison, New Jersey. He is an Adjunct Professor of Bible with Lincoln Christian University. Steve is the chair of the Teachers Service Team with the ICoC. He is also the chair of the board of the ICoC Ministry Training Academy.

**Lamb, Roger**

Roger Lamb (and his wife Marcia) grew up in the CoC and Roger studied at both Harding University, Arkansas (1965 – 1969) and Eastern Illinois University (1979 – 1981). He served in the CoC ministry for the Possum Grape CoC (Arkansas, 1967-1969), the Memorial CoC (Houston, 1969 – 1973) and the Heritage Chapel CoC (Illinois, 1973–1983). While leading the Heritage Chapel CoC, he called the Crossroads Movement to ask if they had a campus minister for him to hire. They sent Kip McKean who worked as Roger's campus minister from 1976 until he went to lead the Boston CoC in 1979. Roger was affected by McKean's faith and commitment and later joined the Boston movement serving under McKean's leadership. He planted the Champaign CoC (Illinois, 1983 – 1985) and then became part of the mainstream Boston Movement when he co-led the Chicago church (1985-1988), seeing it grow from 350 to 3,000 in his three years there. Roger then moved to Boston where he served as an evangelist (from 1988-1994). Since then, Roger has been the ICoC's Director of Media for twenty-four years and is currently the President of Disciples Today, which connects the ICoC churches from all 150 countries.

**Tynes, JP**

JP Tynes grew up in the CoC and joined the Crossroads Movement campus ministry in June of 1972. He worked closely with Chuck Lucas and knew Kip McKean when he joined Crossroads. Tynes then served as a campus minister in Maryland ('72-'80), and Lead minister in Lawrence, Kansas ('80-'84) and Orlando, Florida ('84-'88). During this time, he occasionally spoke at, or attended, events connected to Kip McKean. While in Orlando, his congregation funded a missionary effort in India that was sent out from the Boston Movement. In 1988, JP and his wife Pat moved to Boston and lead a region of the Boston Movement until December 1989. They were then sent to Miami and was in the ministry until he resigned from the ministry as a result of JP's disagreement with certain practices of the church. Tynes returned into the ICoC ministry in 2004 following McKean's resignation and currently leads an ICoC congregation in Orlando, Florida.

**Consent Form**

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Faculty of Humanities

**COVERING LETTER & INFORMATION SHEET**

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September 2013

Dear \_\_\_\_\_

Thank you so much for your agreed participation in this research project. The research will be going towards the completion of my Masters in Religious Studies at the University of Cape Town. The findings will also add to the growing body of knowledge on the International Church of Christ and I hope that they can in some way be of future use. You are welcome to view this research once completed.

As per our correspondence in setting up the interview, my purpose is to ask you about the early years of the Boston Church of Christ and its affiliated churches. The particular reference point will be the International Church of Christ's decision to not require formal theological training for its ministers, which was a contrast to the mainline Church of Christ culture at the time.

The interviews will be semi-structured and yet at the same time I would like you to feel free to discuss anything related to the theme that may be noteworthy. A consent form is attached and should you have any questions or reservations then please do not hesitate to discuss them with me directly.

Sincerely

James Lappeman  
jlappeman@me.com  
+27 83 445 1550

University of Cape Town  
Department of Religious Studies  
Room 5.40, Leslie Social Science Building,  
Upper Campus, UCT  
Tel: 021 - 650 3452  
Fax: 021 - 689 7575



Faculty of Humanities

## RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

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**Title of research project:**

*Socio-historical factors influencing the International Church of Christ not to require formal theological training for its ministers from 1979-2002.*

**Name of principal researcher: James Lappeman**

University of Cape Town  
 Department of Religious Studies  
 Room 5.40, Leslie Social Science Building,  
 Upper Campus, UCT  
 Tel: 021 - 650 3452 / Fax: 021 - 689 7575

**Name of participant:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Nature of the research:** Individual interviews

**Participant's involvement:** In Depth Interview

**Risks:** There are no direct risks in this study.

**Benefits:** Contribution to the body of knowledge on the International Church of Christ

**Costs:** There are no costs but the giving of your time.

**Payment:** There is no payment for the study.

- I have read this consent form and the attached document outlining the purpose of the research and how the information collected will be used. Also, I have had the opportunity to ask any questions about the research.

- I agree to participate in this research project and for the interview to be recorded.

- I agree to my responses being used for education and research, and I understand that my personal details will be used unless I request anonymity.

- I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this project and may veto any statements upon request.

- I understand I have the right to withdraw from this project at any stage.

Signature of participant: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature of principal researcher: \_\_\_\_\_ JAMES LAPPEMAN

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## **Appendix 4: Current ICoC Training Academies (Sample)**

- **Ministry Training Academy**  
<http://icocmta.com/>
  
- **Athens Institute of Ministry**  
<http://athensinstitute.org/>
  
- **Apologetics Research Society**  
<http://www.evidenceforchristianity.org/ars-apologetics-certificate-program/>
  
- **Commonwealth Academy**  
<http://www.cwacademy.net/>
  
- **Rocky Mountain School of Ministry and Theology**  
<http://rmsmt.org/>
  
- **La Fundación Proyecto Esdras, A. C (Spanish)**  
<http://moodle.fundacionproyectoedras.org/>
  
- **Gordon Ferguson Teaching Ministries**  
<http://gftm.org/>
  
- **European Bible School**  
<http://www.europeanbibleschool.org/>
  
- **Asia-Pacific Leadership Academy**  
<http://apla-online.org/pages/>
  
- **International Teaching Ministry of Douglas Jacoby**  
<http://www.douglasjacoby.com>

## **Appendix 5: Recent (2013) Developments on Kip McKean**

A 2013 update on Kip McKean's personal website ([www.kipmckean.com](http://www.kipmckean.com)) shows a recent development in the International Christian Church (the new church movement started by McKean in 2006) and its approach to formal theological education. In a section entitled: "*THE FOUNDING OF THE INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE OF CHRISTIAN MINISTRIES*", there is a statement that contradicts this thesis. In the article it states:

*"Every major "Christian denomination" in the world has established their own seminary to formalize its doctrine and to train their ministers. On two different occasions in our former fellowship – in Boston in the early 80's with the "Boston School of World Missions" and in LA in the early 90's with the "Los Angeles International School of Ministry" – Kip sought to establish an accredited school. Sadly the leadership of the ICOC never came to a consensus on the curriculum in order to establish a school where degrees were recognized."*

Here the article claims that McKean "*sought*" an accredited school for the Boston Movement in the 1980s and 1990s. Other than this 2013 article on McKean's personal website, there is no evidence to support this statement which is contradictory to past statements expressing his lack of interest in formal accreditation. Later in the article, a full embrace of formal theological education came in the form of the statement:

*"The European Degree System – Bachelor's, Master's and Doctorate Degrees – has been one of the most successful European cultural exports in history...This Degree System has been fully embraced globally, as the most legitimate indication of competency and qualification in a professional field."*

Although McKean previously associated a mentorship-only approach to the early church, this McKean statement now ties accreditation to the early church:

*"The doctorate (Latin: docio) originated in Medieval Europe as a license to teach (Latin: licentia docendi) at a Medieval university. Its roots can be traced*

*to the early church when the term “doctor” referred to the apostles, church fathers and other Christian authorities who taught and interpreted the Bible.”*

McKean has been awarded a Doctorate from his College:

*To found a college with the European Degree System, there must be at its head an individual holding the Doctorate Degree. Therefore, today Thomas W. “Kip” McKean II will be awarded the Doctorate Degree (D.Min.) for his years of preaching, teaching, training and building churches around the world. This is not to mention his widespread writings as a scholar and theologian.*

In complete contrast to statements about his formal education as reflected in this thesis (see Chapter 5.2), the article states:

*His formal training and experiences at University of Florida in Speech Communications (High Honors), as well as at Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary and the Harding Graduate School of Religion have enriched his leadership. Kip humbly serves as the President of the ICCM.*

There are two observations to draw from this article (updated from an earlier edition on 2 February, 2013). First, McKean had dramatically shifted his view on the merits of formal theological training. This is in line with those interviewed for this thesis who felt that, while mentorship was key to training ministers, some additional biblical education was also necessary. The second observation is that McKean is guilty of revisionism<sup>98</sup>. While McKean’s adapted views are consistent with many others, McKean has chosen to revise his recalling of the past in order to suit his current ministry intentions.

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<sup>98</sup> Historical revisionism is “either the legitimate scholastic re-examination of existing knowledge about a historical event, or the illegitimate distortion of the historical record such that certain events appear in a more or less favorable light”. (Taken From the Princeton University Website: [http://www.princeton.edu/~achaney/tmve/wiki100k/docs/Historical\\_revisionism\\_\(negationism\).html](http://www.princeton.edu/~achaney/tmve/wiki100k/docs/Historical_revisionism_(negationism).html))