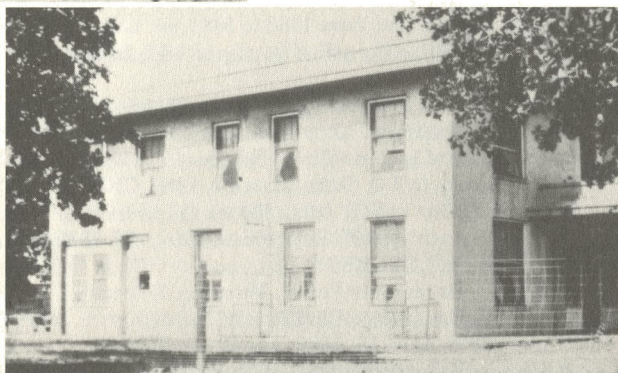
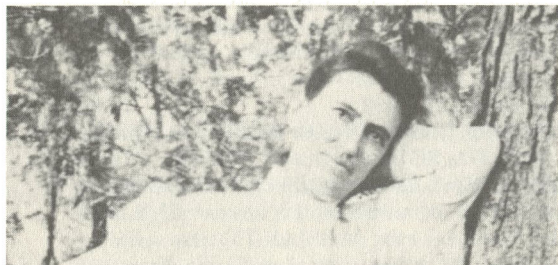


Miss Mallory's Children:



The Oklahoma Orphanage and the Founding of Bethany

By Charles Edwin Jones

On the morning of May 12, 1909, a tiny procession set out from Beulah Heights on the northwest limits of Oklahoma City along the sandy right-of-way of the proposed Oklahoma City-El Reno interurban line. Their destination was a blackjack grove thick with underbrush four miles to the west. The procession consisted of a borrowed carriage bearing Nazarene superintendent C.B. Jernigan and his wife, board members W.H. Roberts of Purcell and W.H. Williams of Cement, and some others, and a rig driven by the superintendent of the Oklahoma Orphanage, Mattie Mallory.

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The group's purpose was to examine, with an eye to acquiring, a quarter-section of land north of present Thirty-sixth Street between MacArthur and Rockwell as a site for three institutions—an orphanage, a Bible school, and a home for unwed mothers—then located at Beulah Heights. Miss Mallory had suggested relocation because of problems at Beulah Heights. Orphanage board member Williams explained, "There was a discussion raised about the orphan children, some objecting to their being associated with the other children, as many of them had come from homes of little moral training, and some of the board objected to Miss Mallory being on the faculty."¹ The home and school had only days earlier been placed under custody of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene.²

The next day, they struck a deal with representatives of the El Reno Interurban Railway Company by which the Oklahoma Orphanage received the west eighty acres (map, p. 406). The new school, the Oklahoma Holiness College, was allotted the northeast forty acres, and to the reorganized rescue facility, the Nazarene Home, went the southeast forty acres. On July 27 J.W. Vawter and Arthur Beaver representing the school, C.B. Jernigan and W.H. Roberts representing the home, and Mattie M. Mallory and Minnie Morris representing the orphanage announced intent to cause the tract to be dedicated and platted as a new town they called Bethany.³

A Kansan, Methodist, and teacher, Mattie Maranda Mallory arrived in Indian Territory in 1892 with a passionate concern for reformation of homeless and sometimes unruly children. Radically conservative in behavioral and intellectual tastes, she worked in tandem with pioneer "second-blessing" holiness people with whom she shared consensus as to Christian perfection, piety, methodology, and social philosophy.⁴ She supported holiness endeavors, submitted to holiness criticism, and shared holiness fears of city life. Like them, she conducted her work on the faith principle.⁵ In the end, both she and they exchanged mission to the displaced for less idealistic goals. In so doing, both demonstrated how entwined they were with the world they sought to escape.

Miss Mallory and her would-be supporters worked out their relationship during an era of chaotic change in both church and state. Disenchanted with the compromises numerical and material success had brought, they abandoned established Methodism to recreate it after their own design.

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They were pioneers in a raw, new land and unwitting participants in the frenzy of speculation and relocation that had characterized the Oklahoma country from the first. The lands they bought and sold in rapid succession had known Anglo-American settlement less than two decades. The communities they founded successfully attracted settlement along projected routes and helped establish interurban rail and highway extension (at times to nowhere) as a panacea of economic development, *a modus operandi* destined to mark the expansion of Oklahoma's capital city far into the future.

Mallory was in the vanguard of the participation of holiness people in these changes. The move from Beulah Heights to Bethany was the end of their journey together—the last of a half-dozen moves in search of a holiness haven and holiness support for Mallory's homeless children. It was a strategy destined to failure due to the lack of resources, the aspirations, and the sectarianism of her would-be patrons. The event marked the beginning of the last decade of her ministry to poor and abandoned children.

To this point Mallory's conditioning and preparation for work with the dislocated had been continuous. Her native context provided the first stage of the process. Ottawa, Kansas, (founded 1864), where she was born March 12, 1865, was the focal point of resettlement of Ottawa Indians from Ohio three decades earlier.⁶ The town was situated only twenty miles west-northwest of Osawatomie, the heart of "bleeding Kansas," and her father and mother, natives of Connecticut and western North Carolina, were apparently part of the tide of free-staters and abolitionists which flooded into the area in the years before and during the Civil War.

Mallory's childhood and youth were spent in a locale saturated with sentiment



Mattie Mallory (opposite) came to Oklahoma Territory with a strong commitment to help the downtrodden. This house is probably the one she occupied on Walker and Potawatomie streets (Courtesy the author, opposite, and the Children's Center, right).



favorable to education and reform. Patronage from outside groups, such as the use in 1886 and 1889—her college years—of an Ottawa-based printing firm by the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention of the Indian Territory, is reflective of the atmosphere.⁷ The impact of this environment was apparent in decisions of the young woman herself who in 1889 became the first of three in her family to graduate from the Methodist-related Baker University in nearby Baldwin City. This certification, supplemented by a year of normal training at Emporia and two years of classroom teaching at Ottawa, led in 1892 to her appointment as principal of Dawes Academy at Berwyn near Ardmore, Indian Territory.⁸ The school, a project of the Baptist Home Missionary Society of New York, served descendants of former slaves of the Chickasaws whom the tribe refused to admit to its ranks. The compassion Mallory came to feel for victims of such exclusiveness never left her.

While at Berwyn, Mallory came into contact with north Texas holiness workers. There she also came within the orbit of the controversial B.H. Irwin, proponent of a third effusion of grace—the baptism of fire.⁹ Both were to play key roles in her future work.

In 1897 Mallory accepted briefly the superintendency of a Fire-Baptized mission in Winnipeg.¹⁰ That summer, while changing trains in Oklahoma City enroute to the Canadian assignment, Mallory felt impressed to establish a ministry for homeless children in that raw new place, then only eight years removed from initial settlement. The providential opening came in August of that year in an invitation from Reuben E. Hershey to come to Okla-

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homa City to conduct a school for orphans and children of evangelists in conjunction with the mission and home he recently had opened on Reno Street. Hershey, a native of Pennsylvania, was one of a number of River Brethren drawn to Irwin's teaching. Stopping by Berwyn enroute, Mallory recruited former colleagues E. Frances Johnston and Laura B. Shaw as assistants. While there she prepared the first (September 16) issue of *The Guide*, a paper destined to promote her work during the next half-dozen years.¹¹ By September 27 she was on the ground and taking charge.¹²

Partnership with Hershey was short-lived. Mallory and her friends, including Hershey's younger sister Susan, soon came to the conclusion that he was led by some "spirit other than the Spirit of the Lord." Following a period of prayer and fasting, they received a divine directive to "move out." On January 7, 1898, Mallory recalled, "with four workers, sixteen children," two postage stamps, "9 cts. in pocket, and faith in God, we moved from Reno Street [to Fifth Street], promising to pay \$20 . . . rent by 3 o'clock p.m., Jan. 8." With "only groceries" enough "for one meal, dishes enough for four to eat from, and one little sewing table," the women initiated their ministry on the faith principle, trusting that prayer, fasting, and accurate information about the work would ensure adequate provision. Three years later a front-page article in *The Daily Oklahoman* charging Hershey with child abuse seemed to corroborate their intuition.¹³

Relocation became the rule. After less than six weeks of high rent on Fifth Street, the group moved again on February 17 to a brick house at Walker and Pottawatomie streets near the railroad tracks. In May, 1901, Brother O.C. Woodrow offered to the orphanage himself, his family, house, barn, livestock, and 160 acres of land a few miles northwest of the city. The older children were sent there to learn the virtues of industry and rural life. The younger children remained downtown two more years.¹⁴

Difficulties the first year made plain the need for a patron organization. Like physical locations, corporate sponsors followed one another in rapid succession. The guardianship of the first of these, B.H. Irwin's Fire-Baptized Holiness Association, was cut short by the leader's downfall in 1900. All signatories to the articles of incorporation of the Oklahoma Orphanage (January 18, 1899)—Mallory and her associates Johnston, Shaw, and Hershey; Estelle Gaines, a licensed Wesleyan Methodist evangelist of Marvin, South Carolina; G.M. Henson of Hartzell, Oklahoma Territory,

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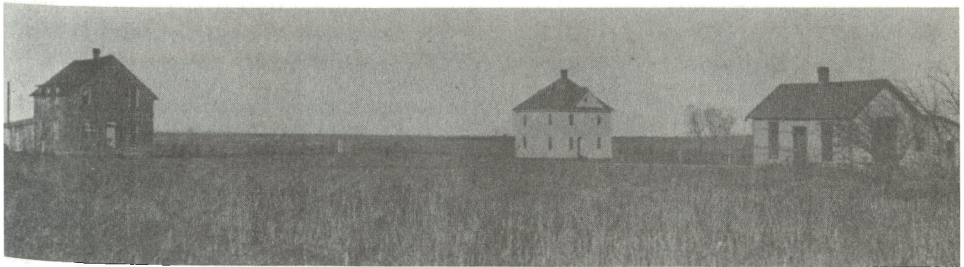
ruling elder of the Fire-Baptized work in the territory; and Irwin himself of Lincoln, Nebraska—were associated with it.¹⁵

Several less radical sponsors—the Holiness Association of Texas (1901–1903), the Holiness Union (1904), and the Holiness Association of Oklahoma and Indian Territory (1905–1909)—succeeded the Fire-Baptized Association.¹⁶ Endorsement was easy to obtain, sustained support difficult to come by.

Holiness people possessed a wealth of sentiment in favor of educational, orphanage, and rescue work. Nearly every settlement with a few score holiness believers attempted to minister in one or more of these areas. Such ministries were in the collective consciousness. In the village of Peniel, Texas, for instance, streets named College, Professor, Orphans, Mueller, Rees, and Widow's Home served as continual reminders of such needs.¹⁷ Enthusiasm was easy to generate. Multiplication of projects, however, guaranteed a short life expectancy for most of them.

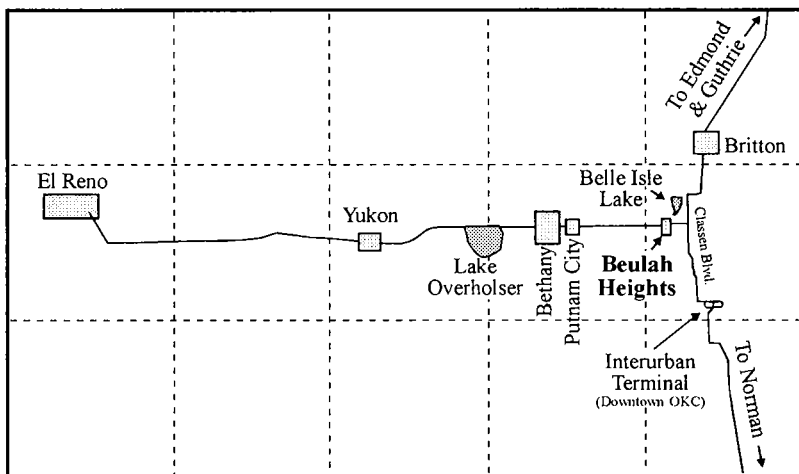
Mallory, however, failed to wring substantial support from the holiness community. Ingenuity was her chief asset. In 1901, using \$300 from the sale of land in Kansas as a down payment, she purchased twenty acres near (future) Twenty-seventh Street and Classen Boulevard in Oklahoma City. Two years later the orphanage located there. Among those attracted to services Mallory conducted for children and staff of the home was the family of Arthur Beaver, a businessman from Ohio who settled in the neighborhood.¹⁸

Land speculation was to become a mainstay of development. Outsiders had begun to attend the services at the orphanage in large enough numbers to make Mallory believe that ministry to children of families who settled nearby and ministry to her child-



The orphanage near Classen Boulevard was comprised of (l to r) the boys' building, the girls' building, and the school building (Courtesy Archives, International Headquarters, Church of the Nazarene).

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ren might be combined. She hoped that the settlement of holiness people around the orphanage would provide a model community and a base of support for the orphanage and the projected rescue home. The Oklahoma and Indian Territory Rescue and Orphanage Commission, created November 9, 1905, was the mechanism by which this would be accomplished. This entity was to serve as the foundation for development at Beulah Heights the next year and at Bethany four years later.¹⁹

Thirteen days after the commission was created, Mallory decided to it an eighty-acre tract a mile north and a mile west of the Twenty-seventh Street location. Six months later the site was platted as the Beulah Heights Addition to Oklahoma City.²⁰ The subdivision offered building lots for individual residences on streets parallel to and intersecting Pennsylvania Avenue and Northwest Thirty-sixth Street on the east and south. Campuses for the rescue home, the Bible school (which occupied a sizeable brick structure built by Arthur Beaver and others), and the orphanage were platted along the west side of the development.²¹

Beulah Heights appeared to be the fulfillment of Mallory's dream of a place where "orphans, half orphans, deserted children and waifs" might be set on the way to holiness and usefulness. For some time she had been developing a strategy for awakening the holiness community to its opportunity and responsibility. Three

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years earlier she had explained to the Holiness Association of Texas:

[The children] have been gathered from homes of penury and want and dire distress. . . . The boys must be taught to work. To rear them in idleness is to give them to the devil. . . . We recommend that our ministers do missionary work in gathering up these children, hundreds of whom are wandering the streets in our towns and cities, without a chance to make men and women [of them]. . . . Let us work, pray and pay until we meet God's ideal in this matter.²²

Mallory knew that precautions had to be taken—"We take charge of their reading at the Home, and the only text book is the bible."²³ Police at times had placed runaways and delinquents who had run afoul of the law under her care.²⁴ Such youngsters had to be carefully watched until they became more responsible. Those with communicable diseases and moral problems "should not be put in with the others" until they had "been made fit."²⁵ They must not, however, be looked down upon, segregated, or patronized. Acceptance of them was as necessary to the health of the community as was the nurture of its own offspring.

Day-to-day contact was in the best interest of both, she thought. At Peniel, Texas, she had noted the effect of the environment on her children:

Thank God! They have been given a chance for purity, God and heaven. Two services daily are held with the children, at which there is a study of the Word, and each saved child leads in prayer, and the unsaved are urged to give their hearts to God. All the children who have been in the Home any length of time are now saved. They commit [to memory]

Mallory's ministry developed along the route of the interurban, eventually leading her to Beulah Heights and Bethany (opposite). This building was one of several constructed at Beulah Heights (right) (Map courtesy OHS; photo courtesy the author).



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three verses [of scripture] daily, and five on Sunday. Thus their minds are stored with God's word, and given a bent toward God, and the heart purified and filled.²⁶

At Beulah Heights the salvation of the children was foremost. As before, the staff worked "without salary," depending "wholly on the Lord for their clothing and other necessities." Although they ate "with the children," they took nothing "from the general fund for their own expenses."²⁷

Ambivalence toward the city pervaded the thinking of Mallory and the other founders. Oklahoma City was no metropolis, but the meteoric rise of its population (from 4,000 in 1898, to 14,000 in 1901, to 91,000 in 1918) was sufficient to fuel the fears of the holiness people who populated the subdivision. They designed institutions with ministry to and asylum from the city in mind. Three goals were evident—provide a refuge for victims and potential victims of its onslaughts, redeem moral wreckage incident to its life, and train workers for its redemption. Clearly, the orphanage and rescue home spoke to the first and second goals, the Beulah Heights College and Bible School to the third. "An excellent Trolley car line" made for easy access to secular employment and to evangelistic opportunities.²⁸ The founders regarded their suburban location much as those of Bethany later did:

We are far enough from the main part of the city to be free from the excessive rents which are charged for houses, and to be free from the many vile influences of a large city. And since we are only thirty minutes by electric car from the heart of the City, it makes us easily accessible to all the splendid advantages of the city.²⁹

In the contest between ministry and asylum, asylum emerged the winner.

Beulah Heights provided a haven from the so-called "scarlet sins." As reiterated in "Modern Society," an essay in the 1904–1905 *Yearbook of the Holiness Association of Oklahoma and Indian Territory*, "scarlet sins" were not confined to those associated with saloons and brothels, but included popular society's "places of resort, its modes of dress, its clubs and entertainments, and its theaters, dance halls and card parties." In a mixed metaphor the author warned that behind society's "gilded trappings . . . may be found the poison of a thousand vipers."³⁰ Parents must shelter their sons and daughters from such influences at all cost.

For holiness parents, a guarded education and a safe environment were the chief selling points. The school was the principal

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attraction. Its name aside, the "college" was in fact primarily a preparatory school in which children of resident families and children gathered from the streets were taught together. The first year the popular president D.F. Brooks, a superannuated Methodist Episcopal pastor-evangelist from New York state, taught a Bible course which attracted twenty-two adults.³¹ Except for a staff member or two, the eighty-one remaining enrollees, were either orphans or children of residents.³² Every member of the community was in frequent contact with Mallory's children.

Beulah Heights attracted a remnant of the moribund Fire-Baptized movement including R.B. Beal, a trustee, and Harry P. Lott, future ruling elder of the reorganized Oklahoma Fire-Baptized convention.³³ Other residents included former United Brethren layman Arthur Beaver; former Southern Methodist pastors J.W. Vawter and G.W. Sawyer; evangelist U.D.T. Murray, (father of W.H. "Alfalfa Bill" Murray, the chairman of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention and future governor); and future Northern Methodist pastor W.V. Shook.³⁴

Evangelistic activity was a central feature of life at Beulah Heights. The marks of "justification, entire sanctification, and a holy life" were both "seen and taught . . . daily." There were "almost" continuous revival services.³⁵ After a meeting with evangelist Dave Hill, President Brooks reported, "The spiritual tide rose higher and higher . . . and every scholar in the school was in the altar [as] a seeker for something, or some phase of salvation, or a seeker for souls in the congregation."³⁶

Such occurrences did little, however, to allay fear of continual contact with the displaced. Sentiment favoring the downtrodden was one thing. Jeopardizing one's aspirations for one's own children was quite another. Parents became wary of their children's association with orphans. Particularly threatening were those recently admitted to the home. Few parents were deeply committed to Mallory as a person or to her ministry to the disadvantaged. As the end of the third school term approached, dissatisfaction with coeducation could no longer be ignored.

To many, including Mattie Mallory, reorganization and (possible) relocation offered the best alternatives for future harmony and prosperity. The governing structure of the school was the first to undergo renovation. On March 23, 1909, H.L. Short, Arthur Beaver, and J.W. Vawter secured a state charter for "an interdenominational Holiness College and Bible school" in Oklahoma

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C.B. Jernigan and his wife, with strong institutional support, seemed destined to play a major role in Mallory's ministry, even before the move to Bethany (Courtesy the author).

City (presumably at Beulah Heights). The Oklahoma Holiness College would “use the whole Bible as a text book” and teach the doctrines “of regeneration, entire sanctification as a second definite work of grace, divine healing, and the second coming of Christ.” Of the five trustees named, only one (W.H. Williams) had served with Mallory on the board of the Beulah Heights College and Bible School. All but Williams were residents of Oklahoma City.

Mallory was neither an incorporator nor a trustee. Her participation is evident, however, in the provision that in exchange for land valued at \$10,000 the Oklahoma Orphanage would be given tuition scholarships for up to fifty children and staff members each year.³⁷ Mallory regarded the grant as an endowment and saw in it an opportunity for her children much as a forward-looking parent would.

The new leaders immediately confronted the problem that had plagued Mallory—where to find support. Funds for the institutions at Beulah Heights had come from the sale of building lots and from contributions of individual members of the Holiness Association of Oklahoma.³⁸ The few-hundred-member constituency was rapidly being gathered into the new Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene and it was to that body that they turned.

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The rescue commission, meeting April 5 at the Alamo Hotel in Oklahoma City, deeded the rescue home to the church. The Nazarene negotiator was C.B. Jernigan, the energetic superintendent of the Oklahoma and Kansas District. That year, the forty-five-year-old photographer-evangelist saw Nazarene work in Oklahoma grow from five to thirty-eight churches and from 153 to 910 members.³⁹ Beside Jernigan was his wife Johnny Hill Jernigan, a mission and rescue worker. Mrs. Jernigan became matron of the rescue home under church control.⁴⁰

The arrangement lifted from Mallory the responsibility for a second of the ministries at Beulah Heights. A natural complement to the orphanage, the rescue home dated from the first days there. It operated under the charter of the Oklahoma and Indian Territory Rescue and Orphanage Commission and was housed in a four-room cottage near the southwest corner of the addition.⁴¹ Least successful of the three, it had been headed during its brief history by three superintendents—W.L. Ellison, R.B. Beall, and G.W. Sawyer; the first and last were physicians.⁴² A new sponsor for it must have seemed a godsend.

Reorganization gave the school new trustees and land. It gave the rescue home new trustees and church backing. Proximity to proposed interurban routes to El Reno and Guthrie increased the value of the land; dynamic leadership and constituent growth increased the value of the church tie. At this point, however, the potential of each was still to be realized—the land because it first had to be sold or traded and the church tie because membership had to multiply many times before funding adequate to institutional need could be achieved.

Those endowed with skill and experience adequate to the task were Mallory, the enabler, and C.B. Jernigan, spokesman for the new order. Although the two were not close friends, she may have interpreted the superintendent's obvious belief in his wife's ministry as an indicator of his attitude toward her work as well.

Or so it may have seemed on May 11, 1909. That afternoon, Sister Mallory went to the door of Brother Vawter's printing office in the basement of the school building where the school board was in session and requested that W.H. Williams, a member of the orphanage board who was meeting with them, present the following proposal for consideration:

The interurban railroad was building a road from Okla. City to El Reno through her property and had been talking to her about buying

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her property, including the school buildings. If she accepted their deal, she would get 80 acres of land 4 miles west of Beulah Heights. She proposed to give 10 acres of this land for a new location for the school and also see that the interurban Co., give 10 acres, and she would sell us 20 acres more on reasonable terms and would loan us \$5,000.00 to build our school buildings with. She would also withdraw from the board and from the faculty and take the orphan children from the school up to the sixth grade, and would take in interest on the \$5,000.00 for the schooling of the children above the sixth grade.⁴³

Williams recalled, "I went back and reported to the Board and suggested that we could take the \$5,000.00 and build the dormitories, and then sell enough lots to pay out on the land." Looking out the window, one member remarked that Henry Roberts, the superintendent's secretary, was passing at that instant. Williams hurried outside and asked Roberts to approach Jernigan and report back.⁴⁴

Early the next morning, the day set aside for the organizational meeting of the board of the Nazarene Home, Roberts reported that



The Jernigans camped in the blackjack grove that became Bethany until they could construct proper quarters. They eventually moved to the hospital building, the first house in Bethany (opposite) (Courtesy Southern Nazarene University Library Archives).



“Bro. Jernigan was not going to consider the school proposition.” When Williams himself asked him, however, Jernigan agreed to “look over” the proposed location. Williams then proceeded to notify Mallory and the others and to round up a carriage, a horse, and some harness.⁴⁵

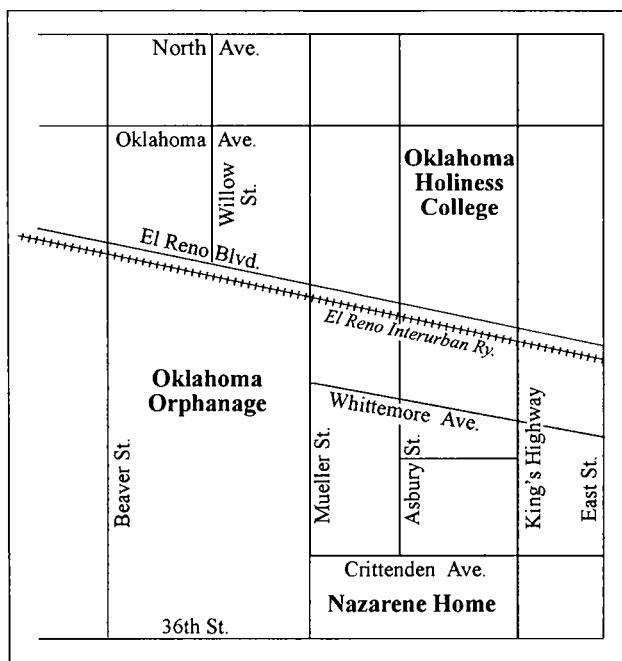
On site, all of Jernigan’s reservations vanished. At the end of the day, he crawled “through the briars and underbrush” to a blackjack tree on the future location of the Nazarene Home and knelt to pray. There, he later recalled, “the Heavens opened and God showed [me] a vision of Bethany greater than it stands today.”⁴⁶

The church leader’s turnabout was complete. To Jernigan and his followers the new town was predestined to a unique mission. The conviction that Bethany was set apart for a sacred purpose inspired them to frenzied activity. Well before July 27 when the plat was filed with the Registrar of Deeds of Oklahoma County, Jernigan and his helpers had pitched camp and begun hacking away at underbrush on the site selected for the Nazarene Home.⁴⁷

Financing conformed to a familiar pattern. Jernigan remembered:

We went back to Oklahoma City, and closed the deal with the Carline company. We sold the old site for \$6,000, and bought the forty acres

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Plat of Bethany, Oklahoma [1909], a subdivision of SW4, S16, T12N, R4W, I.M.

here for \$4,000. This left us \$2,000 with which to begin operation at our new place. Some old debts had to be paid.⁴⁸

The interurban tracks had not yet reached Bethany and Jernigan's crew was forced to freight lumber and other materials over sandy roads from Oklahoma City. In June Jernigan moved his family into a newly-constructed barn which they used as a residence until the concrete block hospital building—"the first house" in Bethany—was ready for occupancy.⁴⁹

The hallmark of the new town, Jernigan and his associates believed, should be the realization of holiness ideals of moral and civic righteousness. The charter, like that of its predecessor, forbade the sale of liquor (Beulah Heights specified whiskey) and tobacco in any form.⁵⁰ Restrictive covenants prohibited such sales and town ordinances outlawed motion picture theaters, dance halls and pool halls, public swimming pools and merry-go-rounds, games of chance, possession of liquor, and most Sunday business.⁵¹ Both looked to the sale of building lots as a major source of reve-

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nue. Bethany sought to upgrade development by establishing a building line thirty feet from front streets and a \$1,000 minimum for construction bordering the college campus and fronting on the interurban right-of-way.⁵²

Bethany's founders envisioned a community where—as in the Judean home of Jesus's friends Mary, Martha, and Lazarus—holiness and compassion should go hand-in-hand. As a result, at nearly every public building and street intersection in it they provided some reminder of this commitment. Entire sanctification—that heaven-in-the-heart experience which “Beulah” symbolized—was acknowledged by “Holiness” in the school's name and by The King's Highway (after the “way of holiness” in Isaiah 35:8 AV), the main north and south street.⁵³ In contrast to Beulah Heights, where trustees G.W. Sawyer and J.F. Page had streets named for them, only Arthur Beaver was so honored in the new town. Four streets honored heroes of faith. That named for Francis Asbury, father of American Methodism, ran along the west side of the college campus. The one named for the much-praised George Mueller, who conducted an orphanage on the faith principle in Bristol, England, bounded the Oklahoma Orphanage grounds on the east. Others celebrating the ministries of Emma Mott Whittemore, founder of the Door of Hope missions in New York and elsewhere, and of Charles Crittenden, founder of the Florence Crittenden Homes, ran parallel to the north edge of the grounds of the Nazarene Home.⁵⁴

Work went on apace at the site of the rescue home. Other projects were not far behind. At the college two large frame dormitories were begun “as if by magic” in August, underwritten by the \$5,000 loan promised by Mallory in May. Unfinished when school opened on October 5, the buildings were completed by the end of the month.⁵⁵ In December Mallory began construction of a substantial concrete residence on the orphanage site.⁵⁶

Proceeds from the sale of property at Beulah Heights enabled Mallory to acquire 200 acres for the home. The forty-acre tract south of the interurban right-of-way was reserved for the children's home and school, and the remaining quarter-section south and west of town for general agriculture, truck gardening, and the like. The orphanage superintendent hoped the farm, print shop, and industrial department would generate enough income to make the orphanage self-sustaining.

By year's end there were hopeful signs. Extracurricular enrichments, such as a stringed band which played for mission services,

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were already in place. Professor J. Gerald Mraz of the Epworth University in Oklahoma City promised five years' free instruction for one of its members.⁵⁷ Already Mallory needed to increase the loan to Oklahoma Holiness College because of the number of her charges needing to be enrolled. Even such problems lent credence to her belief in the wisdom of the move. The land was already half paid for. It must have seemed that Mallory could at least anticipate the fulfillment of her dream—a home that acted as mother, father, and school mistress to orphans would make God-fearing, responsible, middle-class men and women of them all.⁵⁸



Children, probably Miss Mallory's, prepared to board the interurban at stop thirteen in Bethany (Courtesy the author).

Mattie Mallory, "one of the most successful" orphanage superintendents in the country, paid a high price for encouraging the move to Bethany.⁵⁹ She had laid the foundation for every community enterprise. She put forth her best efforts in behalf of the new town. She developed strategies to circumvent criticisms. She volunteered to teach the orphan children in the primary grades rather than offend parents, then lectured the same parents about need to regard her "little ones" as having by right a claim on "the church of the living God [to be taken] into her bosom [and given the chance to] develop . . . for God and humanity."⁶⁰

The orphanage superintendent ignored church politics. She seemed unaware that Nazarenes alone sat on boards of control and that few Methodist and Fire-Baptized Holiness residents of Beulah Heights had relocated in Bethany. The import of Brother Jerni-

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gan's announcement in November that he had appointed trustees for the Nazarene Home and the (interdenominational) Oklahoma Holiness College seemed lost on her. She must have known that the church's 910 members in the state were incapable of giving adequate support to the Bethany institutions. What she did not recognize was the effect church control of them could have.

Mallory had agreed to surrender her seat on the school board. Exclusion from decisions relating to the school would not therefore have disturbed her. Exclusion from committees relating to church work with orphans and unwed mothers, areas in which she had great expertise, however, could not have escaped her notice. What



Looking north-northeast, this early view of Bethany shows the college buildings (right background), residences (left background), the interurban (center), and Mallory's truck garden and orchard (foreground) (Courtesy SNU Library Archives).

she seemed not to sense at first was the degree to which the Nazarene system then being created would place the needs of those inside above those outside.⁶¹

The difference between Mallory, the practical evangelist, and Jernigan, the practical visionary, was essentially the difference between the "unorganized holiness" of the Holiness Association of Oklahoma and Beulah Heights and the "organized holiness" of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene and Bethany.

To Jernigan the Church of the Nazarene was the earthly counterpart of the "glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle" in

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heaven.⁶² It was the incarnation of “organized holiness.” Corporately, its members were analogous to the Children of Israel, and its leaders, the general and district superintendents, to Moses and the heads of the twelve tribes.⁶³

Few Nazarenes at that time or in the future would espouse this argument. Conviction, however, that the Church of the Nazarene had subsumed the Methodist holiness movement and that a unique quality attached to persons and institutions bearing the Nazarene name left an indelible mark on the rhetoric of its members. Mallory, herself an elder, had not long to await the impact of this mind set.

The district assembly of 1910 endorsed the Oklahoma Orphanage. It stated, however, “We need to have orphanage buildings, ruled and governed by the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene.” The next year the assembly reiterated its conviction and ratified the decision of the district superintendent to assume control of the Dependent Children’s Home at Davenport fifty miles away. Mallory was then given “a few minutes to address the Assembly.”⁶⁴

That action did not amount to personal rejection of Mallory, who was then at the height of her popularity.⁶⁵ It indicated, however, that the church would deny patronage to any ministry, no matter how worthwhile, which operated outside its jurisdiction, and it signaled the end (in Oklahoma at least) of interdependent holiness agencies focused on a common goal. It heralded the triumph of ministries devoted to the aspirations of the faithful over those devoted to the unloved and unlovely.

The school was the possession of great price. Optimism obscured material reality. Though registering 20 percent annual increases, the Nazarene population in Oklahoma (1,632 in 1912) was not going to be able to fund projects adequately. Both the Dependent Children’s Home at Davenport and the Nazarene Home at Bethany ceased operation within four years. The latter closed, officials said, because of Mrs. Jernigan’s health and “insufficient support from the churches.” The trustees made no attempt to find a new matron. The property was turned over to the Oklahoma Holiness College.⁶⁶ What remained in Bethany as elsewhere in the Nazarene universe was the school.

Absorption with the college was apparent in the report which preceded the closing of the Nazarene Home. “There is a serious [unnamed] difficulty in the way of Oklahoma Holiness College,” the Special Rescue Committee said, “on account of the home being

so close to the college.⁶⁷ The serious difficulty may have been socializing between college boys and rescue home girls. Oral tradition has it that at least one marriage resulted.⁶⁸ The “decline [in] zeal” for rescue work which was reported the next year may have originated in part in disapproval of such alliances.⁶⁹

The similarity of community responses to orphans and unwed mothers cannot have been lost on the orphanage superintendent. She decided to accept the college board’s interpretation of her loan of 1909—that it was an outstanding liability rather than an endowment of tuition scholarships for her high school age children. Trustee Arthur Beaver claimed that she “placed her note in the hands of an attorney for collection within



This photograph was taken when Mattie Mallory Morgan applied for a chiropractor license in 1921 (Courtesy Oklahoma State Archives).

60 days” and that he and others rallied to stave off foreclosure.⁷⁰ The last reference to this issue appeared in the Western Oklahoma assembly minutes in 1917—“The mortgage held by Mrs. Mattie Mallory Morgan has been cancelled.”⁷¹ The final obstacle to an unbreakable tie between the school and church had been surmounted.⁷²

The rift had been widening for five years. Nineteen-twelve had been critical. On March 20, eight days following her forty-seventh birthday (the license application said she was forty-five), Mattie Mallory married Robert William Morgan, a Tennessean eighteen years her junior.⁷³ That November during the district assembly Mrs. Morgan responded to a rumor that she had been expelled from the church by submitting her resignation from ministry and membership in it. Although that body refused to accept her resignation, her name then disappeared from the assembly minutes as an elder. Inexplicably, it reappeared in them two years later as a

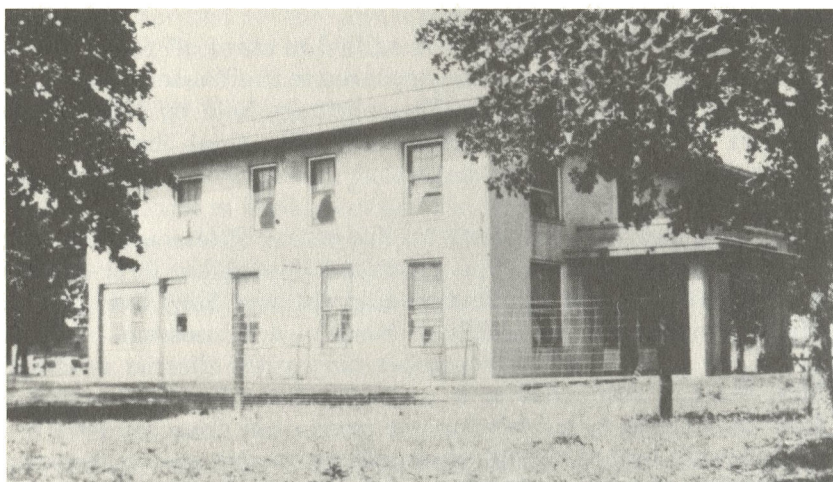
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consecrated deaconess, her husband in the interim having become a local preacher and a participant in the course of study from the Oklahoma City church.⁷⁴

Marriage also changed Mallory's role as "mother" to orphans. The interurban gave her freedom of movement and the opening of a public school freedom to do the work of an evangelist.⁷⁵ Downtown Oklahoma City was only nine miles and thirty minutes from stop thirteen in Bethany and she was free to live either place as she chose.⁷⁶ She and her husband resided at several suburban addresses during those years.⁷⁷

In 1915 the Morgans bought the Exchange Hotel in the Packingtown section of Oklahoma City and opened the Sunshine Mission as an adjunct to it with Mrs. Morgan as superintendent.⁷⁸ Described as "a live holiness mission," the ministry was destined to be short-lived.⁷⁹ Mr. Morgan failed to pass the course of study for licensed ministers and Mattie would not continue alone. The stockyards mission closed before the end of the year.

The Morgans began to move in new directions. In 1919 R.W. Morgan on June 8 and Mattie Morgan on November 23 joined the Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church of Oklahoma City.⁸⁰ The following year they turned over management of the orphanage to five Oklahoma City club women who were to become the nucleus of the Children's Welfare League, its sponsor for the next half-century.⁸¹



The Oklahoma Orphanage, shown here in 1926, still exists, though altered, within the Children's Center building (Courtesy Children's Center).

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The transfer marked the end of the Oklahoma Orphanage as an evangelistic agency.

In 1922 Mr. and Mrs. Morgan moved into a cottage at 1445 Northwest Twenty-sixth Street in Oklahoma City. Located in the Epworth View Addition, the house stood on land once owned by the Oklahoma Orphanage. There R.W. Morgan pursued what proved to be a checkered career as a real estate broker. In 1921 Mattie was licensed as a chiropractor, an art she practiced until her death from cancer on March 5, 1938.⁸² Financial problems plagued the Morgans' last years together. Their home was sold at sheriff's auction less than two years after her death.⁸³

Mattie Mallory Morgan was buried among children and workers of the early years in the last remaining grave of the Oklahoma Orphanage lot at Fairlawn Cemetery in Oklahoma City. The expense of the funeral and of placing the stone which is inscribed "Mother" was borne by the home.

In 1975 a financial crisis precipitated an ironic turnabout. The Children's Convalescent Center of Bethany, successor to the Oklahoma Orphanage, was placed under the custody of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, successor to the Fire-Baptized Holiness Association, the guardian of its infancy.

ENDNOTES

* Charles Edwin Jones, an alumnus of Bethany-Peniell College, received the Ph.D. in History from the University of Wisconsin. He has served in library, archival, and teaching positions at the University of Michigan, Tuskegee Institute, Houghton College, and Brown University. He is the author of five books on the history and bibliography of the Holiness and Pentecostal movements. Currently chaplain-in-residence of the Westlake Nursing Center in Oklahoma City, he grew up in Kansas City, Missouri, as the son of a streetcar conductor.

¹ [W.H. Williams], "History of the Founding of Bethany-Peniell College," typescript in author's possession.

² *Ibid.*

³ Plat and dedication of streets and alleys with use restrictions of Bethany, July 27, 1909, Office of the Registrar of Deeds, Oklahoma County Courthouse, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Allison Chandler, *When Oklahoma Took the Trolley* (Glendale, California, c. 1980).

⁴ Christian perfection is a Methodist doctrine derived from John Wesley's teaching that Christ died not only to save humankind from acts of sin, but from the compulsion or "bent" toward sinning. Sanctifying grace was imparted initially in response to repentance and faith. As love made perfect it was brought to fruition in the fully consecrated believer in a second experience of grace variously known as entire sanctification, heart holiness, perfect love, the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and the rest of faith. Perhaps the most universally known poetic statement of the doctrine is

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Charles Wesley's hymn, "Love divine, all loves excelling." A life of holiness characterized all those thus fully sanctified.

⁵ Faith work, a methodology derived from the self-supporting missions of Methodist Episcopal bishop William Taylor (1821–1902), was based on belief in divine provision of material needs in response to prayer without resort to structured support or advance pledges.

⁶ Death certificate, Oklahoma Department of Health, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

⁷ *Proceedings [1885–1889] of the Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention of the Indian Territory* (2 vols., Ottawa, Kansas, 1886–1889). Sessions were held in the Creek Nation, 1885; the Seminole Nation, 1886; the Choctaw Nation, 1887 and 1889; and the Muskogee Nation, 1888. Kessler & Sumner was printer of the 1886 volume, J.B. Kessler of the 1889 volume.

⁸ Berwyn was renamed Gene Autry on January 1, 1942.

⁹ Most holiness people regarded Irwin as a fanatic. C.B. Jernigan, *Pioneer Days of the Holiness Movement in the Southwest* (Kansas City, Missouri, c. 1919), 152–153. Discussion of "The Fire" is included in a chapter entitled "Fanaticism."

¹⁰ Mary Boyd, Associate Registrar of Baker University, to author, October 24, 1985, including write-up from alumni directory giving summary of Mallory's career until 1913, supplied by her. In it she said she was superintendent at Dawes Academy in 1892 and of a mission in Winnipeg sometime later. References to Dawes Academy in Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr., *The Chickasaw Freedmen: A People without a Country* (Westport, Connecticut, c. 1980) do not include mention of her, nor does the account of Mary Elizabeth Allen (Dawes) in Orrin Peer Allen, *The Allen Memorial; First Series; Descendants of Edward Allen of Nantucket, Mass., 1690–1905* (Palmer, Massachusetts, 1905). Allen claimed that Mrs. Dawes, the founder, named the school for her late husband, Hiram R. Dawes. He said she turned it over to the Baptist Home Missionary Society of New York in 1893. See also Marie Garland, "History Skips School Built by 'Miss Dawes,'" (Oklahoma City) *Oklahoma Orbit*, August 8, 1971.

¹¹ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints, 1835–1907: A History of Printing in Oklahoma before Statehood* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1936), 108.

¹² Mattie M. Mallory, "History of the Work," *The (Oklahoma City) Guide*, 5 (December, 1902): 1.

¹³ *Ibid.*; *The (Oklahoma City) Daily Oklahoman*, October 30, 1900.

¹⁴ A black branch, the Bethesda Home and Mission, opened at Wynnewood, Indian Territory, in July, 1900. This in turn was followed by the Franklin Orphans Home in the north Texas town of Pilot Point in February, 1901. Mallory, "History of the Work," *The Guide*, 4 (September 5, 1901): 4. Most of C.B. Jernigan's account of the Oklahoma Orphanage concerns these early years. Jernigan, *Pioneer Days*, 129–131.

¹⁵ Articles of Incorporation of the Oklahoma Orphanage, April 12, 1899, State Archives, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (hereafter cited as SA). Gaines's signature was notarized in York County, Ontario; Henson's in Montgomery County, Kansas; and Irwin's in Lancaster County, Nebraska. For biographical data on Gaines (d. 1920) see James Benjamin Hilson, *History of the South Carolina Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America* (Winona Lake, Indiana, c. 1950), 42, 43, 44, 45, 120, 218; and Ira Ford McLeister, *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America* (Marion, Indiana, 1959), 460. For data on Henson see McLeister, *History*, 438; and *Brethren in Christ History and Life*, 4 (December, 1981): 95, 103–104, 105–106, 108, 116, 118. Henson had earlier headed the mission of the Kansas Wesleyan Methodist Conference in the Oklahoma Territory. By October, 1899, Irwin had excommunicated Henson because of Henson's belief that in some instances entire sanctification and

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the baptism of fire were simultaneous experiences. Mallory apparently withdrew about the same time. In the (Lincoln, Nebraska) *Live Coals of Fire*, 1 (October 6–November 10, 1899, the organ of the Fire-Baptized Holiness Association of America, she was carried on the “Official List” as an ordained evangelist. Her interest apparently continued, however, for an advertisement of a [Fire-Baptized] camp meeting at Moonlight, Kansas, beginning August 14, 1900, was carried in the Oklahoma Orphanage promotional paper. *The Guide*, 3, (July 12, 1900), suppl. 1.

In 1898 there were “ruling elders” in Iowa, Kansas, Oklahoma Territory, Texas, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Ontario. No one was appointed for Manitoba. For association history during these years see Joseph E. Campbell, *The Pentecostal Holiness Church, 1898–1948* (Franklin Springs, Georgia, 1951), 192–200, and Vinson Synan, *The Old-Time Power* (Franklin Springs, Georgia, 1973), 82–94. In 1900 H.C. Morrison reported that Irwin had been seen on an Omaha street drunk and smoking a cigar. “A Sad Duty,” (Louisville, Kentucky) *Pentecostal Herald*, 12 (June 20, 1900): 8. Soon thereafter he resigned as general overseer, divorced his wife, and married a younger woman. In 1907 he reappeared with her as a co-worker in Pentecostal missions in Oakland and San Francisco. (Los Angeles) *Apostolic Faith*, 1 (February–March, 1907): 1 and 1 (April, 1907): 4.

¹⁶ As superintendent of the orphans home at Pilot Point, Texas, in 1901–1902, Mallory secured for it the endorsement of the Holiness Association of Texas. Under the arrangement the Pilot Point facility was closed and a new home erected at Peniel. Twenty-two children and three helpers made the move. See Holiness Association of Texas, Minutes of November 12, 1902, including “Report of Committee on Orphanage Work,” signed by Mattie M. Mallory, R.M. Guy, and C.M. Keith. The minutes of November 14, 1903, list Mallory as an evangelist residing in Oklahoma City, Archives, Southern Nazarene University, Bethany, Oklahoma (hereafter cited as SNU). The Peniel list in the *Greenville City Directory for 1903* (Greenville, Texas, 1903), 130, includes Mattie M. Mallory among heads of household as orphanage superintendent. E.C. DeJernett, “Holiness Orphanage, Peniel, Texas,” (Dallas, Texas) *Purity Journal*, 1 (January, 1905): 2–3.

The short-lived Holiness Union sought to bring together Methodist loyalists of the South. Henry Clay Morrison (1857–1942) was the leading light. Mattie Mallory was on the Committee on Organization for the first (and final) meeting. H.W. Bromley, comp., *Year Book of the Holiness Union, Containing a Full Report of the Holiness Convention Held at Memphis, Tenn., Oct. 11–14, 1904* (Louisville, Kentucky, 1904), 4, 23, 77.

Mallory was a charter member and was on the three-member Committee on Examination of Ministers for License. She was not among the incorporators. Articles of Incorporation of Holiness Association of Oklahoma and Indian Territory, August 17, 1905, SA; Holiness Association of Oklahoma and Indian Territory, *Year Book, 1906–7* (Lindsay, Indian Territory, 1906), 11, 15, 21. The association members were also backers of the Oklahoma Orphanage. I.L. Flynn, “Oklahoma Holiness Association,” (Peniel, Texas) *Pentecostal Advocate*, 11 (April 23, 1908). The association gave endorsement to the projected Beulah Heights College and Bible School, W.H. Williams remembered, at its spring meeting in 1907 with the popular, eccentric, scholarly evangelist Dr. W.B. Godbey in the chair. Because the school opened October 22, 1906, this action must have been taken a year earlier. Williams said Miss Mallory agreed to give the school five acres of land and to build “a Dormitory and a school building,” provided the association endorsed the school. [Williams], “History of the Founding.”

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¹⁷ Seth Cook Rees was a Quaker holiness evangelist active in promoting rescue work. S.C. Rees, *Miracles in the Slums; or, Thrilling Stories of Those Rescued from the Cesspools of Iniquity, and Touching Incidents in the Lives of the Unfortunate* (Chicago, 1905).

Insurance Maps of Greenville, including Mineral Heights and Peniel, Texas (New York: Sanborn Map Co., 1923). The *Greenville City Directory for 1903* (Greenville, Texas: Geo. M. Dennis & Co.; Messenger Press, 1903) listed seventy-five heads-of-household including Mattie M. Mallory, orphanage superintendent.

¹⁸ Pictures accompanying Miss Mallory's article, "The Oklahoma Orphanage" in (Dallas, Texas) *Purity Journal*, 1 (February, 1905): 5–6, are of the buildings and children at this site. Jernigan said she used \$300 of her own money to make the down payment on the twenty-acre tract. Jernigan, *Pioneer Days*, 130. Beaver's family was still deeply involved in the town and college at Bethany more than eighty years later. His relations with Miss Mallory are recounted in "From the Diary of Arthur Beaver," typescript, Bethany Historical Society Museum, City Hall, Bethany, Oklahoma.

¹⁹ Articles of Incorporation of Oklahoma and Indian Territory Rescue and Orphanage Commission, November 28, 1905, SA. For work under the Holiness Association of Oklahoma and Indian Territory which preceded it see W.L. Ellison, "Rescue Work in Oklahoma," *Purity Journal*, 1 (May, 1905): 12. Miss Mallory is credited with being among the first to voice concern for rescue work in Oklahoma.

²⁰ Warrant Deed, Record 56, Office of Registrar of Deeds, Oklahoma County Courthouse, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

²¹ Plat of Beula [sic] Heights Addition to Oklahoma City, May 24, 1906, Office of Registrar of Deeds, Oklahoma County Courthouse, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

²² "Report of Committee on Orphanage Work," in Minutes of the Holiness Association of Texas, November 12, 1902, handwritten original, Archives, SNU.

²³ *Ibid.* At Peniel the orphans attended the public school. Mallory found that some readers "used in our common schools" contained "objectionable matter." Hence, the decision to "take charge" of reading at the Home.

²⁴ *The Guide*, 3 (July 12, 1900): 27.

²⁵ "Report of Committee on Orphanage Work."

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Beulah Heights College and Bible School, *Second Annual Catalogue, 1907–1908* (Oklahoma City, 1907), 5.

²⁹ Oklahoma Holiness College, *Second Annual Catalogue, 1910–1911* (Oklahoma City, 1910), 13.

³⁰ The association reprinted the essay in the 1906–1907 edition under the title "Modern Societies." Holiness Association of Oklahoma and Indian Territory, *Year Book, 1906–1907*, 15, 18–19.

³¹ Obituary by Fred L. Decker in *Journal of the Troy Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (1936), 601–602.

³² Beulah Heights College and Bible School, *Second Annual Catalogue, 1907–1908*, 22–24. Staff that year included Brooks and Mallory (a trustee), H.L. Short, A.S. London (listed twice as a student), G.W. Sawyer (a trustee) and his daughter Ota, Mrs. Mattie Miller, Miss Dora Williams (daughter of W.H. Williams, a trustee), Miss M.A. Baker, and Miss Minnie Morris (an associate of Miss Mallory), most of whom later became members of the Church of the Nazarene.

Short, who later became a building contractor, served as dean both at Beulah Heights and Bethany. Given these schools' condemnation of "worldly games," it is

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surprising that he had played halfback on the first football teams fielded by the University of Oklahoma between 1896 and 1901. (Bethany, Oklahoma) *Tribune-Review*, December 31, 1970. London later served as dean of Oklahoma Holiness College and as an evangelist.

Sawyer, an elder in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, requested location in 1900. From 1909 to 1917 he was an elder in the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene. From 1917 to 1934 as a local elder he served as a stated supply pastor in the Oklahoma Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Sidney Henry Babcock, *History of Methodism in Oklahoma: Story of the Indian Mission Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, 1 (Oklahoma City, 1935, c. 1937): 262, 283, 288, 382, 385, 389, 392, 396; Jernigan, *Pioneer Days*, 129, 131; chronological list of Sawyer's Methodist appointments, Archives, Oklahoma Conference of the United Methodist Church, Oklahoma City University, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Mrs. Miller was mother of Basil Miller (1897–1978), Nazarene minister, educator, and prolific author. Miss Williams served as matron both at Beulah Heights and Bethany.

³³ Synan, *The Old-Time Power*, 125, 130–133, 160, 173; Jernigan, *Pioneer Days*, 131; Ruth Naomi Lott Hollander Richmond, "Excerpts from: Family Milestones, January 9, 1952," typescript, Archives, Pentecostal Holiness Church, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. The house Lott built in 1907 at 2104 West Lawn Place in Beulah Heights was given to his wife in their divorce settlement, January 10, 1910. He resigned from the Oklahoma Conference of the Pentecostal Holiness Church in 1917. He had not been reelected as conference superintendent following his remarriage in 1912.

Most former Irwin followers regarded fire experiences simply as anointings. Future Nazarenes John Roberts and Oscar Hudson, who before being admitted to the Holiness Association of Texas were required to disclaim belief in fire baptism, explained theirs as such. Miss Mallory's former identification with the fire, which most holiness people regarded as fanaticism, may have prejudiced some at Beulah Heights against her. Holiness Association of Texas, Minutes of November 13, 1901.

³⁴ Beaver, "From the Diary of Arthur Beaver"; Babcock, *History of Methodism*, 291, 294, 409, 414, 420; Leona Bellew McConnell, "A History of the Town and College of Bethany, Oklahoma," (M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1935), 1, 3, 17, 28–29, 30; *Bethany* (Oklahoma) *Tribune*, December 21, 1933.

Murray served as a trustee and clerk of [Bethany] School District No. 88 for several years after its organization on December 27, 1910. Gordon Hines, *Alfalfa Bill: An Intimate Biography* (Oklahoma City, 1932), 2–28, 66–67, 100–101, 277, 297–298. Uriah Dow Thomas Murray was a collateral descendant of the eccentric Methodist evangelist Lorenzo Dow.

William Vance Shook, "The Life and Ministry of William Vance Shook, Pioneer-Oklahoma Minister of the Gospel," typescript, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Libraries, Norman, Oklahoma. Shook attended the school at Beulah Heights in 1907 or 1908. He remembered D.F. Brooks, the president, as a very popular teacher and recalled that U.D.T. Murray was a fellow student.

³⁵ Beulah Heights College and Bible School, *Second Annual Catalogue, 1907–1908*, [25].

³⁶ D.F. Brooks, "The School at Oklahoma City," *Pentecostal Advocate* (October 15, 1908), 7.

³⁷ Articles of Incorporation of Oklahoma Holiness College, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, April 1, 1909, SA. Trustees were J.W. Vawter, president, Oklahoma City; O.P. Frees, Oklahoma City; H.L. Short, Oklahoma City; W.H. Williams, Cement; and

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Arthur Beaver, secretary, Oklahoma City. One-fifth (i.e. ten) of those receiving free tuition could be “workers or helpers.”

³⁸ Articles of Incorporation of Holiness Association of Oklahoma and Indian Territory, August 17, 1905, SA.

³⁹ Charles Edwin Jones, “Background of the Church of the Nazarene in Oklahoma,” *B-PC Historian*, 1 (1953–1954): 18–31.

⁴⁰ [Jernigan], *The Nazarene Home: A Historical Sketch* (Bethany, Oklahoma, 1912) [2–4] (Cover title: *Greetings from the Nazarene Rescue Home, 1909–1912*); Mrs. Johnny Jernigan, “See What God Hath Wrought,” *Pentecostal Advocate*, 12 (December 16, 1909): 11.

⁴¹ Articles of Incorporation, November 28, 1905, SA. The commission’s purposes were “to maintain a home for the care, protection, and training of homeless, friendless and erring girls; also the care of children. Further, the maintenance of schools, missions and sheltering arms, and the promulgation of holiness.” The incorporators were J.B. McBride of Peniel, Texas; W.L. Ellison of Oklahoma City; E.F. Taylor of Dix; G.W. Sawyer of Marietta; L.F. Cassler of Foss; G.W. Galloway of Sully; J.H. Huston of Oklahoma City; W.F. Fain of Dix; Mattie M. Mallory of Oklahoma City; Eva Ellison of Oklahoma City; and J.F. Page of Oklahoma City. The Oklahoma Orphanage operated under its own charter.

⁴² Jernigan, *Pioneer Days*, 130–131.

⁴³ [Williams], “History of the Founding.”

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ [Jernigan], *The Nazarene Home*, [2].

⁴⁷ Bethany Plat Map. In 1985 Margaret Muse Oden (Drum), then archivist of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, told the author that William Grover Johnson, future florist and member of that church in Oklahoma City, was Jernigan’s co-worker and camp mate during the earliest days in Bethany. Johnson married Lula Margaret Cunningham, a convert of Charles Fox Parham (1873–1929), the father of Pentecostalism.

⁴⁸ [Jernigan], *The Nazarene Home*, [2].

⁴⁹ C.B. Jernigan, “The Nazarene Rescue Home: A Historic Sketch,” *Pentecostal Advocate*, 15 (March 14, 1912): 6; C.B. Jernigan, *From the Prairie Schooner to a City Flat* (Brooklyn, New York, 1926), 76.

⁵⁰ Bethany Plat Map; Beula [sic] Heights Addition Plat and dedication with use restrictions.

⁵¹ “Municipal Offenses: Generally” in *Revised General Ordinances of the City of Bethany, 1941*, 34–50. The restrictive covenants in the original plat were effectively challenged first by the selling of tobacco by the Bethany store of the Humpty Dumpty grocery chain in the 1960s. “Blue” laws were eliminated in the recodification of the city ordinances in that decade. In his autobiography C.B. Jernigan claimed incorrectly that theaters and dances were outlawed in Bethany’s charter. Jernigan, *From the Prairie Schooner*, 76–77. Note also observations on personal behavior in McConnell, “A History of the Town,” 1, 94–116.

⁵² See “Restrictions” in the 1909 “Dedication.”

⁵³ Charles Edwin Jones, *Perfectionist Persuasion: The Holiness Movement and American Methodism, 1876–1936* (Metuchen, New Jersey, 1936), 25–46, 152–154.

Arthur Beaver, one of the town fathers, claimed the town was named for the Bethany Chapel, a United Brethren Church near Racine, Ohio, his boyhood home. Beaver, “From the Diary of Arthur Beaver.” Jernigan, however, inferred that the

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biblical Bethany had been in his mind from the beginning. [Jernigan], *The Nazarene Home*, [2].

⁵⁴ Beulah [sic] Heights Addition Plat; Bethany Plat Map. The then infant state of Oklahoma and the city of El Reno had streets named in their honor. East, West, and North streets marked boundaries as did Thirty-sixth Street, a continuation of the Oklahoma City street which, four miles to the east, also marked the southern limits of Beulah Heights. With the exception of Willow, which seems to have originated in caprice, the rest appear to have been chosen to remind Bethany of its *raison d'être*.

⁵⁵ Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, *Minutes of the First Annual Assembly Composed of Oklahoma and Kansas, Ponca City, Oklahoma, November 10–14, 1909* (Oklahoma City, 1909), 15.

⁵⁶ The outer walls of this building were still in use eighty years later.

⁵⁷ Paul W. Milhouse, *Oklahoma City University: A Miracle at 23rd and Blackwelder* (Muskogee, Oklahoma, c. 1984), 241.

⁵⁸ Mattie M. Mallory, "Oklahoma Orphanage," *Pentecostal Advocate*, 12 (December 9 [16], 1909): 3–4.

⁵⁹ C.A. McConnell, "Bethany, Oklahoma," *Pentecostal Advocate*, 12 (November 25, 1909): 8–9.

⁶⁰ Mallory, "Oklahoma Orphanage," 3–4.

⁶¹ Mallory's ministry was peripheral to Jernigan's vision of Bethany as her near-absence from his accounts of the town's founding attest. Although he noted that she was the source of property and of loans, Jernigan did not credit Mallory with the proposal to move or give the reasons behind it.

⁶² Ephesians 5:27 (AV). "A Glorious Church," a gospel song by R.E. Hudson (1843–1901) based on this text, was sung at the merging General Assembly at Pilot Point, Texas, in October, 1908. Copyrighted in 1892, it was dedicated to Joseph H. Smith, a national Holiness Association evangelist. No. 144 in J.M. Harris and W.J. Kirkpatrick, eds., *Waves of Glory* (Los Angeles, 1905).

⁶³ C.B. Jernigan, *Church Organization* (Bethany, Oklahoma, 1915) (Cover title: *The Glorious Church*). The analogy to Moses and the heads of the twelve tribes was made about the same time by John W. Oliver, another Pentecostal Nazarene author. *Church Organization* (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, [192-], 10–11.

⁶⁴ Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, *Minutes of the Second Annual District Assembly for [the] Oklahoma District, Bethany Station, Oklahoma City, November 9–13, 1910* (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1910), 30–31; Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, *Minutes of the Third Annual District Assembly for [the] Oklahoma District, Bethany Station, Oklahoma City, September 27–October 1, 1911* (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1911), 6, 8–9, 30–31, 35.

⁶⁵ *Minutes of the Third Annual District Assembly*, 8, 9. From a slate of sixteen, Mattie Mallory and Johnny Hill Jernigan were among the seven elected as delegates to the General Assembly in Nashville that year.

⁶⁶ Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Assembly of the Western Oklahoma District, Sessions Held at Altus, Okla., October 11 to 15, 1916* (Kansas City, Missouri, 1916), 24–25, 26–27. The last year support from the churches accounted for less than one-fifth of the total income of the Nazarene Home. The resolution drafted on September 22 by the board of trustees called for an "investigation as to the feasibility of the continuance" of the home. It recommended in the case of "discontinuance" that the property be transferred to the college. At closing the Special Rescue Committee said the assets of the rescue home would provide "much needed improvement and financial relief to the college." It urged

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pastors to “co-operate” with the Holmes Home of Redeeming Love in Oklahoma City, a Free Methodist ministry. With a net worth of \$14,901, the Nazarene Home was then in far better financial condition than the college.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 24–25. Jernigan said that the Nazarene Home ministered to more than 700 young women during its seven-year history. Jernigan, *Pioneer Days*, 134. As a worker in a slum mission in Oklahoma City in 1914 future Pentecostal Holiness Bishop Dan T. Muse sent one of his converts to the Nazarene Home. Harold Paul, *Dan T. Muse: From Printer’s Devil to Bishop* (Franklin Springs, Georgia: Advocate Press, 1976), 26. Jernigan’s autobiography makes no mention of the closing.

⁶⁸ The desire of the management was that women evangelized by the Nazarene Home would find places of service in the church. Mrs. Jernigan felt that rescued women who later entered Christian ministries were the most gratifying reward of her labors. In 1915 she reported, “Miss Bertie Tarkington, one of our dear girls, is now among the Pentecostal Nazarene force, and she is making good. Bertie is a very sweet obedient girl and has never given us any trouble in the home. May the Lord bless her, and make her a blessing in the world. May she shed sunshine, and help to lighten the burdens of others.” “Nazarene Home Events,” (Bethany, Oklahoma) *Pentecostal Nazarene*, 4 (March 25, 1915): 6.

⁶⁹ Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, *Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Assembly of the Western Oklahoma District, Sessions Held at Oklahoma City, October 17 to 21, 1917* (Ponca City, Oklahoma, 1917), 21.

⁷⁰ Beaver, “From the Diary of Arthur Beaver.” Beaver recalled, “[Mallory] had loaned the school \$4500. . . . [She thought] if the note was not paid . . . she would get possession of the property. At that time I had \$1200.00 in the bank and I had a farm near Norman, Okla. I gave the \$1200.00 and the deed to my farm and borrowed \$750.00 at the bank and gave that, and we raised \$1550.00 from others and paid the note off in full. This kept them from foreclosing on the school.” Beaver’s memory may be faulty. He called her “Miss Mallory” in the context of the loan being paid off in 1917. In light of Beaver’s criticism of Mallory, it is important to note that late in that year, R.W. Morgan and Arthur Beaver served together on a special committee charged with preparing the first issue of and recruiting “bona fide” subscribers to a new paper. “Your Help Needed,” (Bethany, Oklahoma) *Holiness Advocate*, 1 (December 15, 1917): 1.

⁷¹ Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, *Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Assembly*, 20.

⁷² Name changes provide a means of tracing the growth of Nazarene consciousness and the abandonment of holiness isolation. In 1919 “Pentecostal” was eliminated from the church name and “Nazarene” replaced “Holiness” in the school name. After merger the next year with Peniel College, the institution at Bethany became Bethany-Peniel College. “Peniel” was replaced by “Nazarene” in 1955, “Bethany” by “Southern” in 1986. In Bethany street nomenclature, South First, South Second, and College had been substituted for Whittemore, Crittenden, and King’s Highway before 1932. *Directory of Bethany, Okla.: 1932*. The non-Nazarene majority in the Bethany city government is custodian of the remaining religious referents in street names—Peniel, Asbury, and Mueller.

⁷³ The Reverend E.J. Lord, Nazarene pastor at Bethany Station, officiated. Application, marriage license, and marriage certificate, Office of the Court Clerk, Oklahoma County Courthouse, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

⁷⁴ Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, *Minutes of the Fourth Annual District Assembly*, 12, 34. R.W. Morgan was listed as a licensed preacher in 1914 and 1915,

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M.M. Morgan as a deaconess in 1915. That year R.W. Morgan and twenty-eight other licensed preachers "were referred back to their local church[es], they having not passed the course of study." Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, *Minutes of the Third Annual District Assembly*, 29–30. There was no list of recognized workers in 1916. The 1912–1913 Oklahoma City directory listed their residence as 1514 West Thirteenth and Robert W. Morgan as "Rev."

⁷⁵ School District No. 88, coterminous with the town of Bethany, was organized December 27, 1910. U.D.T. Murray and J.W. Vawter, both Nazarene ministers, were the first trustees. The first two years of high school were not offered until 1927–1928, the full four years not until 1930–31, long after Mrs. Morgan had severed her connection with the orphanage. McConnell, "A History of the Town," 1, 30, 33.

⁷⁶ Scheduled service between Oklahoma City and El Reno was instituted on Sunday, December 3, 1911. Chandler, *When Oklahoma Took the Trolley*, 51–54.

⁷⁷ Oklahoma City directories, 1913–1939. In 1913 they resided at 1514 West Thirteenth; in 1915 at Bethany; in 1916 at 518 North Walker [not suburban]; in 1918–1919 at 923 West Tenth; in 1920–1921 at 1215 West Thirtieth; and in 1922–1939 at 1445 West Twenty-sixth. Most of the time from 1916 on, R.W. Morgan was a salesman (some years a broker) of real estate. He changed employers nearly every year.

⁷⁸ The 1915 city directory said the Reverend Mrs. Mattie M. Morgan was pastor of the Packingtown Institutional Church.

⁷⁹ G.F. Owen, "Bethany," (Bethany, Oklahoma) *Oklahoma Nazarene*, 5 (January 6, 1916): 7; [I.L. Flynn], "Sunshine Mission," *Oklahoma Nazarene*, 5 (August 10, 1916): 4; *The Daily Oklahoman*, November 26, 1916. Owen's article did not give the names of the workers.

⁸⁰ Church records show that R.W., Jr., a son either by a previous marriage or by adoption, joined on November 23 with Mrs. Morgan. The church, which was located at Twenty-fifth and North Douglas when the Morgans joined, built a new gothic building at Twenty-fifth and Classen Boulevard in 1927. The new location was less than a block from the Morgan residence at 1445 Northwest Twenty-sixth. At Wesley Mrs. Morgan was active as a Sunday school worker and leader of women. Wesley United Methodist Church, *The First 65 Years [1910–1975]* (Oklahoma City, 1976), 8, 15 (Cover title: *The Dynamic History of a Forceful Church*).

⁸¹ On June 22, 1920, the founder paid \$2,000 for 400 feet south of lot 19 in the original purchase, and on July 8 as representative of the Oklahoma Orphanage sold the remainder to the Children's Welfare League for \$1.00. In 1940 when the focus shifted to handicapped children, the orphans were transferred to the Sunshine Home in Oklahoma City. Chronic disability remains the center's specialty. Fred Floyd, ["History of Bethany"], [1978], 1, 24, typescript, Archives, SNU.

⁸² Transcript and diploma from Carver Chiropractic College and application for state license, December 15, 1924, SA; *The Daily Oklahoman*, March 7, 1938.

⁸³ The sale was February 7, 1940. Sheriff's Deed Record No. 543, February 27, 1940, to George Goff, Office of Registrar of Deeds, Oklahoma County Courthouse, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. The funeral expenses of Robert W. Morgan who died January 15, 1956, also were underwritten by the home. He was buried at Sunny Lane Cemetery in Midwest City, an Oklahoma City suburb.