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# From Confederate Deserter to Decorated Veteran Bible Scholar: Exploring the Enigmatic Life of C.I. Scofield, 1861-1921

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A Thesis

presented to

the faculty of the Department of History

East Tennessee State University

In partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree

Master of Arts in History

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by

D. Jean Rushing

December 2011

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Dr. William Burgess, Chair

Dr. Leila al-Imad

Dr. Tom Lee

Keywords: C. I. Scofield, Dispensationalism, Fundamentalism, *The Scofield Reference Bible*, Confederate Soldier, Manhood

ABSTRACT

From Confederate Deserter to Decorated Veteran Bible Scholar:
Exploring the Enigmatic Life of C.I. Scofield, 1861-1921

by

D. Jean Rushing

Cyrus Ingerson Scofield portrayed himself as a decorated Confederate veteran, a successful lawyer, and a Bible scholar who was providentially destined to edit his 1909 dispensational opus, *The Scofield Reference Bible*. This thesis offers a multilayered image of Dr. Scofield's life by considering political and regional influences, racial and gender attitudes, and religious views he encountered between 1861 and 1921. This study includes an examination of his participation in the American Civil War including his desertion of the South in 1862. After becoming a Union loyalist, Scofield excelled as a lawyer and Republican politician before corruption rumors radically altered his life in 1874. By 1882, he emerged as a minister in Dallas, Texas where he built an image as a Confederate veteran and Bible scholar. Drawing on Scofield's manuscripts and other sources, this study shows the self-aggrandizing Bible editor consistently adapted his life and rhetoric to his regional and social circumstances.

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## DEDICATION

To my husband Lane who gave up many hours to allow me to pursue this goal a thank you is inadequate. Your love and encouragement sustained my every insecurity and your commitment to seeing this project through kept me going forward when I desperately wanted to quit. To my daughter Julia you have my undying gratitude and love. You listened to your mom talk about C.I. Scofield so much that you dreamed one night that we bought his car. Thank you for allowing me to devote so many of our precious hours to research and writing for this project. Thank you to my parents Mr. and Mrs. Jimmy Bowens who I love dearly and hope to see more often now. Many professors contributed to making this thesis a reality. Specifically, Dr. Mel Page, Dr. Steven Nash, Dr. Tom Lee, Dr. Henry Antkiewicz, and Dr. Brian Maxson all influenced how I approached history as profession. Dr. Doug Burgess graciously supervised the entire thesis project and guided me through many twists and turns. I would like to especially thank Dr. Leila al-Imad for her unique and illuminating contributions to my thesis and to my historical perspective overall. Thank you also to the many graduate students who encouraged me along the way. Lastly, I would be remiss if I did not state clearly that I owe every ounce of strength to my faith in God and my absolute assurance of His reality. Fidelity to my faith drove me to complete this project.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

Known worldwide for his dispensational opus *The Scofield Reference Bible*, C. I. (Cyrus Ingerson) Scofield remains an enigmatic figure of the twentieth century Christian fundamentalist movement. In 1920, Charles G. Trumbull published the first biography of the famed Bible editor under the title *The Life Story of C.I. Scofield*.[1] Largely a tribute to the fundamentalist icon, Trumbull portrayed Scofield as "veteran saint," an image that remained intact for over sixty years.[2] In 1988, independent writer Joseph M. Canfield published his polemical biography *The Incredible Scofield and His Book*, which denigrated Scofield as an abject liar and an opportunistic promoter of a baseless theology.[3] Neither Trumbull nor Canfield captured the complex and provocative nature of the controversial theologian. By reexamining C.I. Scofield's life story, this thesis found that he purposely constructed his public image as a decorated Confederate veteran, successful lawyer, and Bible scholar to create a respectable identity among his peers, especially in Dallas, Texas.

Yale graduate and editor of the fundamentalist periodical *The Sunday School Times*, Charles G. Trumbull obtained C. I. Scofield's biographical material during personal interviews conducted at the Bible editor's Florida vacation home in the summer of 1919.[4] The following year, Oxford University Press published the biographical material under the title *The Life Story*

[1] Charles G. Trumbull and Cyrus Ingerson Scofield. *The Life Story of C. I. Scofield. [With Portraits.]* (Oxford University Press: New York, 1920; reprint Wipf and Stock Publishers: Eugene, 2007) (page citations are to the reprint edition). For brevity, this thesis refers to Trumbull's biography as the *Life Story*.

[2] Trumbull, 130

[3] Joseph M. Canfield, *The Incredible Scofield and His Book*, (Ross House Books: Vallecito, 2004).

[4] Canfield, 353. A search by this author for any extant interviews notes between Trumbull and Scofield yielded nothing.

*of C.I. Scofield*. Cyrus Ingerson Scofield died at seventy-eight years old, just one year after publication of the biography.[5]

Trumbull described himself as Dr. Scofield's spiritual disciple and compared his relationship with the theologian to that of Timothy and Paul of the New Testament.[6] Trumbull's biography portrayed Scofield much as he lived—as a decorated Confederate veteran, a successful lawyer, and a Bible scholar who believed God directed his life experiences to prepare him to edit *The Scofield Reference Bible* in 1909. In the biography, Trumbull emphasized the Bible editor's religious accomplishments while concealing his controversial personal life.[7] Trumbull's unabashed admiration for Scofield's religious zeal influenced his singular interpretation of Scofield's seminal work as "God-planned, God-guided, God-illuminated, and God-energized."[8]

In stark contrast, Joseph M. Canfield's explosive biography challenged the Biblical soundness of dispensationalism as a Christian theology by taking aim at the legitimacy of Scofield's Christian conversion. In whistleblower fashion, Canfield revealed embarrassing details about C. I. Scofield to discredit his reputation and character.[9] For example, Canfield published information that showed Scofield abandoned his first wife and children and that the Confederate Army discharged him long before the end of the Civil War, neither of which were known to most of Dr. Scofield's followers. Canfield also cast doubt on Dr. Scofield's academic credentials to use the title Doctor of Divinity. Unfortunately, Canfield's overstated bias against

[5] Cyrus Ingerson Scofield, Death Certificate, Canfield Papers, Box 4, Folder 33, Archives, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina.

[6] Trumbull, 125.

[7] R. Todd Mangum and Mark S. Sweetnam, *The Scofield Bible: Its History and Impact on the Evangelical Church* (Colorado Springs: Paternoster Publishing, 2009), 8.

[8] Trumbull, 114.

[9] Canfield, 393.

dispensationalism and its greatest American proponent overshadowed his extensive research and consequently diminished the reception of his considerable effort.

Canfield's biography prompted calls for further scholarship on C. I. Scofield and drew a response from apologists for dispensational theology. In 2009, R. Todd Mangum and Mark S. Sweetnam published *The Scofield Bible: Its History and Impact on the Evangelical Church*. The timely, erudite work marked the one hundredth anniversary of the inaugural publication of *The Scofield Reference Bible* and represented an important step in establishing a historiography on Scofield.[10] Mangum contributed the primary research and analysis on Scofield's life in a single chapter and without the benefit of a definitive biographical study. Mangum called attention to the "great need for sound scholarship on Scofield and his legacy" but proffered a passionate defense of Scofield's character and an equally passionate refutation of Canfield's work.[11]

Responding to Mangum's invitation to engage in thoughtful historical study of C. I. Scofield, this writer entered the debate on Scofield's character and background. The project is a unique task, as it seems Scofield left no personal diaries and few contemporaneous accounts of his life. Likewise, his immediate family offered no insight on their private relationships. In 1960, Scofield's last living son adamantly refused to provide biographical material or family papers for a sketch of Scofield's life, relegating the icon to an elusive character.[12]

This thesis then examines Cyrus Scofield's record as a decorated Confederate veteran, successful lawyer, and Bible scholar as a means of gaining insight into his character and role in popularizing dispensational theology. From this study, a new picture of Dr. Scofield emerged

[10] Mangum and Sweetnam, 1. R. Todd Mangum received his PhD from Dallas Theological Seminary.
[11] Mangum and Sweetnam, 5.
[12] Noel Scofield died in 1962. William A. BeVier, manuscript letters to Noel Scofield, 30 January 1960, and 16 March 1960, William A. BeVier Collection on C.I. Scofield, Accession Number 2005-24, CN015, Folder 1, Archives, Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas, TX. Noel Paul Scofield, Death Certificate, Canfield Papers, Box 4, Folders #10, Archives, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina.

that both challenged the veracity of Charles Trumbull's singular portrayal of the Bible editor in the *Life Story* and added much-needed layers to Joseph Canfield's raw research on Scofield's colorful past. This paper presents an interpretation of C. I. Scofield as a man shaped by his repeated adaptation to changing political, regional, racial, and gender concepts between 1861 and 1921. This study concluded that C. I. Scofield sought a professional and honorable image through both his religious life and his participation in Confederate veteran activities.

This thesis begins with an examination of Scofield's life during the American Civil War by reviewing his enlistment as a Confederate soldier, his discharge, and his desertion after a second Confederate conscription. As will be shown, Scofield's record is quite different from the one Scofield related to Trumbull in the *Life Story* and even more complex than presented by Canfield's biography in 1988. Two key Scofield manuscripts from the Civil War period include what this study refers to as his discharge letter and his parole letter. Canfield previously published the discharge letter in his biography but this study is the first to publish the parole letter in which Scofield recounted his activities after his discharge from the Confederate Army in September 1862.

This thesis will also examine Scofield's post-Confederacy years in St. Louis, Missouri and Atchison, Kansas where he excelled as a lawyer and Republican politician before fleeing his constituents amid scandalous rumor in 1874. Again, a previously unpublished manuscript letter written by Scofield sheds new light on the demise of his legal career. This thesis will also examine Scofield's image as a Bible scholar, which he achieved through his participation in conservative Bible conferences. Finally, this study explores the regional influence of the Confederate tradition on C. I. Scofield's life and work after settling in Dallas, Texas in 1882.

## CHAPTER 2

## THE CONFEDERATE ARMY

In the *Life Story*, Cyrus Ingerson Scofield claimed to serve throughout the American Civil War with the 7th Tennessee Infantry. In 1988, Joseph M. Canfield discovered that the Confederate States of America discharged Private Scofield in September 1862.[13] Until this thesis, Private Scofield's fate after discharge remained unknown but while researching for this project, this writer discovered an unpublished manuscript letter written by Cyrus Scofield to parole authorities on November 18, 1862.[14] In this letter, he gave a detailed account of his activities after he left the 7th Tennessee to return to Lebanon. Using this parole letter and other sources, this chapter relates Scofield's Civil War experience between 1861 and 1865, which differed considerably from Scofield's version in the *Life Story*.

### A Brief Overview of the Life of C. I. Scofield Before the American Civil War

A brief review of Cyrus Scofield's early life leading up to the American Civil War highlights a few important features in his developmental years, which played a role in shaping the teenage boy who joined the southern rebellion in 1861. Cyrus Ingerson Scofield's ancestors descended from Lancashire County, England through Daniel Scofield who was the first Scofield immigrant to the American colonies around 1635.[15] Daniel Scofield and his brother Richard

[13] Canfield, 23. The discovery of the discharge from the 7th Tennesse is one of Canfield's most explosive discoveries. Cyrus Scofield, manuscript letter to General George H. Randolph, 8 July 1862, War Department Records, Collection of Confederate Records, 109, NARA, Washington D.C.

[14] Cyrus Scofield, manuscript letter to Col. F. A. Dick, 18 November 1862, Union Provost Marshals' Files of Papers Relating to Individual Citizens, MF1047, M347, R240, TSLA, Nashville, Tennessee. See Appendix A for full letter.

[15] Arno C. Gaebelein, *The History of the Scofield Reference Bible* (New York: Our Hope Publications, 1943), 19.

were Puritan founders with a distinguished history in the Stamford, Connecticut colony.[16] Out of the Daniel Scofield line, Cyrus Ingerson Scofield arrived as the seventh child born to Elias and Abigail Scofield on August 19, 1843.[17] Elias and Abigail had settled in the village of Tecumseh in Michigan territory to join the lumber mill operation of his father-in-law in 1831. Tecumseh was part of the timber rich frontier territory that later became Lenawee County, Michigan.[18] After Michigan achieved statehood, Elias Scofield acquired a small farm where he worked timber in the adjoining counties of Lenawee and Washtenaw on the Raisin River.[19] Of Elias and Abigail's seven children, two boys died before reaching the age of two years old. Cyrus Scofield's surviving siblings included his four older sisters, Emeline, Laura, Harriet, and Victorine Scofield. After Abigail delivered Cyrus Scofield in August, she suffered complications from childbirth and died in November 1843.[20] In June 1846, Elias Scofield remarried to Rebecca Fidelia and the family moved to the township of Clinton.[21]

Baptized at the Congregational Church of Greenfield, New York, Elias Scofield also raised his children in the Congregational tradition. Cyrus Scofield described his family as "nominal" Christians who read the Bible, especially the book of Psalms.[22] Elias and Abigail Scofield joined the First Presbyterian Church, which held joint services with Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Dutch Reformed traditions living in Lenawee County beginning in

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[16] Charles Arthur Hoppin, *The Washington Ancestry and Records of the McClain, Johnson, and Forty other Colonial Families*, Vol. 2 (Greenfield: Privately Published, 1932) and William Richard Cutter, *Genealogical and Family History of Western New York*, Vol. 1 (New York: Lewis Historical Printing Co., 1912), Ancestry.com (accessed 24 Oct 2011).

[17] This writer built an extensive family history for Cyrus Ingerson Scofield accessible through the subscription serviceAncestry.com.

[18] Francis A. Dewey, "Early Settlers in Lenawee County, Michigan," (6 February 1880) http://lenawee.migenweb.net/earlysettlers.html (accessed 9 February 2011).

[19] 1850 Federal Census, Tecumseh, Lenawee County, Michigan, Roll M432_355, Page 72B, Image 149. Ancestry.com; Trumbull, 14.

[20] Abigail Scofield's two boys that died before Cyrus's birth were Victor Scofield, 1835-1837 and Oscar Scofield, 1838-1840, Ancestry.com; Canfield, 9.

[21] 1850 Federal Census, Tecumseh, Lenawee County, Michigan, Roll M432_355, Page 72B, Image 149, ancestry.com (accessed 24 October 2011)

[22] Trumbull, 3

1833.[23] After a doctrinal split in 1843, Elias Scofield became part of the First Congregational Church in Clinton.[24] Cyrus Scofield and his stepmother Rebecca Scofield attended the First Congregational Church together in Clinton throughout his childhood.[25] In 1859, the First Congregational Church records reflected that Elias transferred to an Episcopal church though neither Episcopal church in the Clinton area admitted him as a member. Scofield claimed in is biography to be an Episcopalian but he seemed to have only a fleeting affiliation with the denomination.[26]

While still a young boy, Cyrus Scofield's oldest sisters married and left Clinton, Michigan. On January 17, 1850, his oldest sister Emeline Eliza Scofield married Sylvester Papin at the First Congregational Church in Clinton, Michigan.[27] After the wedding, the couple settled in the city of St. Louis, Missouri where Papin served as the city registrar.[28] Scofield's sisters Laura Marie and Harriet married in a double wedding on February 4, 1855.[29] Harriet died in childbirth the following year on February 28, 1856.[30] Laura and her husband, William Henry (W.H.) Eames, a dentist, relocated his dental practice to Lebanon, Tennessee in 1858.[31]

On June 18, 1859, with eighteen-year-old Victorine and sixteen-year-old Cyrus still in the family home in Clinton, Michigan, Rebecca Scofield died leaving Cyrus's father widowed

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[23] First Congregational Church Records; First Congregational Church of Clinton, n.d.; First Presbyterian Church, 1833-1851; Congregational Church, 1851-1912; and First Congregational (Union) Church, 1852-1951, 6. Archives, Bentley Historical Society, Clinton, Michigan.

[24] First Congregational Church Records, 21.

[25] Congregational Church, Clinton Michigan, *History of the First Congregational Church of Clinton, Michigan, 1844-1923* (1923), First Congregational Church Records, 36.

[26] Trumbull, 14. Scofield severed his ties with the Congregationalist in 1909 so Scofield may have preferred not to mention his long association with Congregationalism. There were only two Episcopalian churches in Clinton during Scofield's childhood but neither recorded Elias Scofield as a member.

[27] *History of the First Congregational Church of Clinton, Michigan, 1844-1923,*

[28] "Married," *St. Louis Republican*, 28 January 1850.

[29] Canfield, 17.

[30] Harriet Marion Estabrook in died in childbirth the following year on February 28, 1856. http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=estabrook&GSfn=harriet&GSby=+&GSbyrel=in&GSdy=+&GSdyrel=in&GSst=24&GScntry=4&GSob=n&GRid=74733813&df=all& (accessed on 24 October 2011).

[31] *The History of Dentistry in Missouri* (Fulton: The Ovid Bell Press, Inc., 1938), 31.

again.[32] Sixty-one year old Elias Scofield immediately remarried, this time to a thirty-three year old woman named Elizabeth.[33] Both Victorine and Cyrus received an inheritance from Rebecca Scofield's estate and each left Clinton, Michigan.[34] Victorine stayed briefly with Emeline and Sylvester Papin in St. Louis, Missouri.[35] When the Papins traveled out of the country on an extended trip in the fall of 1860, Victorine Scofield moved to her sister Laura Scofield Eame's home in Lebanon, Tennessee.[36] Cyrus Scofield moved first to a neighboring township in Washtenaw County, Michigan where he worked in a mill and continued his education.[37] By February 1861, Cyrus Scofield also joined his sisters in Lebanon, Tennessee.

In the *Life Story*, Cyrus Scofield recorded very little about his early life in Michigan but census records reflected he attended Tecumseh village schools.[38] He reportedly enjoyed reading classic literature and world history favoring the works of Homer and Shakespeare.[39] Besides reading, young Cyrus said he loved to roam the Michigan wilderness observing birds and other animal life.[40]

## Private Scofield, 7th Tennessee Infantry, CSA

In February 1861, seventeen-year old Cyrus Ingerson Scofield five feet eleven inches tall with hazel eyes and fair complexion arrived in Lebanon, Tennessee where he sought education,

[32] First Congregational Church records, 31.

[33] 1860 Federal Census, Tecumseh, Lenawee County, Michigan, Roll M653_551, Page 865, Image 865. Ancestry.com (24 October 2011).

[34] Lenawee County Probate Court Records, Case No. 1476, D229, MR793, Adrian, Michigan.

[35] 1860 Federal Census, St. Louis, Ward 2, (Independent City,) Missouri, Roll M653_648, Page 915, Image 355, Ancestry.com (24 October 2011).

[36] 1860 Federal Census, District 10, Wilson, Tennessee, Roll M653_1280, Page 333, Image 173, and Passport Application of September 20, 1860 for Sylvester and Emeline Papin found in U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925, M1372, Ancestry.com (accessed 27 April 2011).

[37] 1860 Federal Census, Bridgewater, Washtenaw, Michigan, Roll M653_563, Page 111, Image 111. Ancestry.com (24 October 2011).

[38] 1850 Federal Census, Tecumseh, Lenawee County, Michigan, Roll M432_355, Page 72B, Image 149. Ancestry.com (24 October 2011).

[39] Trumbull, 1.

[40] Trumbull, 5; Gaebelein, *History of the Scofield Reference Bible*, 18.

employment, and perhaps a little adventure.[41] The growing town of Lebanon served as a home to Cumberland University and attracted young students from all over the nation to what the South considered its premier educational institution.[42] The university housed a preparatory school, a liberal arts college, a theological school, and a law school. By 1859, the Cumberland Law School was the pride of the university and the largest law school in the nation.[43] Cumberland University offered Cyrus Scofield the educational opportunities he desired as a young boy.[44]

Cyrus Scofield planned to live with his sister and brother-in-law Laura Scofield Eames and Dr. W.H. Eames after arriving in Lebanon, Tennessee. Located on East Main Street in the Town Square, the Eames residence and dentist office gave Scofield a bird's eye view of town happenings.[45] Once in Lebanon, Scofield made a number of friends and associates around town but gave no hint that he understood the secession concerns in the Upper South state.[46] In February 1861, the voters in Wilson County had already defeated one secession vote. Local Congressman and Cumberland alum Robert Hatton reassured local residents that Tennessee secession was unlikely as of March 1861.[47] Scofield continued to prepare for his university education but due to the outbreak of the Civil War, fall enrollment never took place.[48]

After President Abraham Lincoln took office in March 1861, tensions grew in Wilson County between secessionists and anti-secessionists reaching a decisive pitch between April and

[41] C. Scofield to G. Randolph, 8 July 1862; C. Scofield to F. A. Dick, 18 November, 1862; Discharge Instructions for Cyrus Scofield, September 26, 1862, War Department Records, Collection of Confederate Records, 109, NARA, Washington D.C.

[42] Frank Burns, ed. Robert E. Corlew, *The History of Wilson County* (Memphis State University Press: Memphis), 1.

[43] Burns, x.

[44] Trumbull, 5.

[45] Deed of W. H. Eames registered at Wilson County Register of Deeds Office, Lebanon, Tennessee, July 14, 1858, Book C, Page 276.

[46] C. Scofield to G. Randolph, 8 July 1862; Trumbull, 7.

[47] Daniel W. Crofts, *Reluctant Confederates: Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 5.

[48] Trumbull, 7.

June 1861.[49] On April 1, Congressman Hatton made a rousing anti-secession speech in which he unintentionally stirred Deep South sympathizers and anti-Unionists to protest Lebanon. In retaliation to Hatton's speech, some residents and Cumberland students opposed to Union loyalty harassed Hatton at his home before demonstrating on the Town Square by burning an effigy of Hatton.[50] Less than two weeks after the protest in the Town Square, Fort Sumter in South Carolina surrendered to the Confederate Army and by mid-April Wilson County citizens felt the threat of war.[51] After President Lincoln sent out a proclamation for 75,000 Union troops to put down the southern rebellion, the citizens of Wilson County overwhelming voted in favor of secession in June 1861.[52] Fearing the advance of northern troops, Wilson County organized volunteers to fight for the south in May 1861.[53]

The volunteerism that swept most of the Upper South states engulfed Wilson County and was especially strong at Cumberland University. So many students and faculty from the Cumberland Law School joined the Wilson County volunteers that the law school suspended educational operations.[54] The liberal arts college barely continued throughout the war but most education in Lebanon ground to a halt when the volunteers left Lebanon in May.[55] As one southern volunteer noted, education "can be neglected" for the cause, which he believed would

[49] Crofts, 350.
[50] Crofts, 6.
[51] Crofts, citing excerpts from the May 3, 1861 edition of the *Lebanon Herald*, 352.
[52] Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 53.
[53] Crofts, 6.
[54] Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1943, reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 2008), 17 (page citations are to the reprint edition) and Winstead Pain Bone, *A History of Cumberland University, 1842-1935*, (Lebanon: Bone, 1935), 38, 85.
[55] Bone, 82.

last only a few months anyway.[56] Like most colleges throughout the South, Cumberland University lost its enrollment as the Civil War began in the spring of 1861.[57]

Instead of going home to Michigan, Scofield joined his friends as a "matter of course" in the southern conflict.[58] Scofield gave no further reason for joining the Wilson County volunteers other than to go along with "boyhood friends and associates" in Lebanon, Tennessee.[59] As a native of Clinton, Michigan, Scofield could hardly claim regional identification with the southern way of life. Instead, he credited his participation in the Confederacy to the persuasive words of male friends. As a Michigander, Scofield's presence with southern volunteers was uncommon though a few northerners volunteered in Confederate regiments.[60] While many southern volunteers believed intensely in home defense and the southern order others simply sought adventure. The persuasive rhetoric among men at the height of volunteerism accounted for a large number of volunteers in 1861.[61] At just seventeen years old, Scofield's enlistment with other Wilson County men represented his first significant act of manhood.

On May 20, 1861, Wilson County's volunteer company left Lebanon with Scofield as one of its volunteers.[62] In a celebratory scene that reverberated throughout the Upper South states, a brass band played as volunteers marched off to Nashville, Tennessee encouraged by cheers of local women.[63] On May 28, 1861, Wilson County's volunteer company transferred to the Confederate States Army as the 7th Tennessee Infantry and assigned Scofield to Company H

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[56] Wiley, 18.
[57] Wiley, 17.
[58] Trumbull, 8.
[59] Trumbull, 8.
[60] Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 385.
[61] Wiley, 18; Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913*(New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 25.
[62] Cyrus J. [I] Scofield, Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers who served in Organizations from the State of Tennessee, M268, http://www.fold3.com/image/#69399930 (accessed 25 October 2011).
[63] Burns, 41.

for his one-year enlistment.[64] The 7th Tennessee Infantry and Scofield entrained for Virginia from Nashville in mid-July 1861 arriving in Staunton a few days later. Once the 7th Tennessee arrived in Staunton, the Confederacy combined Scofield's regiment with other Tennessee units to form the Tennessee Brigade.[65] The 7th Tennessee muster rolls reflected that Scofield remained with the 7th Tennessee Infantry until discharged in September 1862.

Also of the 7th Tennessee Infantry, Private H. M. Manson described Private Scofield as a "stripling boy" that "bravely held his place on the front rank under the immortal Stonewall Jackson" during the winter of 1861."[66] The battlefield experience offered several male role models to the young soldier including leaders such as Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson. General Lee and General Jackson achieved heroic status after the end of the Civil War in 1865 and continued as male role models for Cyrus Scofield.

In Private Manson's words, the soldiers of the 7th Tennessee endured exposure and hunger with "scant" rations and heavy snow in the winter of 1861.[67] Private Manson praised Private Scofield who he said once shared his few rations with another comrade who had been on duty all night in a snowstorm.[68] The long winter of exposure to severe weather, extreme fatigue, and poor diet apparently caused Scofield to fall ill towards the end of winter. The 7th Tennessee sent Scofield to Chimborazo Hospital No. 3 in Richmond, Virginia for exposure and the hospital admitted him on April 8, 1862. Private Scofield expected his one-year term of enlistment to end the following month in May 1862.[69]

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[64] Cyrus J. [I] Scofield, Compiled Service Records.

[65] *Tennesseans in the Civil War*, Vol. 1 and 2 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1964). The 7th Tennessee Infantry regiment remained together until Lee's surrender at Appomattox Courthouse on April 9, 1865.

[66] "A Noble Tribute," *Dallas Morning News*, December 25, 1887.

[67] "A Noble Tribute."

[68] "A Noble Tribute."

[69] Cyrus J. [I] Scofield, Confederate Hospital Registers, NARA, Washington, D.C..

As Scofield recuperated at the Richmond hospital, a chilling piece of news confronted him in his sick bed. On April 9, 1862, the Confederate Congress adopted its first Conscription Act.[70] Under the Conscription Act, the Confederacy reorganized the 7th Tennessee and required all healthy men between eighteen and thirty-five years of age to serve three additional years in the Confederate Army. The prospect of three additional years of service likely devastated the eighteen-year-old ailing Private Scofield. He wrote a letter to General George H. Randolph, Confederate Secretary of War and requested a discharge and a health exemption.[71] To improve his chances of obtaining a release, Scofield also sought and received an interview with the Confederate Secretary in which he offered statements supporting his request for release from service.[72]

In the discharge letter, Scofield wrote that he "desir[ed] to obtain an exemption from the Conscription Act," and asked for release from the service of the Confederate States.[73] In his letter, Private Scofield advised General Randolph, that he [Scofield] was not a citizen of the Confederate States but rather a "native of the state of Michigan" where his father resided and that he entered "service of the South while visiting a sister in Tennessee."[74] Scofield further argued that his exposure and fatigue from enemy engagements warranted an exemption from service."[75] Scofield pointed out that he was underage at the time of his original enlistment with the Wilson County volunteers. Perhaps hoping not to arouse suspicion of desertion, Scofield stated in his

[70] Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy, (*Gloucester: P. Smith, 1965), 386.
[71] C. Scofield to G. Randolph, 8 April 1862.
[72] C. Scofield to F. A. Dick, 18 November 1862.
[73] C. Scofield to G. Randolph, 8 April 1862.
[74] C. Scofield to G. Randolph, 8 April 1862. Elias Scofield lived in Michigan until his death in 1870. http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=scofield&GSby=+&GSbyrel=in&GSdy=+&GSdyrel=in&GSst=24&GScntry=4&GSob=n&GSsr=41&GRid=71685183&df=all&, (accessed 24, October 2011).
[75] C. Scofield to G. Randolph, 8 April 1862.

request that he intended to enter "Guerilla service in East Tenn" after his discharge.[76] While at the Richmond hospital and after "great difficulty," Scofield obtained an interview with Secretary of War Randolph to plead his case.[77] After giving statements to the Secretary, Scofield completed his convalescence and returned to duty with the 7th Tennessee on May 1, 1862. Scofield remained with the 7th Tennessee regiment awaiting a disposition on his discharge request.

On May 31, 1862, the Tennessee Brigade entered its first major battle at the Battle of Seven Pines just outside Richmond, Virginia. The Seven Pines battle exacted a heavy toll on the Tennessee Brigade with nearly every company commander and about half the privates killed that day including Wilson County's Robert Hatton. Because of the high number of command losses, the Confederate Army placed the Tennessee Brigade under the command of General James J. Archer and Robert E. Lee assumed command of the entire Army of Northern Virginia. Casualty numbers were so high in the Tennessee Brigade that units from other states supplemented its ranks throughout 1862.[78]

Though Scofield applied for discharge in April, he received no response until late September 1862. Perhaps his regiment's heavy losses and increasing desertion contributed to the delay in releasing Scofield but the Confederacy was unclear on how it should apply its first Conscription Act as well.[79] By the fall, a flood of exemption requests reached the Secretary of War who still did not have a clear direction on the Conscription Act from the Confederate

[76] C. Scofield to G. Randolph, 8 April 1862. No record of Scofield related to guerilla service in East Tennessee has been located but guerilla service seems unlikely since Scofield registered for the Union draft in St. Louis, Missouri in July 1863 .

[77] C. Scofield to F. A. Dick, 18 November 1862.

[78] *Tennesseans in the Civil War*, 189.

[79] On Confederate desertion see Mark A. Weitz, *More Damning Than Slaughter: Desertion in the Confederate Army* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005).

leadership.[80] Between 1861 and 1863, the Confederate Congress debated several pieces of legislation to clarify who qualified as the Confederacy's citizens and residents and terms such as "resident," "citizen," and "domicile" remained vague throughout the war.[81] The Confederacy conscripted both foreigners and men of northern birth, like Scofield, if they remained inside Confederate territory. As a northerner, Scofield objected to his conscription by denying any residency or citizenship in the Confederacy.

While the Confederate Congress considered its conscription laws, the 7th Tennessee Infantry with the Army of Northern Virginia fought at Sharpsburg (Antietam) on September 17, 1862. Regimental records reflect Scofield remained on duty with the 7th Tennessee Infantry at Antietam, but it is unclear in what capacity he may have participated.[82] In the *Life Story*, Scofield said his unit assigned him as an orderly due to good horsemanship skills. In this role, he claimed he carried vital messages to Confederate officers and their staff.[83] If he carried vital messages, surely it was before he declared himself as an alien to the Confederate States. Even though Scofield awaited an alien discharge, Confederate records reveal nothing out of the ordinary for Scofield at Seven Pines or Sharpsburg (Antietam). Regardless of Scofield's role at Antietam, the relentless bloodbath that occurred on the battlefield likely affected young Scofield. Heavy losses already reduced the men of the 7th Tennessee Infantry to only 100 "effectives" and thirty of those men died at Sharpsburg (Antietam).[84]

On September 23, 1862, the Confederate Army finally granted Scofield's request for discharge sending written instructions to his commanding officer at Martinsburg, Virginia.[85] The

[80] McCurry, 138.
[81] For a discussion on defining Confederate citizenship, see McCurry, 79. Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy,* Gloucester, Mass: P. Smith, 1965, 384.
[82] Cyrus J. Scholfield [sic], Compiled Service Records
[83] Trumbull, 8.
[84] *Tennessean in the Civil War*, 189.
[85] Discharge Instructions for Scofield, Cyrus J.[sic] Schofield, Compiled Service Records.

discharge instruction noted that Private Scofield was "entitled to discharge by reason of not being a citizen of the Confederates states but an alien friend."[86] The discharge made no mention of a health exemption for future conscription. Released on September 26, 1862, the Confederacy paid Scofield's transportation costs back to his place of enlistment in Nashville, Tennessee but made no provision for removing him from Confederate territory.[87] Such rulings proved rare as the Confederacy only granted 373 exemptions for alienage, mainly to foreigners, throughout the entire war.[88] After his discharge, Scofield returned to the home of his sister and brother-in-law in Lebanon, Tennessee.[89]

Any rebel who remained in the 7th Tennessee Infantry throughout the war saw plenty of combat, as Scofield claimed to do in the *Life Story*. In July 1863, Scofield's former comrades fought in the assault on Cemetery Hill at Gettysburg, famously known as "Pickett's Charge."[90] Almost continuously "in the trenches" throughout 1863 and 1864 only sixty men battle-hardened veterans remained in February 1865.[91] General Robert E. Lee surrendered only forty-seven men of the entire Tennessee Brigade at Appomattox Courthouse on April 9, 1865. Turned over to General Ulysses S. Grant as parolees, only six men survived from Company H of the Seventh Regiment.[92]

Though later in life Cyrus Scofield indicated he was with the regiment throughout the entire war, even "twelve miles" from Appomattox when Lee surrendered, Scofield's name did

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[86] Discharge instructions for Cyrus Scofield.
[87] Discharge instructions for Cyrus Scofield.
[88] Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 1965, 389-390.
[89] C. Scofield to F. A. Dick, 18 November 1862.
[90] *Tennesseans in the Civil War*, 190. Sometime in 1895, while C. I. Scofield attended church meetings in Boston, Massachusetts he joked that he "made a desperate effort to come North in 1863, but that he had been stopped at Gettysburg." Recounted by Luther Rees, "What the Church owes Dr. Scofield," September 17, 1921, *The Sunday School Times.*
[91] *The Appomattox Roster: A List of Paroles of the Army of Northern Virginia issued at Appomattox Court House on April 9 1865,* (1887, reprint, New York: Antiquarian Press, 1962), 288.
[92] *Tennesseans in the Civil War*, 190.

not appear on the list of Confederate parolees. Already discharged as an "alien friend" on September 26, 1862, Scofield returned briefly to Lebanon, Tennessee before living out the remainder of the war in St. Louis, Missouri.

## Escaping the Confederacy and Declaring Union Loyalty

When Dr. C. I. Scofield recounted his Civil War experience for Charles G. Trumbull in the *Life Story*, he included nothing about the discharge in 1862. While Joseph M. Canfield's research turned up the discharge record, he found little else about Private Scofield's activities after he left the 7th Tennessee Infantry in 1862. Almost one hundred fifty years later, this writer discovered a handwritten manuscript among the Civil War records in which Scofield recounted his movements after leaving Martinsburg, Virginia. The manuscript further disproved Scofield's claim of serving throughout the war. In the letter, Scofield explained:

> *"I repeatedly sought for a discharge which I did not obtain until the 29th of September last when having made application as an "alien to the Confederate Government and a citizen of the United States" I finally after persistent efforts and a personal interview with the Confederate Secretary of War, obtained under great difficulty at Richmond, I obtained the object of my desire—my dismissal from the Rebel army as a U.S. citizen who was never sworn into the service of the Confederate States and proceeded back to my friends in Lebanon here I found that my brother-in-law had gone to St. Louis a Union refugee I remained there some three weeks in my sisters family when being ordered by the military authorities to a Camp of Military instruction at McMinnville I started on foot with the intention of effecting my escape to the federal lines which I succeeded in doing after marching 75 miles to Bowling Green Ky. Here I reported myself to the*

*authorities took the oath of allegiance and passed on to St. Louis to my friends here. I am now and have been since my arrival a resident in the family of another brother-in-law Mr. S.V. Papin."*[93]

Though Scofield received a bona fide discharge, he lacked an exemption from further conscription and worried that Confederate authorities might send him back to the front lines. Finding the "rebel rule" strict in Lebanon, Scofield also feared arrest or imprisonment.[94] The rebel rule Scofield referred to seemed to hint at the Confederacy's method of dealing with its growing desertion problem. By fall 1862, state and local militia actively pursued Confederate deserters, often with violent outcomes.[95] Inside Confederate territory for three weeks, Scofield garnered the attention of Confederate authorities in Lebanon who conscripted him back into service.[96] Ordered to a camp of instruction at McMinnville, Tennessee, Scofield safely escaped to Bowling Green, Kentucky then traveled on to St. Louis, Missouri seeking protection with his brother-in-law, S.V. Papin.

As a Confederate deserter in St. Louis, Scofield remained in jeopardy of arrest or imprisonment in that city as well. Though the city had a strong pro-Union presence, the secessionist governor declared the state to be part of the Confederacy.[97] To maintain order in St. Louis, the Union Provost Marshal sought out Confederate deserters and spies and kept track of southern sympathizers.[98] When Scofield arrived in St. Louis, Col. F. A. Dick served as the Union Provost Marshal. As a prominent lawyer and city office holder, S. V. Papin served on the St. Louis Board of Assessors during the Civil War and presided over the board between 1863

[93] C. Scofield to F. A. Dick, 18 November 1862. The text is quoted in the same grammatical form used by Cyrus Scofield. See Appendix A for full letter.
[94] C. Scofield to F. A. Dick, 18 November 1862.
[95] McCurry, 124.
[96] C. Scofield to F. A. Dick, 18 November 1862.
[97] McCurry, 76.
[98] Geri Carter, *Troubled State: Civil War Journals of Franklin Archibald Dick* (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2008), 3.

until 1865.[99] Papin and other assessors worked closely with the Union officials identifying southern sympathizers for tax assessment. If identified as a southern sympathizer, an assessor placed a tax on the sympathizer's property. Assessors used taxes to assist in caring for the influx of war refugees. Col. Dick and Papin both served on the assessor's board before Col. Dick became the acting Provost Marshal.[100]

To remain free in St. Louis, Scofield sought a parole from the Union Provost Marshal by confirming he was a "loyal citizen of the U.S. which I have always been notwithstanding the untoward circumstances in which I have been placed during this rebellion and the false position I have found myself against my inclination occupying until my recent escape from Tennessee."[101] On November 18, 1862, Col. Dick paroled nineteen-year-old Scofield to remain in St. Louis, Missouri and Cyrus Scofield finally obtained the "object of his desire," a full release from the rebel army.[102] Paroled by Union officials, Scofield remained in St. Louis at the residence of S. V. Papin who assisted him with obtaining a clerkship in the title examination office for the city of St. Louis.[103] In September 1863, still residing with S. V. Papin and working as a clerk in St. Louis, Scofield registered for the Union draft.[104] Though Scofield never served in a Union regiment, the draft records did not contain any notation as to whether he arranged for a substitute or received a medical exemption from Union service.

[99] Arthur W. Felt to Joseph M. Canfield, manuscript letter, 11 February 1978, Canfield Papers, Box 4, Folder #11, Archives of Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina.

[100] Carter, 87.

[101] C. Scofield to F. A. Dick, 18 November 1862.

[102] C. Scofield to F. A. Dick, 18 November 1862.

[103] A. Felt to J. Canfield, 3 February 1978 from Canfield Papers, Box 4, Folder #14, Archives, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina; Cyrus J. Schofield [sic], Consolidated Lists of Civil War Draft Registrations, 1863-1865, NM-65, entry 172, records of the Provost Marshal General's Bureau (Civil War), RG 110, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Ancestry.com, (accessed 11 October 2011).

[104] Cyrus J. Schofield [sic], Consolidated Lists of Civil War Draft Registrations, 1863-1865.

As a trusted Union loyalist, Scofield eventually achieved a promotion to chief clerk in the city title office and was well on his way to meeting his future bride in St. Louis, Missouri.[105] All of Cyrus Scofield's siblings settled in St. Louis during the war years also. Arriving in St. Louis as a Union refugee, Dr. Eames established his dental office before Laura Scofield Eames and their children arrived in the spring of 1863.[106] Victorine Scofield also made her way to St. Louis and married local resident Thomas Annan on July 23, 1863.[107] As the war dragged on, Cyrus Scofield and his siblings built new livelihoods in the city of St. Louis and remained intertwined in each other's lives.

[105] Trumbull, 11.

[106] St. Louis, Missouri did not publish city directories for the years 1861-1864. Walter B. Stevens, *St. Louis: History of the Fourth City, 1763-1909*, Vol. III, Chicago-St. Louis: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1909, 723; A. Felt to J. Canfield, 11 February 1978.

[107] Thomas Annan also a registered for the Union draft in 1863 but never served in a Union regiment. The draft records did not record his substitution or exemption status. Ancestry.com (26 October 2011); James Cox, *Old and New St. Louis: A Concise History of the Metropolis of the West and Southwest, with a Review of its Present Greatness and Immediate Prospects* (St. Louis: Central Biographical Publishing Co., 1894), 316.

# CHAPTER 3

## THE PROFESSION OF LAW

After Cyrus Ingerson Scofield settled into his employment in the city offices of St. Louis, Missouri, he chose to pursue the profession of law in 1865.[108] In 1869, Scofield's law career shifted from St. Louis, Missouri to Atchison, Kansas where he entered Republican politics and served in the state legislature for two terms. In 1873, President Ulysses S. Grant appointed Scofield as the highest prosecutor in Kansas but he resigned his federal appointment amid bribery rumors after only six months. Returning to St. Louis, Missouri, Scofield failed to reestablish his legal career and further descended into petty crimes and unethical behavior. An 1874 unpublished manuscript letter written by Cyrus Scofield from St. Louis sheds new light on his efforts to resume his legal practice after political and personal disgrace. While virtually none of the details from these years made it into the *Life Story,* this chapter examines Cyrus Scofield's personal and professional rise and fall between 1866 and 1879.

### The Rise and Fall of Lawyer Scofield

While General Robert E. Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia continued their assault on Union troops, Scofield relied heavily on the support of his eldest sister Emeline Scofield Papin and her husband S. V. Papin in St. Louis, Missouri. Acting as family matriarch, Emeline Papin served as an important conduit between the St. Louis society and the younger Scofield siblings displaced by the Civil War. S. V. Papin descended from French fur trader Auguste Chouteau who settled St. Louis, Missouri around 1764. Chouteau's descendants remained

[108] Trumbull, 25.

prominent in the city of Saint Louis over a century later.[109] Described as "erudite and accomplished people," the Chouteau descendants, including related French families like the Cerrés and the Papins, represented the best and oldest of St. Louis society.[110] Known for throwing grand balls at the Chouteau mansion, the Chouteau parties introduced many wives to the young men of Saint Louis.[111] As Cyrus Scofield described, he was "plunged into the French society of that great city" after arriving in Saint Louis from Lebanon, Tennessee.[112]

In the *Life Story*, Scofield neglected to mention the St. Louis French society included the Roman Catholic Mary Leontine Cerré born on October 27, 1847. Baptized the following May, Leontine's parents chose Sylvester Papin's older siblings as her sponsors.[113] When Leontine's courtship with Cyrus began, eighteen-year old Leontine lived with her widowed mother, Helen LeBeau Cerré.[114] The Catholic Leontine received a dispensation from the Church for a "mixed marriage" to the non-Catholic Cyrus Ingerson Scofield.[115] The two wed in a civil ceremony in St. Louis, Missouri on September 27, 1866.[116]

Cyrus Scofield quickly began a family with his new wife, Leontine Cerré Scofield. Their first daughter Abigail Leontine Terese Scofield arrived on July 13, 1867, and the priests at St. Joseph's Cathedral baptized Abigail "according to the Rite of the Roman Catholic Church" on

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[109] J. Thomas Sharf, *History of Saint Louis City and County*, Volume I, (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts & Co., 1883), 66.

[110] Sharf, 526.

[111] Sharf, 527.

[112] Trumbull, 9.

[113] Early U.S. French Catholic Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1695-1954, 134, Ancestry.com, (accessed 11 October 2011).

[114] 1860 Federal Census, St. Louis Ward 3, St. Louis, Missouri, Roll: M653_655; Page: 11; Image: 11, Ancestry.com (accessed on 11 October 2011).

[115] Early U.S. French Catholic Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1695-1954, 281.

[116] Cirus J. Schofield[sic], Missouri Marriage Records, 1805-2002, Ancestry.com (accessed 11 October 2011).

July 28, 1867.[117] Sylvester Papin sponsored his niece, Abigail. The Scofield's second child Marie Helene arrived on October 4, 1869, and the priest of St. Therese of Avila baptized Helene on October 17, 1869. The Scofields chose Marie Helene's uncle, Dr. W.H. Eames as her sponsor.[118] After the family moved to Atchison, Kansas, the Scofield's third child Guy Sylvester arrived on January 10, 1872.[119]

Cyrus Scofield modeled S. V. Papin's professional and personal life in St. Louis, Missouri. While enjoying the familial and societal advantages of the French clan, Scofield also secured an apprenticeship for a legal career through attorney and city registrar S.V. Papin.[120] Scofield's promotion to chief clerk in the land title office provided him sufficient salary to pursue law studies and he argued cases in city court as early as October 1866.[121] Before Scofield finished his apprenticeship in St. Louis, Papin appointed Scofield to oversee the family interests in a settling a land grant claim, informally called the Loisel land case, filed in the District Court in Nemaha County, Kansas.[122]

The Loisel land case provided Scofield with the opportunity to establish his reputation as a lawyer in Atchison, Kansas. The case involved perfecting the title for over thirty-eight thousand acres located in what became several counties of Missouri and Kansas.[123] In 1802, Regis Loisel obtained a grant of land from the Spanish governor and left the land to his legal

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[117] Certified copy of Certificate of Baptism for Abigail Leontine Terese from St. Joseph's Cathedral, St. Joseph, Missouri, Canfield Papers, Box 4, Folder # 3, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina.

[118] Certified copy of Baptismal Certificate for Marie Helen from St. Therese of Avila Church, St. Louis, Missouri, dated February 26, 1958, Canfield Papers, Box 4, Folder # 11, Archives, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina.

[119] Beatrice Clark Turner, *The Chouteau Family, A Genealogy of Descendants and Collateral Branches* (St. Louis: Turner, 1934), 106. This resource was also digitized to Ancestry.com.

[120] A. Felt to J. Canfield, 3 February 1978 from Canfield Papers, Box 4, Folder #14, Archives, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina.

[121] Trumbull, 11 and Cyrus J. Scofield, St. Louis Circuit Court records, Canfield Papers, Box 4, Folder #14, Archives, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina.

[122] Trumbull, 11.

[123] Frank W. Blackmar, ed. *Kansas*, Vol. II, Standard Publishing Co: Chicago, 1912, 183.

heirs at his death in 1804. Both S. V. Papin and Leontine Cerré Scofield were grandchildren and legal heirs of Loisel.[124] The Loisel heirs experienced difficulty validating their claim to the land under the grant until Congress confirmed the land grant in 1858.[125] With the original tract of land already settled by other parties, Congress awarded over 38,000 acres of vacant land in Jackson, Pottawatomie, Marshall, and Nemaha counties in Kansas to the Loisel heirs on September 6, 1866.[126] The distribution of the land among the Loisel heirs necessitated the filing of a case in the District Court in Nemaha County, Kansas.

By 1869, the Loisel land case required Cyrus Scofield's full attention in Nemaha County. He moved his family to nearby Atchison, Kansas and staffed his home with two live in "domestic servants," an adult female Irish immigrant and a ten-year-old black female child.[127] Perhaps keeping a black child as domestic help during Reconstruction was another influence brought to bear on Scofield through his association with the social elite of St. Louis. Slaveholders before the war, Sylvester and Emeline Papin continued to keep black domestic help in their home after the war.[128] As the head of a household and supervisor of domestic help, Scofield fulfilled a certain manly ideal leftover from the pre-Civil war social order.[129]

Scofield's brother-in-law and mentor Sylvester Papin died suddenly in San Francisco, California on December 26, 1870. Emeline traveled to San Francisco to escort her husband's body back to St. Louis for the funeral services at Calvary Cemetery.[130] With no living children,

[124] Clark Turner, 106.
[125] "Kansas," *Daily Globe,* April 24, 1858.
[126] Blackmar, 183.
[127] 1870 Federal Census Record, Atchison Ward 3, Atchison, Kansas, Roll 593_428, Page 224A, Image 451, Ancestry.com (accessed 24 October 2011).
[128] 1850 Federal Census Slave schedules, 1860 Federal Census, St. Louis Ward 2, St. Louis (Independent City, Missouri, Roll M653-649, Page 915, Image 355, Ancestry.com (accessed 12 Oct 2011).
[129] Janet Moore Lindman, "Acting the Manly Christian: White Evangelical Masculinity in Revolutionary Virginia," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 57, no. 2 (April 2000), 395.
[130] Missouri Republican Death Index, December 21, 1870, 2:2, December 25, 1870, 3:7, December 26, 1870, 2:5(D), January 2, 1871, 3:4, March 1, 1871, 2:4, Archives, Missouri Historical Society

Emeline was the sole heir of her husband's substantial estate. Appointed co-administrator with her brother-in-law Theophile Papin, Emeline elected to take a widow's dower leaving her financially secure for the remainder or her life. Theophile continued to manage Papin's estate and the real estate brokerage, Papin & Brothers.[131] Scofield remained in Atchison, Kansas as the family legal representative for the Loisel land case.

While in Atchison, Kanas, Cyrus Scofield built community and professional connections by associating himself with Republican John J. Ingalls, a lawyer to the Cerré family.[132] Ingalls and Scofield established a law office to manage the family interests in the Loisel land case.[133] In preparation for the case, Ingalls sponsored Scofield for admission to the local Atchison, Kansas bar in 1869.[134] Scofield became confidante and friend to Ingalls as they worked together in the Atchison community.[135] Scofield pursued a political career while he and Ingalls worked on the Loisel land case. In November 1871, Scofield made a successful Republican bid for the Kansas House of Representatives in Atchison County.[136] In the 1871 term, Scofield served as chair of the Judiciary Committee in the state house.[137]

Finding his reelection blocked in Atchison, Kansas, Scofield successfully sought office in Nemaha County, Kansas.[138] On May 23, 1872, the District Court in Nemaha County perfected titles to the 38,000 acres of land for the Loisel heirs and divided the land among the claimants. Scofield obtained deeds to certain tracts on behalf of the Papin and Cerré families who promptly

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[131] Probate Record, Sylvester Vilray Papin, http://www.sos.mo.gov/archives/stlprobate/Default.asp (accessed 27 April 2011).

[132] "A Preacher with a Past," *Kansas City Journal*, 28 December 1899 and "The Kansas Senator," *Oregon State Journal*, February 22, 1873.

[133] 1870 Atchison City Directory, Atchison, Kansas, ancestry.com (accessed 12 Oct 2011).

[134] Trumbull, 16.

[135]Cyrus Scofield, manuscript letter to JJ Ingalls, 9 May 1871, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records, CN014, Series II, Folder #13, Archives, Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas, Texas.

[136] "By Telegraph, Kansas," *"Leavenworth Bulletin*, November 9, 1871.

[137] House Journal, *Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly*, State of Kansas (Topeka: S.S. Prouty, 1872), 184.

[138] Daniel Webster Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas*, (Topeka: George W. Martin Kansas Publishing House, 1875), 604; Canfield, 373 citing "A Bit of Kansas History, *Kansas City Journal*, 3 August 1921.

offered those tracts for sale from offices in Kansas and Missouri.[139] Theophile Papin handled land sales in St. Louis while Scofield offered lots available through the Atchison, Kansas office.[140] Between his political office, his growing legal reputation, and his brokerage of the land lots, Cyrus Scofield's professional status seemed secure in Kansas.

By 1872, President Grant's Republican administration blazed hot with rumors of corruption and the atmosphere affected local politics in Kansas as well.[141] The allegations of purchased Senate seats and vote buying schemes to push measures in the United States Senate that were favorable to the president's agenda appeared in major city newspapers such as the *Chicago Tribune*. Not immune from scandal's reach in the Kansas House of Representatives, Scofield became connected to a vote-buying investigation, which stemmed from Republican Samuel C. Pomeroy's reelection bid for United States Senator in 1873.

As a representative from Nemaha County, Scofield played some role in Pomeroy's defeat but only recounted a self-aggrandizing version of the episode in the *Life Story*. At times a Pomeroy supporter, Scofield said he became aware of an attempt to unseat Senator Pomeroy in a late night meeting in Topeka, Kansas just before the 1873 election.[142] Scofield said he knew Pomeroy to be "notorious for land corruption deals" which was consistent with his reputation throughout Kansas in 1872 and 1873.[143] An anti-Pomeroy caucus developed among the house members after the exposure of the so-called "Ross Letter" rocked Kansas politics in early 1872. In the "Ross Letter," Senator Pomeroy allegedly detailed a plan for arranging contracts to sell

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[139] Blackmar, 183.

[140] William Elsey Connelley, ed.by Frank W. Blackmar, Vol. II, *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans* (Chicago: Standard Publishing, 1918) 182-183.

[141] Jean Edward Smith, *Grant*, (New York: Touchstone, 2001), 418.

[142] "A Preacher with a Past."

[143] Martha B. Caldwell, "Pomeroy's 'Ross Letter': Genuine or Forgery?, Kansas Historical Society, August 1944, vol. 13, 7, (463-472), 463, http://www.kshs.org/p/kansas-historical-quarterly-pomeroy-s-ross-letter-genuine-or-forgery/12999 (accessed 11 Oct 2011), Trumbull, 17.

goods to "Potawatomie" in exchange for sharing part of the profits with the Indian agent.[144] The letter threatened Senator Pomeroy's reelection campaign throughout the year though Scofield never mentioned the "Ross Letter" in the *Life Story*.

The anti-Pomeroy caucus hoped the "Ross letter" would be enough to cause Senator Pomeroy's defeat but he still seemed favored to win the Senate seat as late as January 1873. Just before the election, the caucus learned of another allegation against Pomeroy that overshadowed the "Ross Letter." The anti-Pomeroy caucus believed Pomeroy was paying house members to vote for him in the upcoming Senatorial election. Cyrus Scofield said that the caucus convinced him that Senator Pomeroy was "buying votes" from other legislative members and asked him to nominate an alternative name for the Senatorial election.[145] Perhaps hedging his bets, Scofield said he told the anti-Pomeroy caucus that he planned to nominate fellow law associate, John J. Ingalls.

On January 24, 1873, during the state house meeting certain members nominated Senator Pomeroy as expected along with seven other men to the 1873 United States Senate seat.[146] In the initial round of voting, no candidate prevailed but Scofield voted for Senator Pomeroy while Ingalls received one vote by an unnamed member.[147] Scofield did not mention his initial vote for Senator Pomeroy in the *Life Story*. On January 29, 1872, the Kansas house and senate met in joint session to vote again for their United States Senator. In the joint session, state senator Alexander M. York unexpectedly addressed the members and displayed $7000 that he claimed Pomeroy paid to him "in consideration of a promise to vote for him for Senator."[148] York

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[144] Caldwell, 464

[145] Trumbull, 18.

[146] House Journal, *Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly*, State of Kansas (Topeka: S.S. Prouty, 1873), 237.

[147] House Journal, 1873, 237.

[148] "Kansas", *The Chicago Tribune*, 10 Feb 1873

claimed that he knew of other members that Pomeroy paid to secure their votes in the contentious election although he named no one at the time.[149]

In the *Life Story,* Scofield claimed that after York displayed the money there was a stunned silence on the house floor. In the awkward silence, Scofield said he nominated John J. Ingalls to the open Senate seat for Kansas.[150] The House Journal actually recorded that house member "Mr. Guerin" nominated Ingalls in the joint legislative session.[151] In either case, the exposure of the alleged vote-buying scheme defeated Pomeroy for the open Senate seat and Ingalls received a near unanimous vote from the members of the joint session. The House Journal reflected that Scofield moved to appoint a committee of three to await Ingalls arrival on the house floor to accept the election results.[152] Ingalls remained untainted by the scheme and served as a Kansas Senator for eighteen years.[153] Several years after the contentious election, Ingalls reflected on his surprise upset of Senator Pomeroy in 1873. Senator Ingalls stated that an "opportunity knocked at his door in a private caucus" but he never mentioned Scofield by name.[154]

Scofield's fateful association with the ousted Senator Pomeroy grew worse throughout 1873. The vote buying allegations sparked such an outcry in Kansas politics that the Kansas press forgot the "Ross Letter" and focused instead on the vote-buying scheme. A multilevel investigation ensued.[155] On February 8, 1873, the house members of the Pomeroy Investigation Committee took statements in its inquiry of the alleged Pomeroy scheme.[156] Pomeroy insisted

[149] House Journal, 1873, 1055.
[150] Trumbull, 19.
[151] House Journal, 1873, 244-245
[152] House Journal, 1873, 244-245
[153] "Kansas," *The Chicago Tribune,* 10 Feb 1873.
[154] Ingalls, 392.
[155] Caldwell, 472.
[156]"Pomeroy Defeated," *The Chicago Tribune,* Jan. 30, 1873

the whole incident was a "plot to defeat his reelection."[157] The United States Senate agreed with Senator Pomeroy's assertion and declined to act on the allegations. Even though the United States Senate declined to take action on the matter, the district attorney's office in Topeka, Kansas continued its investigation into the allegations."[158]

In a strange twist, Senator Ingalls nominated Scofield as United States Attorney for Kansas just one week after taking his senatorial seat.[159] In anticipation of his nomination to the federal position by Senator Ingalls, Scofield traveled to Washington, D. C. to meet with Orville E. Babcock, aide to President Grant, to discuss his potential appointment as United States attorney for Kansas.[160] The meeting with Orville Babcock proved successful as President Grant appointed Scofield as the United States attorney for the District of Kansas and on March 19, 1873.[161] A few years later, Scofield told Babcock that he felt, "laid under obligation" for the "official courtesy" Babcock extended during Scofield's Washington visit.[162] The Pomeroy investigation soon landed on the desk of Scofield as state's highest prosecutorial attorney.

On June 8, 1873, Scofield took the oath of office as the United States Attorney for Kansas, which vaulted him to the top of his profession at twenty-nine years old.[163] Though skeptical at first, the Atchison community eventually accepted Scofield's term as a United States

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[157] House Journal, 1873, 1057.

[158] Caldwell, 472.

[159] John J Ingalls, manuscript letter, President Ulysses S. Grant, March 11 1873. NARA, College Park, Maryland.

[160] Cyrus Scofield, manuscript letter, General Orville Babcock, 10 December 1875, Orville E. Babcock Papers, Archives, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.

[161] "Nominations," *Chicago Tribune*, March 20, 1873

[162] C. Scofield to O. Babcock, 10 December 1875

[163] Wilder, 382; Canfield, 61; Mangum and Sweetnam, 39-40, 228 (FN6). Joseph M. Canfield argued that Scofield committed "rank perjury" upon taking the oath of office for his federal appointment but such an argument is moot since newer research shows that Scofield swore allegiance to the United States long before his federal appointment in 1873. In addition, Scofield said he never swore allegiance to the Confederacy against the United States. Todd Mangum rightly contextualized Scofield's oath within Reconstruction era history but even that now seems unnecessary. Scofield's repudiation of the south with an oath of loyalty to federal authority dismisses any thought of perjury. A more provocative question to consider was whether Scofield actually upheld the laws of the United States after taking the oath as a United States Attorney.

attorney with "high hopes' and praised him for his "display of legal skill."[164] Yet, only six months later on December 14, 1873, the *Chicago Tribune* published a dispatch out of Leavenworth, Kansas announcing "an abominable chapter of crime will be unfolded before many days involving high Kansas officials."[165] The story reported that Senator Pomeroy filed affidavits with state senator John Martin identifying "high officials" to whom he paid large sums of money to prevent his prosecution on bribery charges.[166]

In another dispatch from Leavenworth, Kansas on December 15, the *Chicago Tribune* reported that the *Leavenworth Times* advised it would publish a full disclosure of the allegations made in Pomeroy's affidavits. The paper indicated that only Scofield and Pomeroy were "implicated in the bargain" to silence the investigation.[167] The *Tribune* also reported that Scofield "will be left in an unpleasant position before the public if the disclosures are made" from Pomeroy's affidavits. The *Tribune* article reported that the affidavits would show that Pomeroy paid Scofield $1000 to "quash the investigation." The *Tribune* reporter also allowed, "it may turn out that Scofield is the victim of a Pomeroy conspiracy, but his case looks deplorably sad in light of the present statements."[168] On the same day as this story appeared in the *Chicago Tribune*, Scofield officially declined to prosecute Samuel Pomeroy in the vote buying investigation.[169] Less than a week later on December 20, 1873, Scofield suddenly resigned his position as United States attorney for Kansas just six months into his term.[170]

If the threatened affidavits were payback for Scofield's seemingly limited role in ousting Senator Pomeroy, then Scofield slinked away without protest or public comment. Scofield's

[164] Canfield, 66 citing from *Daily Times Leavenworth*, 14 December 1873.
[165] "Pomeroy, Special Dispatch," *Chicago Tribune*, December 15, 1873.
[166] "Pomeroy, Special Dispatch."
[167] "Pomeroy, Another Dispatch," *Chicago Tribune*, December 15, 1873.
[168] "Pomeroy, Another Dispatch."
[169] Wilder, 633.
[170] Resignation Letter of Cyrus Scofield, December 20, 1873, U.S. Department of Justice, National Archives, Group 60, Washington, D.C.

friend and associate Senator Ingalls offered no defense for Scofield. Though Senator Ingalls did not mention the Pomeroy matter specifically, he implied that Scofield hit an ethical low in his final year in Atchison, Kansas. Senator Ingalls remarked, "no man can doubt the efficacy of the scheme of Christian salvation with the record of Scofield in view."[171]

In the *Life Story*, Scofield said he served a two-year term as the United States Attorney and resigned due to "dissatisfaction with the political life."[172] Joseph M. Canfield exposed the bribery allegations in his biography and left little doubt that he believed Scofield guilty of bribery or worse.[173] The forgiving Todd Mangum defended Scofield by suggesting the alleged vote-buying scheme was a "sting operation" that led to Scofield's downfall.[174] Mangum did not address the discrepancy created by Scofield claiming he served two years in his federal appointment rather than six months. The Department of Justice still describes Scofield as "one of the most colorful U.S. Attorneys" and noted he resigned "due to questionable financial transactions" and was "jailed in St. Louis on forgery charges."[175]

Though Topeka officials never prosecuted Cyrus Scofield or Senator Samuel Pomeroy for any of the bribery allegations, Scofield never recovered his reputation. As Mangum described the Kansas episode, "he [Scofield] was brought down by a scandal that destroyed his political career, his legal career, his marriage, his reputation, and really his whole life."[176] In fact, the scandal stripped Cyrus Scofield of every gendered role he created after leaving the battlefield of the Civil War.

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[171] "A Preacher with a Past."
[172] Trumbull, 25.
[173] Canfield, 66.
[174] Mangum and Sweetnam, 42.
[175] "History," .u. d., http://www.justice.gov/usao/ks/history.html (accessed 27 April 2011).
[176] Mangum and Sweetnam, 42.

## Atchison's "Peer Among Scalawags"

In the *Life Story*, Dr. Scofield implied he left Atchison, Kansas soon after his resignation to resume the practice of law in St. Louis, Missouri.[177] In fact, according to newspaper stories, Cyrus Scofield left Kansas in disgrace and in avoidance of debts owed to fellow Atchison residents. Even though Scofield apparently faced no prosecution in Kansas, Atchison's citizens labeled him a "shyster…and a peer among scalawags."[178] His reputation in Kansas never improved.

The press widely publicized Pomeroy's allegations about Scofield but the immediate cause of Scofield's resignation from the United States attorney position remains in dispute. According to the *Kansas City Journal*, Scofield resigned his federal appointment "due to shady financial transactions which left him indebted in a number of thousands to a score of prominent Republicans."[179] The shady transactions involved Scofield reportedly soliciting funds from Atchison residents on behalf of then Senator Ingalls. One resident claimed to give Scofield $2000 because he thought he was providing confidential financing for Senator Ingalls. Scofield reportedly "plucked" thousands of dollars from Atchison residents using this scheme.[180]

According to the *Journal* article, the "shady nature of Scofield's transactions became known to Ingalls and the money lenders and then followed an explosion which compelled Scofield to resign his federal office and leave the state."[181] It is important to note that when the *Kansas City Journal* outlined Scofield's downfall, it did not mention that former Senator Pomeroy gave the state prosecutor information that left Scofield in "an unpleasant position

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[177] Trumbull, 26.
[178] "Cyrus I. Schofield [sic] in the Role of a Congregational Minister," *Topeka Daily Capital*, August 27, 1881.
[179] "A Preacher with a Past."
[180] "A Preacher with a Past."
[181] A Preacher with a Past."

before the public."[182] Years later Scofield acknowledged his indebtedness to Kansans according to the *Journal* which reported, "when approached by Kansas creditors Parson Scofield declared that he is poor and unable to pay, but that he has never failed to do the right and easy thing by renewing his notes."[183]

After the disastrous resignation, Cyrus Scofield and his family returned to St. Louis, Missouri and relied again on the support of his sisters, especially Emeline Scofield Papin. While staying at the Papin home in the Webster Groves section of St. Louis, Cyrus and Leontine's toddler son Guy Sylvester died of scarlet fever on December 21, 1874.[184] The family buried Guy Sylvester a few days before his second birthday in Calvary Cemetery with other Papin and Cerré relatives.[185] Charles Trumbull included nothing about Guy Sylvester Scofield in the *Life Story* or about Cyrus Scofield's struggle to keep his family together after returning to St. Louis, Missouri in 1874.

Between January 1874 and the spring of 1877, Cyrus Scofield tried to establish a law practice in St. Louis, Missouri.[186] Hoping to use an old political connection, Scofield unsuccessfully solicited General Orville E. Babcock to be his client in late 1875.[187] While reading the morning newspaper in St. Louis on December 10, 1875, Cyrus Scofield noted the United States District Court in St. Louis indicted General Babcock in the alleged Whiskey Ring. The following day Scofield wrote to General Babcock from 1224 Washington Avenue in St. Louis, an office used by his brother-in-law Dr. Eames for a dentist office. In the letter, Scofield

[182] "Pomeroy," *The Chicago Tribune*, December 15, 1873.
[183] "A Preacher with a Past, *Kansas City Journal*, December 28, 1899.
[184] St. Louis City Death Records, 1850-1902, Vol. 6B, page 111, Ancestry.com (accessed 11 Oct 2011).
[185] Burial records of Archdiocese of St. Louis, http://search.stlcathcem.org/default.aspx (accessed 27 April 2011).
[186] City Directories of Kansas and St. Louis for the years 1874, 1875, and 1876 do not reflect a listing for Cyrus Scofield . Likewise, neither the 1875 Kansas State Census record nor the 1876 Missouri State Census record includes Scofield.
[187] C. Scofield to O. Babcock, 10 December 1875.

offered Babcock *pro bono* legal counsel for Babcock's upcoming trial on the Whiskey Ring indictment.[188]

In Scofield's letter, he referred to Babcock's indictment as an effort of Missouri politicians to create "political capital" by opposing Republican politics.[189] Scofield offered Babcock his services as a lawyer and "such influences as I have or can control."[190] Scofield cautioned Babcock to take the trial very seriously because of the political climate in Missouri.[191] As if speaking from his own experience, Scofield warned Babcock about the "juices of Missouri rebels, whose religion it is to believe every Republican and every friend and well-wisher of President Grant a thief & scoundrel."[192] On December 28, 1875, Babcock replied to Scofield's "kind offer" and said he "would be glad to meet you when I get into St. Louis."[193] It seems that Babcock did not hire Scofield as part of his trial team since the struggling lawyer's name did not appear on the counsel list for Orville Babcock's trial held in February 1876.[194]

Scofield continued to try to establish a law practice in St. Louis until early 1877. In 1876, Scofield submitted information for the 1877 St. Louis City directory to reflect his law office moved to 206 N. 8th Street and listed his residence at 3029 Dickson Street.[195] In June 1877, Scofield allegedly obtained money from Jeptha Simpson using a forged promissory note in the name of his sister, Emeline Scofield Papin. In August 1877, Simpson filed a complaint to recover his money in the Circuit Court of St. Louis County against Emeline Scofield Papin and

[188] C. Scofield to O. Babcock, 10 December 1875. The Whiskey Ring was an elaborate tax evasion scheme perpetrated by some Republicans to raise campaign funds through whiskey sales in Missouri. The federal indictment charged Orville Babcock as a co-conspirator to defraud the U.S. Treasury from taxes associated with whiskey sales. Babcock was acquitted after testimony by President Grant. See Timothy Rives, "Grant, Babcock, and the Whiskey Ring," *Prologue*, Fall 2000, 32, no. 3, http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2000/fall/whiskey-ring-1.html (accessed 26 October 2011).

[189] C. Scofield to O. Babcock, 10 December 1875.

[190] C. Scofield to O. Babcock, 10 December 1875.

[191] C. Scofield to O. Babcock, 10 December 1875.

[192] C. Scofield to O. Babcock, 10 December 1875.

[193] C. Scofield to O. Babcock, 10 December 1875.

[194] Jennifer Audsley to author, 24 September 2011, Kansas City, Missouri.

[195] 1877 St. Louis City Directory, St. Louis, Missouri, Canfield Papers.

Cyrus Scofield. Simpson alleged Scofield endorsed Emeline's name on the promissory note. Emeline Papin denied any involvement in the note but Scofield abandoned his St. Louis address and avoided service of the complaint.[196]

A few months later, Scofield tried another confidence scheme on a young woman in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.[197] On November 29, 1877, the *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* reported authorities arrested Charles Ingerson, later identified as Cyrus Scofield, for vagrancy after he accrued a lodging bill at the Metropolitan Hotel in Milwaukee. According to the newspaper, Mr. Ingerson "pretended to be the owner of a 1300-acre plantation near Mobile" to "pave the way to a union with a fair daughter of the South Side." [198] On December 4, 1877, the *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* reported that Ingerson [Scofield] would be freed because "his affianced settled the board-bill and the course of true love will again run smooth."[199] Two days passed before Scofield entered his *nolle* plea to the vagrancy charge.[200]

A few days later on December 17, the Milwaukee paper reported that local authorities arrested Scofield again on a charge of vagrancy for lack of funds to pay his bills at the hotel. This time the paper reported Scofield still talked openly about his cotton plantation but had since exhausted the funds of his female companion. [201] On December 28, 1877, the court dismissed this charge against Scofield causing the paper to report, "Charles Ingerson has made another

[196] C. Scofield, Circuit Court Records, St. Louis Missouri, Canfield Papers.

[197] James Lutzweiler shared his groundbreaking research on Scofield's Wisconsin schemes and aliases with David Lutzweiler for publication who graciously shared the primary sources with this author. See James Lutzweiler, "The Many Conversions of Fundamentalist Saint, Cyrus Ingerson Scofield: 'Peer Among Scalawags'" and the Golden Goose of Oxford University Press—and Texan; (unpublished paper, 14 September 2009); David Lutzweiler, *The Praise of Folly: The Enigmatic Life & Theology of C.I. Scofield*, (Draper: Apologetics Group Media, 2009), 79.

[198] *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, November 29, 1877.

[199] *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, December 4, 1877.

[200] "Courts, " *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, December 6, 1877.

[201] "Courts, " *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, December 17, 1877.

clear run through the Municipal Court. The charge of vagrancy can't be sustained."[202] The persuasive young lawyer headed back to St. Louis where perhaps his presence prompted the filing of another alleged forgery case.[203] In April 1878, a case nearly identical to the Jeptha Simpson petition appeared on the St. Louis Circuit court docket.[204] On May 20, 1878, the *Globe-Democrat* reported that, "Schofield [sic] had his case-charge forgery- again continued."[205]

Again, Scofield avoided service by leaving St. Louis. He returned to Horicon, Wisconsin, just outside Milwaukee in late summer of 1878.[206] This time Scofield used the alias Cyrus Ingerson instead of Charles Ingerson. "Ingerson's" arrival in Horicon appeared in the social news of the *Daily Sentinel*, which reported he was from St. Louis and lodged at the Winter House.[207] This time his ruse lasted a mere six weeks before the newspaper exposed him as "Cyrus Schofield [sic] alias, Chas. Ingerson" on October 3, 1878.[208] The *Daily Sentinel* article reported that Scofield who had been present in the area since July was the same man who failed to pay his bill at the Metropolitan Hotel in Milwaukee a year ago.[209] The article also noted that the local deputy sheriff lodged Scofield in the county jail to await transportation back to St. Louis, Missouri for adjudication of his forgery charges in that city.

On October 3, 1878, the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* in an article headlined "Gone for Cyrus Scofield" announced the location of Scofield "who skipped St. Louis some months ago."[210] The newspaper reported that an October 1 dispatch notified Chief of Police James

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[202] "Court Paragraphs," *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, December 28, 1877.
[203] C. Scofield, Circuit Court Records, St. Louis, Missouri, Canfield Papers.
[204] C. Scofield, Circuit Court Records, St. Louis, Missouri, Canfield Papers.
[205] "Four Courts Notes," *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, 20 May 1878.
[206] C. Scofield, Circuit Court Records, St. Louis, Missouri, Canfield Papers.
[207] *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, August 19, 1878.
[208] "Town Talk," *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, 3 October 1878.
[209] "Horicon," *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, 7 October 1878.
[210] "Gone for Cyrus Scofield, " *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, 3 October, 1878, page 5, issue 135, col. B; "Town Talk," *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, 3 October , 1878.

McDonough [St. Louis] that he was holding Scofield in his jail "awaiting your order."[211] St. Louis officials planned to go to Horicon, Wisconsin and pick up Scofield for transportation back to the St. Louis jail.[212] On October 8, 1878, Scofield arrived at the St. Louis jail to await a trial date on his forgery charges.[213] Scofield remained jailed much of the year.

On November 6, 1879, after several continuances the court disposed of Scofield's forgery charges because the prosecution failed to produce enough evidence to sustain the charges. The judge entered a *nolle prosequi* and dismissed the criminal case. The *St. Louis Republican* newspaper reported that Scofield employed "Mr. Martin to defend him" saying he intended to fight "vigorously" if the case went to trial.[214] The article noted Mr. Scofield had little fear of conviction but was relieved the court terminated the case. The paper also referred to Scofield as a "gentleman well known as having occupied positions of trust."[215] An article in the *Topeka Daily Capital* hinted at the extent of Emeline's assistance to her brother reporting that Scofield's "wealthy sister came forward" and paid him out of his forgeries.[216]

About the same time as the alleged forgery cases, Scofield reportedly defrauded his mother-in-law out of a large sum of money. Purportedly, Scofield "wrote to his wife [from St. Louis, Missouri to Atchison, Kansas] that he could invest some $1300 of her mother's money, all she had, in a manner that would return big interest."[217] Leontine apparently forwarded her mother's money to Scofield but the investment turned out to be a fraud. All of the schemes and rumors seemed to indicate Cyrus Scofield devolved into a desperate financial and personal

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[211] "Gone for Cyrus Scofield."
[212] "Gone for Cyrus Scofield."
[213] "Town News," *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, 8 October 1878.
[214] *St. Louis Republican*, 7 November 1879.
[215] C. Scofield, Circuit Court Records, St. Louis, Missouri, Canfield Papers.
[216] "Cyrus I. Schofield [sic] in the Role of a Congregational Minister," *Topeka Daily Capital*, August 28, 1881.
[217] "Cyrus I. Schofield [sic] in the Role of a Congregational Minister."

situation between 1877 and 1879.[218] Permanently separated, Leontine and her daughters returned to the family home in Atchison, Kansas where she took employment with A. L. de Gignac & Co. to "work for their [the children] support and mine."[219] Leontine's widowed mother also moved in with the fatherless family to assist with the children.[220]

After settling the forgery charges in November 1879, the downtrodden Cyrus Scofield visited a Washington Avenue mission in downtown St. Louis and found a new life in Christianity.[221] By 1880, Scofield rented room at 1000 Locust Street in St. Louis and pondered a life in Christian ministry though he still referred to himself as married and his occupation as lawyer.[222] Separated from Cyrus Scofield for several years Leontine Cerré Scofield and her daughters, Abigail and Helene, had returned the family home in Atchison, Kansas. Later that year, the priest of St. Benedicts Church in Atchison confirmed Cyrus Scofield's twelve-year-old daughter, Abigail Scofield.[223] The absent father did not attend this important event in his daughter's religious life. Instead, Scofield "once in a great while" sent five dollars to the children while he cultivated a new life.[224]

Charles Trumbull reported nothing of the mission or any jail time in the *Life Story*. In the *Life Story*, Scofield related that "from 1865 until 1879 his [Scofield's] life was intense, largely a life of combat in courts and politics which not seldom become embittered."[225] Deserved or not, Scofield's reputation and livelihood suffered terribly from Atchison rumors and he remained

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[218] "Cyrus I. Schofield [sic] in the Role of a Congregational Minister."

[219] "Cyrus I. Schofield [sic] in the Role of a Congregational Minister." See also 1880 Atchison City directory, which listed Mrs. Scofield's employment. Ancestry.com (accessed on 11 October 2011.

[220] 1873 Atchison City Directory, Atchison, Kansas, Ancestry.com (accessed on 11 October 2011).

[221] B. Montlau to C.I. Scofield, 15 December 1920.

[222] 1880 St. Louis City Directory, St. Louis, Missouri, Ancestry.com (accessed 11 October 2011); and B. Montlau, manuscript letter to C.I. Scofield, 15 December 15 1920, Central American Mission Papers, Non-Indexed, Archives, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina; 1880 Federal Census Record, Carondolet, St. Louis, Missouri, Roll 715, Page 50C, Image 0520, Ancestry.com (accessed 11 October 2011).

[223] Certificate of Confirmation for Abigail Scofield, Canfield Papers, Box 4, Folder #9, Archives, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina.

[224] "Cyrus I. Schofield [sic] in the Role of a Congregational Minister."

[225] Trumbull, 26.

unwilling to clarify what really happened in those years even for his biography. Perhaps the whole business needed no further clarification than his reported acknowledgement that he still owed several Atchison residents a considerable sum of money as late as 1899.[226]

As seems evident from their absence in the *Life Story*, Scofield also intended to keep his marital status and the abandoned children hidden from his followers. Scofield kept up this charade his entire life even though he and his daughters maintained limited contact until shortly before his death in 1921.[227] One explanation for Scofield's secrecy regarding his first wife Leontine Cerré Scofield and his daughters came from Wilbur M. Smith, a seminary professor and co-editor of the new Scofield study Bible. Smith received his early Bible training at Moody Bible Institute, his Doctor of Divinity from Dallas Theological Seminary, and was acquainted with many of Scofield's friends.[228] In 1959, William A. BeVier requested insight from Wilbur Smith on Cyrus Scofield as part of his thesis research. Though Smith confessed he only met Dr. Scofield a couple of times, he responded in part:

> *"a fact which no one of all the evangelicals known to me ever heard I came upon some months ago, and that is, a daughter of Dr. Scofield was a Roman Catholic. The clipping sent to me said that Dr. Scofield's daughter, Mrs. Abigail Scofield Kellogg, had just passed away at the age of eighty-nine in Atchison, Kansas, and the funeral was held in the Roman Catholic Church there, with rosary and mass. I wrote to the Catholic priest to check this, and he replied that this was true, and furthermore, another daughter, who*

[226] "A Preacher with a Past."

[227] Cyrus Scofield, manuscript letter to Abbie, 21 May 1921, CN014, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records, Series II, Folder 13, Archives, Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas, Texas.

[228] W. Smith to W. BeVier, William A. BeVier Collection.

*died some time ago, had also been buried by him, and Mrs. Scofield herself was a Roman Catholic. This was not known to any evangelical in this country apparently."*[229]

Smith's palpable shock that Scofield harbored Roman Catholics in his proverbial closet echoed the anti-Catholic attitudes of conservative Protestants in Dallas during Scofield's ministry years.[230] In 1909, Scofield expressed his anti-Catholic sentiments in *The Scofield Reference Bible* where he referred to Catholics as pagans.[231] Of course, Dr. Scofield arrogantly sent one of his freshly published reference Bibles to each of his Catholic daughters.[232] In the *Life Story*, Dr. Scofield gave the impression that he remained unmarried until he and Hettie Wartz married in Dallas in 1884. Perhaps the twentieth century evangelical community had little desire or opportunity to acknowledge Scofield's Roman Catholic family among the brethren.

[229] W. Smith to W. BeVier, William A. BeVier Collection.

[230] On anti-Catholicism of Scofield's religious colleagues see J. David Holcomb, "A Millstone Hanged about his Neck,?": George W. Truett, anti-Catholicism, and Baptist Conceptions of Religious Liberty," *Baptist History and Heritage* 43, no. 3 (Summer-Fall 2008) (accessed online at Academic OneFile 25 October 2011). George Truett served as pastor of First Baptist Church of Dallas between 1897 and 1944. In 1916, Truett contributed to a series of tribute letters used in a testimonial dinner to honor Scofield on his birthday. For tribute letter, see George Truett to W. A. Nason, manuscript letter, 10 October 1916, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.

[231] Scofield, *The Scofield Reference Bible*, 1332, footnote to Revelation 1:20, Michael Phillips, *White Metropolis: Race Ethnicity, and Religion in Dallas, 1841-2001*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), 92.

[232] Cyrus Scofield to Helen Scofield Barlow, manuscript letter, 30 September 1909, C.I. Scofield Papers.

# CHAPTER 4

## REVIVED AND REBORN

By 1879, Cyrus Ingerson Scofield's loss of profession and the destruction of his reputation left him "a ruined and hopeless man."[233] Once vibrant and successful among elite men, Scofield found himself stripped of his political and legal position, his cultured family, and his reputation.[234] Reflecting on his losses in the *Life Story*, Scofield observed, "great opportunities had indeed been given to me, and for years I made them my own. But slowly, insidiously, the all but universal habit of drink in the society and among the men of my time overmastered me."[235] Even in his despair, Scofield turned to the few means available to him to demonstrate his manliness through drinking and carousing.[236]

For Scofield recovery of his manhood meant restoring his honor and virtue among men through a new profession and new community.[237] As Dr. Scofield expressed in the *Life Story*, "men were beginning to turn away from him" before his Christian conversion made possible a remarkable turnaround in his professional and personal life.[238] After conversion, Cyrus Scofield became a Congregational minister who approached his Biblical training much as he did his study of literature and law.[239] This chapter examines Cyrus Scofield's early ministry and Bible training in Dallas, Texas between 1882 and 1895.

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[233] Trumbull, 30.
[234] Foster, 25.
[235] Trumbull, 30.
[236] Lindman, 395.
[237] Men often equated the loss of reputation with the loss of manhood. Foster, 25.
[238] Trumbull, 31.
[239] Trumbull, 56.

The Bible Conversion and Early Bible Training in St. Louis, Missouri

In the 1919 interviews with Cyrus Scofield, Charles Trumbull sought to establish the facts "as Dr. Scofield wished them to be known" regarding the editor's salvation experience.[240] In fact, Dr. Scofield admitted that all sorts of "inaccurate and misleading stories" existed about his Christian conversion experience.[241] At least one account of Scofield's conversion to the Christian faith claimed he found salvation in a St. Louis city jail.[242] Another conversion account surfaced after Scofield spoke of being converted in a Washington Avenue mission in St. Louis, Missouri.[243] In the *Life Story*, Dr. Scofield identified Thomas McPheeters, a prominent warehouse owner and head of the St. Louis Young Men's Christian Ministry Association (Y.M.C.A.), as the man who prayed with Scofield to receive what he called a "Bible conversion."[244]

After Trumbull's initial interview session, Dr. Scofield wrote again to Trumbull asking him to make certain points about the conversion plain in the final publication of the story. Scofield wrote that he wanted to "correct the notion that it was a brilliant successful man who, in my person, came to Christ."[245] Instead, he called himself a "ruined and hopeless man" who found the salvation to free the "chains of his own forging."[246] Though Scofield obliquely credited his near destruction to the use of alcohol, he revealed no other details about the "insidious" decline

[240] Trumbull, 30.
[241] Trumbull, 29.
[242] Cyrus I. Schofield [sic] in the Role of a Congregational Minister."
[243] B. Montlau to C. Scofield, 15 December 1920. On the many conversion stories related to C. I. Scofield see James Lutzweiler, "The Many Conversions of Fundamentalist Saint, Cyrus Ingerson Scofield: 'Peer Among Scalawags'" and the Golden Goose of Oxford University Press—and East Texan." (paper presented to East Texas Historical Association, Nacogdoches, Texas, 24 September 2011). Many thanks to James Lutzweiler for sharing the Montlau letter and his remarkable article on the conversions of C. I. Scofield with this author.
[244] Trumbull, 27, 31. Scofield told Trumbull the meeting with McPheeters occurred in Scofield's law office. Arno Gaebelein indicated the two men met through the Y.M.C.A. Gaebelein, *The History of the Scofield Reference Bible*, 22. See Kathleen C. Boone, *The Bible Tells Them so: The Discourse of Protestant Fundamentalism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989) on fundamentalist use of the word "Bible" as a means of conveying authority about an event.
[245] It appears that Trumbull included the full text of the Scofield's letter in the *Life Story*. Trumbull, 31.
[246] Trumbull, 31.

he referred to in the *Life Story* that led up to his Christian salvation experience.[247] It seems Scofield sought to emphasize that a sincere change resulted from his conversion rather than the exact circumstances and timing of the event. As Trumbull put it, "the secret of Dr. Scofield's victorious life" was his Bible conversion.[248]

Scofield claimed he never attended church during his adult years and professed "ignorance of the Word" at the time of his acceptance of Christianity.[249] Scofield secured male Christian role models immediately after his conversion including Dr. James H. Brookes, pastor of the Walnut Street Presbyterian Church, and Rev. C. L. Goodell, pastor of the Pilgrim Congregational Church. Brookes and Goodell mentored Scofield and other young men through the interdenominational efforts of the Y.M.C.A.[250]

At the time of Scofield's conversion, the St. Louis Y.M.C.A served as the meeting site for D. L. Moody's evangelism campaign that ran from November 1879 through April 1880. Goodell and the Pilgrim Congregational Church provided extensive support to fellow Congregationalist Moody during the six-month revival.[251] Scofield first met Moody in an afternoon campaign meeting but the two men met again privately in Rev. Goodell's study.[252] After their first meeting, Scofield assisted with Moody's campaign and continued work with the Y.M.C.A.; Scofield maintained both relationships throughout his life.[253]

James Brookes played a crucial role not only in Scofield's spiritual discipleship, but also in Scofield's personal rehabilitation. Scofield described Brookes as a "tender and helpful man"

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[247] Trumbull, 30.
[248] Trumbull, 32.
[249] Trumbull, 31, 56.
[250] Stevens, 744. Established in 1875, the St. Louis Y.M.C.A. offered lodging and educational training to young men to promote their Christian character. Dr. Brookes church was renamed the Washington and Compton Avenues Presbyterian Church. On the interdenominational use of such organizations as evangelistic tools, see Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism,* Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 1991), 12.
[251] Scharf, 1748.
[252] Canfield, 198.
[253] Trumbull, 34.

who sought him out in the first days of his Christian life and observed that his "personal obligations to him are beyond words."[254] After Scofield's conversion, Brookes befriended the young convert and invited into his home for Bible studies.[255] Scofield credited Brookes with guiding him into Biblical truth and preparing him for Christian ministry.[256] Scofield described his Bible study with Brookes as "intensive preparation" which included the study of "three standard treatises on systematic theology" and other works on "church history, pastoral theology, and homiletics."[257] Brookes maintained a theological library in his home that his son described as "a thing of lore" but Scofield never divulged the names of his training texts. [258]

In need of a church home, Scofield said he felt led to join Goodell's Pilgrim Congregational Church after his conversion.[259] Perhaps Moody and Goodell influenced Scofield's decision to join the Congregational church, but the association also continued a long Scofield tradition of Puritan-influenced Congregationalism. Scofield boasted of his English ancestry and in later years kept a sketch of his family coat of arms and an ancestral castle on display in the entryway of his home.[260] Scofield and Goodell shared a Puritan heritage and English ancestry.[261] Goodell's mentorship of Scofield led him to a preaching ministry in downtown St. Louis and the St. Louis Association of Congregational Churches issued Scofield a local preaching license in 1880. He organized Hyde Park Congregational Church and an East St. Louis railroad meeting of the Y.M.C.A.[262] Scofield's downtown ministries and Bible studies

[254] David Riddle Williams, *James H. Brookes: A Memoir*, (St. Louis: Buschart Bros. Print, 1897), 281.
[255] Trumbull, 35.
[256] B. Montlau to C. Scofield, 15 December 1920.
[257] Trumbull, 44. Trumbull did not provide the names of any of the referenced works.
[258] Williams, 166.
[259] Trumbull, 37.
[260] Arno C. Gaebelein, 19 and Trumbull, 14.
[261] On Rev. C. L. Goodell, see Thomas J. Scharf, *History of Saint Louis City and County from the Earliest Periods to the Present* Day (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts & Co., 1883), 1747.
[262] Scharf, 1749, James M. Gray, "Testimonial to Rev. C.I. Scofield, D. D.," *Moody Bible Institute Monthly*, October 26, 1916, *550*.

with Rev. Goodell and Dr. Brookes kept him occupied until a he left St. Louis, Missouri permanently in the summer of 1882.

## Preaching License Suspended

On June 2, 1881, word spread in Atchison, Kansas of Scofield's conversion and assumption of pastoral duties when a brief news article in *The Atchison Globe* reported that C.I. Schofield [sic], who "turned out worse than any other Kansas official" was now a "Campbellite preacher in Missouri."[263] The story reported that Scofield contributed "nothing but good advice" to the support of his wife and two children who still lived in the Atchison community.[264] In July 1882, the St. Louis licensing board suspended Scofield's preaching license and made a number of recommendations for Scofield to follow before petitioning for reinstatement.[265]

The Atchison press mocked Scofield's new role as a Congregational minister and this resulted in the disclosure of his unsavory past in a more significant story printed by the *Atchison Patriot* and picked up by the *Topeka Daily Capital* on August 27, 1881. This time the headline announced, "Cyrus I Schofield [sic] in the Role of a Congregational Minister, formerly of Kansas, late lawyer, and politician and shyster generally, has come to the surface again."[266] The article disclosed Scofield's role in the St. Louis forgeries and called him malicious and atrocious for defrauding his mother-in law of her money and abandoning his children.[267]

Both Leontine Scofield and Cyrus Scofield provided statements for the article. Mr. Scofield claimed to love the children but complained Leontine's "temper and her religious zeal

[263] "The Little Globe, *"The Globe*, Atchison Kansas, June 2, 1881.
[264] "The Little Globe."
[265] "Various Topics," *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, April 13, 1883. The newspaper did not list the specific recommendations.
[266] "Cyrus I. Schofield [sic] in the Role of a Congregational Minister."
[267] "Cyrus I. Schofield [sic] in the Role of a Congregational Minister."

in the Catholic church was such that he could not possibly live with her."[268] Mrs. Scofield denied her husband's characterization of their marriage saying, "they lived harmoniously and pleasant" and "she was no more zealous than any other church member."[269] The reporter credited sources in St. Louis for providing information for the story and referred to Rev. Goodell as providing chaperonage for Scofield.

In the August 27, 1881, *Topeka Daily Capital* article, Leontine Scofield alluded to the next step for their marriage, "I will gladly give him the matrimonial liberty he desires."[270] At this point, the couple had lived apart for at least four or five years if not longer. The following month, Leontine Scofield signed a divorce petition claiming that Cyrus Scofield "for more than one year…and a long time prior thereto absented himself from his said wife and children" and alleged that the "minor children have all of their lives been under the care of this Plaintiff [Leontine]."[271] Acting as counsel for himself, Cyrus Scofield denied the allegations but inexplicably withdrew his appearance and asked the court to dismiss the petition, which the court dismissed on March 4, 1882.[272] Cyrus Scofield and Leontine Scofield remained legally married but separated.

A few months later, Scofield left the St. Louis area and began temporarily filling the pulpit of the fledgling First Congregational Church in Dallas, Texas in August 1882. Scofield remained at the First Congregational Church for nine months before by an offer of a permanent pastorate at the Dallas church prompted his petition to the St. Louis Congregational Licensing

[268] "Cyrus I. Schofield [sic] in the Role of a Congregational Minister."
[269] "Cyrus I. Schofield [sic] in the Role of a Congregational Minister."
[270] "Cyrus I. Schofield [sic] in the Role of a Congregational Minister."
[271] Petition, Court records from Case No. 2161 and 2681, filed in the District Court for Atchison County, Canfield Papers, Box 4, Folders 7 and 31, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina, 2.
[272] Answer and Motion and Order, Court records from Case No. 2161 and 2681, filed in the District Court for Atchison County, Canfield Papers, Box 4, Folders 7 and 31, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina.

Board for another preaching license.[273] After much discussion and in a less than unanimous vote, the licensing board reinstated Scofield's preaching license in April 1883.[274] There was still no change in Scofield's marital status.

On October 1, 1883, Leontine Scofield filed essentially the same petition for divorce from Cyrus Scofield. This time the divorce proceeded without objection and the court granted the decree on December 8, 1883.[275] The court found Cyrus Scofield guilty of "willful abandonment" and "enjoined Scofield from ever interfering with the custody of the children."[276] Consistent with her Catholic beliefs, after the court granted Mrs. Scofield a divorce on the grounds of abandonment, she began calling herself a widow.[277]

Leontine Scofield continued to reside in Atchison and enjoyed an impeccable though pitied reputation as an abandoned wife and a single parent. In January 1883, the newly formed Atchison Public Library appointed her as its first librarian and she held the position continuously until her retirement in 1916.[278] Atchison historians recalled that Leontine Scofield "endeared herself to thousands of patrons" of the library and praised her "fidelity to the work."[279] Both Mrs. Scofield and her daughters were active members of the educational and social institutions of Atchison throughout their lives and received accolades for their dedication to the Atchison community.[280] Surviving Mr. Scofield by fifteen years, Leontine Cerré Scofield died in

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[273] Minutes, 11, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records, CN014, Series I, Folder 4, Archives, Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas, Texas.

[274] *"Various Topics."*

[275] Petition and Order, Court records from Case No. 2161 and 2681, filed in the District Court for Atchison County, Canfield Papers, Box 4, Folders 7 and 31, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina.

[276] Order, Court records from Case No. 2161 and 2681, filed in the District Court for Atchison County, Canfield Papers, Box 4, Folders 7 and 31, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary.

[277] 1885 Kansas State Census, (accessed 11 October 2011) ancestory.com. No church records for Leontine Scofield's divorce from Cyrus Scofield were available but Leontine continued to receive certain Catholic rites after the divorce. "Scofield Rites," *Atchison Daily Globe*, November 7, 1936.

[278] "History of Atchison County," Ancestry.com (accessed 11 October 2011).

[279] "History of Atchison County.".

[280] "Scofield Rites."

Atchison, Kansas in 1936. Regarded by herself and the Atchison community as the widow of Cyrus I. Scofield, the abandoned Leontine Cerré Scofield never remarried and received Catholic rites at her burial.[281]

In contrast, the Atchison, Kansas community still remembered Mr. Scofield's reputation as a "scalawag" and his abandonment of his family over a century later.[282] In 1989, Joseph M. Canfield offered his newly published biography *The Incredible Scofield and His Book* to the Atchison Public Library. The library declined Canfield's offer with the reply "I don't think we need his biography. Many Atchison citizens remember what a rascal he was."[283]

A veiled hint found in one of Cyrus Scofield's personal letters to a fellow Congregational minister in Texas alluded to the final cause of the abandonment of Scofield's family. In the letter, Scofield expounded on his interpretation of several Bible passages relating to marriage and divorce. Scofield elaborated extensively on what he called a "mixed marriage case" which he defined as the marriage of a believer to an unbeliever.[284] Though Scofield believed the Christian spouse could not terminate the marriage, he did express the belief that if an "unbelieving depart" then the believer was free to remarry.[285] Scofield wrote, "how horrible a mixed marriage… He [Christ] does not regard it as properly a marriage at all—as if two Jews or two Christians."[286] Based on Scofield's interpretation of the Bible text, he viewed Catholics as pagans or unbelievers.

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[281] Certified copy of Death Certificate of Leontine Scofield, Canfield Papers, Box 4, Folders 33, Archives, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina and "Scofield Rites," Atchison Daily Globe, November 7, 1936.

[282] "Preacher with a Past," *Kansas City Journal*, December 28, 1899.

[283] Canfield, 119.

[284] Cyrus Scofield to Frank Boyle, manuscript letter, 16 September 1890, C.I. (Cyrus Ingerson) Scofield Papers, CN 001, Folder 1, Archives, Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas, Texas.

[285] C. Scofield to F. Boyle, 16 September 1890.

[286] C. Scofield to F. Boyle, 16 September 1890.

According to Scofield's beliefs as expressed in the aforementioned letter, as a "believer" he could do nothing but wait for his Catholic spouse to depart the marriage. Scofield expressed even harsher views on the children of a mixed marriage which he described as "unholy, ('impure', literally) that is as if from fornication."[287] Ironically, the secretly divorced Cyrus Scofield held a community meeting with area professionals in Dallas, Texas to address the growing concerns over the rising divorce rate."[288]

## A Permanent Home and Ministry in Dallas, Texas

Clinging to his ministerial position, the tall, well-spoken former lawyer found a new venue of influence and oration in the tiny church in Dallas, Texas. When Cyrus Scofield assumed the permanent pastorate of First Congregational Church, he launched a ministerial career that spanned over thirty-eight years. Scofield spent the majority of his preaching ministry at the Dallas church where he remained for fourteen consecutive years from 1882 until 1896. In 1896, the Trinitarian Congregational Church in East Northfield, Massachusetts installed Scofield as its senior minister where he remained until 1902. After 1902, Scofield returned to the First Congregational Church of Dallas and served intermittently until his retirement in 1909. After 1909, Scofield retained the title of pastor emeritus and a modest salary from the First Congregational Church.[289] Scofield's role as the beloved minister at First Congregational Church developed as an integral part of his identity and reputation.

Cyrus Scofield's arrival in Dallas marked the beginning of the most stable period of his life though a few minor details needed attention from the thirty-nine year old pastor in training. In the *Life Story,* Charles Trumbull characterized Scofield's arrival in Dallas with the phrase

[287] C. Scofield to F. Boyle, 16 September 1890.
[288] "To Consider Divorce," *Dallas Morning News*, 19 November 1904.
[289] BeVier, 85.

"daring to be a pastor" which probably suited the novice preacher.[290] He started the new ministry with a suspended preaching license and remained separated from his Catholic wife. Despite his unusual personal life, his limited Bible training, and a chilly reception from the southern community, Scofield eventually exceeded the challenges that confronted him at the First Congregational Church in Dallas, Texas. His affiliation with the First Congregational Church of Dallas resulted in a perpetual association even in memoriam. In 1923, the First Congregational Church changed its name to The Scofield Memorial Church.[291] Later renamed the Scofield Church, the website still recognized its relationship with Scofield citing, "the church is named for one of its early pastors, C.I. Scofield, who was well known in his day across the nation for his Bible teaching ministry and his famous reference Bible, first published in 1909."[292]

The relationship between Scofield and the Dallas church began in the most humble of circumstances. Scofield recalled that he arrived on a "midsummer day in 1882" as a temporary pulpit supply to a "little southwestern town on the bank of a muddy river."[293] Harvey Page, one of the original church members, described Dallas at that time as a mere village with no paved streets and no lights. [294] Page said the church members often made their way to services "wading in mud ankle deep, with a little lantern to light the pathway."[295] On August 20, 1882, one day after Scofield's thirty-ninth birthday, Scofield preached the morning and evening services at First Congregational Church. Only twelve of the twenty-nine enrolled members attended church to

[290] Trumbull, 41.

[291] Minutes, 91, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records, CN 014, Series I, Folder 4, Archives, Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas, Texas.

[292] "History," u. d., Scofield Memorial Church, http://www.scofield.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=228&Itemid=53 (accessed 30 March 2011). The most recent name of the church is Scofield Church.

[293] Trumbull, 41.

[294] Harvey Page to Cyrus Scofield, manuscript letter, 15, November 1893, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records, CN 014, Series I, Folder 1, Archives, Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas, Texas

[295] H. Page, to C. Scofield, 15 November 1893.

hear the visiting preacher's sermon but the day marked the beginning of Scofield's enduring presence in the Dallas church.[296]

Cyrus Scofield apparently made a positive impression on the church members rather quickly. On Sunday, October 22, 1882, the elders of the church wrote of their strong affection for Scofield saying they were, "much attached to our dear Brother" and desired him to remain as their pastor. [297] The following Sunday Scofield "orally notified the church of his acceptance of the call" and the appointment was set to run for one year from August 11, 1882.[298] Though the church promised Scofield "hearty support and cooperation," the church did not specify a regular income at that time.[299] Scofield approached his new church much like a professional position by running the church business and seeking a set salary, which had become an emerging trend for ministers of the late nineteenth century.[300] Scofield moderated the adoption of a new church constitution, by-laws, and a public admission form for membership.[301]

With Scofield's minister position going well, the Congregational licensing board in St. Louis reinstated Scofield's preaching license in April 1883.[302] By June 1883, the First Congregational Church contemplated the nearing expiration of Scofield's one-year term. This time the church called Scofield to a permanent pastorate and offered a regular salary of $1500 for the coming year."[303] On July 1, 1883, Scofield orally accepted the church's call as a pastor and the church contemplated the convening of an ecclesiastical council for ordination.[304] On October 11, 1883, Scofield conveyed his formal acceptance of the permanent call as the church pastor

[296] Minutes, 11, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.
[297] Minutes, 11, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.
[298] Minutes, 12, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.
[299] Minutes, 11, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records
[300] Paul Harvey, "The Ideal of Professionalism and the White Southern Baptist Ministry, 1870-1920," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation*, 5, no. 1, (Winter 1995), 100.
[301] Minutes, 12, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records
[302]"Various Topics."
[303] Minutes, 21, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records
[304] Minutes, 22, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records

and confirmed his affection and joy in their mutual fellowship.[305] The Ecclesiastical Council of Congregational Ministers and Churches of North Texas convened at the First Congregational Church in Dallas for the ordainment and installation service for Scofield on October 17, 1883.[306]

In the *Life Story*, Scofield said the council "took up, at the insistence of the candidate, the whole question of his past life."[307] The ordination minutes referred to an "extended examination" of Scofield but recorded no particulars about his past life or the fact that he remained estranged from his wife and children.[308] Scofield also related his "Christian experience" which the council "voted to be satisfactory."[309] Again, the minutes did not describe the circumstances or timing of the salvation experience. Scofield then read a statement of his beliefs on Christian doctrine and gave scripture references to support his doctrinal views.[310] Scofield recited specific aspects of his Christological beliefs, his belief in the infallibility and authority of scripture, his belief in the Trinitarian doctrine, and his views on soteriology.

Scofield also gave a brief statement on his eschatological beliefs citing his "plain and nonfigurative" reading of certain scriptures as the basis for those beliefs.[311] In contrast to the prevailing postmillennial view of the return of Christ, Scofield said he did not believe the world would convert before the return of Christ. He said Christ's return would be "personal and pre-millennial" and he did not believe in the possibility of "future probations" after the Second Coming.[312] If Scofield attributed his Biblical training to a specific person, church, or study before the council, the secretary neglected to record it in the minutes. The council recommended

[305] Minutes, 23, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.
[306] Minutes, 24, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records
[307] Trumbull, 43.
[308] Minutes, 29, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.
[309] Minutes, 25, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.
[310] Minutes, 25-29, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.
[311] Minutes, 29, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.
[312]Minutes, 29, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.

his unanimous ordainment and the church held an installation service that evening.[313] Scofield's installation as a licensed, paid cleric represented his return to professional status.[314]

As stated earlier, Leontine Cerré Scofield filed for divorce just days before the council held the ordainment ceremony and this time the court granted the divorce on December 8, 1883. The final decree barred Scofield from contributing to the upbringing of Abigail, sixteen, and Helen, fourteen.[315] Freed now from "being unequally yoked," Scofield took notice of Hettie Hall Van Wartz, another northerner who relocated to Dallas, Texas from Michigan. Hettie and her sister Mattie joined First Congregational Church just one day after the court filed Scofield's divorce decree on December 9, 1883.[316] While the ink dried on the decree, Dallas County, Texas issued a marriage license to Cyrus Scofield and Hettie H. Wartz and they married the following day on March 11, 1884.[317]

As the leader of the congregation, Reverend Scofield contemplated growing the Dallas church. On January 9, 1884, Scofield reviewed the state of affairs over the previous year in the annual church meeting and reviewed both his accomplishments and his plans for the future. In his review, Rev. Scofield noted the presence of only twelve members in the church during his first sermon but boasted that the church recorded seventy-five total members at the time of his report. Of the seventy-five members, thirty-nine members joined on profession of faith, which he viewed as a coveted sign of his evangelical success.[318]

Also in the Pastor's Report, Scofield signaled the methods he intended to use for church growth that remained familiar themes throughout his ministry. Rev. Scofield cited a strong need

[313] Minutes, 30, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.
[314] Harvey, 100.
[315] Order, Court records, case no. 2681, filed in the District Court for Atchison County, Canfield Papers, Box 4, Folders 7 and 31, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary.
[316] Minutes, 31, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.
[317] Marriage Record, Dallas County, Texas, Canfield Papers, Box 4, Folders 9, Archives, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina.
[318] Minutes, 32, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.

for a Bible school, a commitment to missions, regular Bible study, and increased social fellowships.[319] Reverend Scofield also chided the church for letting the business matters of the church languish and prompted a renewed commitment to quarterly meetings required by the church manual. In addition, he instituted a financial system that accepted money for the church only from professing members rather than fundraisers or other outsiders.[320]

Also at the first annual meeting, Rev. Scofield reminded the church that he was their "brother and equal—amenable to your discipline." Curiously, he closed the report saying, "from this [emphasis in original] flock he has no fear of mere fault finding."[321] The church elders signaled their support and confirmed the Pastor's Report as read.[322] In addition to managing church business and filling the pulpit, Rev. Scofield performed the traditional duties of church pastor as he presided over revival services, funerals, and marriages in the Dallas area.[323]

Consistent with the plans outlined in his first Pastor's report, Scofield dove into regular Bible study in Dallas, Texas, which became a key feature of his ministry. In the *Life Story*, Dr. Scofield said he "really got well into his lifetime Bible study" in Dallas especially during the weekday evening Bible class.[324] Scofield said the class drew people from all over the city including ministers and people from other churches. The class proved so popular that he added another evening meeting at the local Y.M.C.A.[325]

As preparation for the Bible class, Rev. Scofield said he "dug things out for himself" and delivered it to the class.[326] Dr. Scofield indicated this teaching ministry contributed to his first booklet, *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth* in 1888. After the First Congregational Church

[319] Minutes, 33, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.
[320] Minutes, 33, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.
[321] Minutes, 34, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.
[322] Minutes, 34, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.
[323] "Local Notes," *Dallas Morning News*, November 26, 1885.
[324] Trumbull, 60.
[325] Trumbull, 61.
[326] Trumbull, 60.

members paid for the first printing, the Loizeaux Brothers bought the publication rights to the dispensational tract.[327] Rev. Scofield also established a training class for ministers in Dallas, which he administered through the Southwest School of the Bible. In developing the material for the correspondence course, Rev. Scofield worked through each book of the Bible systematically and eventually codified the material as *The Scofield Correspondence Course* in 1895.[328]

In addition to weekday Bible study classes, Rev. Scofield also mentored other Congregational ministers in the Southwest regions of Texas, Louisiana, and Colorado as a superintendent for the American Home Missionary Society beginning in 1886.[329] Scofield advised ministers under his charge regarding their sermon contents and doctrinal questions. Rev. Scofield interacted with other pastors on theological issues such as the role of Mosaic Law and new covenant grace in spiritual life,[330] the meaning and mode of baptism,[331] and the doctrine of election.[332]

While serving at the First Congregational Church in Dallas, Rev. Scofield employed some theological resources to assist him in his Bible study and preparing for his Bible training classes. For Greek language study, Rev. Scofield recommended *The Englishman's Greek Concordance* by George Wigram and *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* by Joseph Henry Thayer (now popularly called Thayer's Lexicon).[333] Seemingly confident of his usage of

[327] Trumbull, 62. Plymouth Brethren publishers from England, the Loizeuax Brothers published several important dispensational resources. *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth* remains in circulation under various publishers. John H. Gerstner, *Wrongly Dividing the Word of Truth: A Critique of Dispensationalism* (Brentwood: Wolgemuth & Hyatt, Publishers, Inc., 1991), 52.

[328] Trumbull, 63. The correspondence course proved immensely popular and eventually sold to Moody Bible Institute for $20,000. William L. Pettingill to James M. Gray, manuscript letter, 16 July 1914, Non-indexed Moody Records, Archives, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina.

[329] Minutes, 39, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.

[330] C. Scofield to F. Boyle, 23 September 1889.

[331] C. Scofield to F. Boyle, 24, September 1891.

[332] C. Scofield to F. Boyle, 16, September 16 1890.

[333] C. Scofield to F. Boyle, 12 January 12, 1891; C. Scofield to F. Boyle, 24 September 1891.

the Greek, Scofield offered to teach a couple of ministers about pronouncing Greek words during a one-week stay in Dallas.

For ancient historical perspectives, Rev. Scofield recommended *The Land and the Book*, a two-volume set on customs of Bible lands by W. M. Thomson, D. D., as a set he "conceived to be the best." [334] He also recommended two books by Alfred Edersheim, *The Temple in the Time of Christ* and *Life and Times of the Messiah*. [335] Another aid to New Testament study that Rev. Scofield recommended was Samuel J. Andrew's book, *The Life of our Lord Upon this Earth*.[336] Writing in 1891, Rev. Scofield lamented the lack of prophecy resources, which he planned to remedy by taking up the project himself as soon as his correspondence class approached the subject.[337]

Scofield's growing authority and influence in the Dallas church represented his cultivation of his new reputation and a return of his sense of manhood. In the late nineteenth century, the standard for white manhood involved the traditional notions of power, authority, and identity.[338] Though Scofield built these attributes during his years as a federal attorney and legislator, he lost them to scandal. Through his new ministerial career in Dallas, Texas, he found new ways to express his identity through the evangelistic work of growing his church and saving souls.[339]

[334] C. Scofield to F. Boyle, 24 September 1891.
[335] C. Scofield to F. Boyle, 24 September 1891.
[336] C. Scofield to F. Boyle, 12 January 1891.
[337] C. Scofield to F. Boyle, 12 January 1891.
[338] Lindman, 394.
[339] Lindman, 395.

## A Noble Tribute to a Minister

In his early years, the demographics of the city of Dallas presented the northern born Rev. Scofield with unique challenges in growing his northern influenced First Congregational Church. As the second largest metropolis in the former Confederacy, Dallas represented something of paradox to Rev. Scofield's acceptance in the community.[340] In 1870, just over 13,000 people called the city of Dallas home, by 1880, the Dallas population exploded to just over 33,000, many migrating from the war torn Deep South.[341]

While sectional division remained throughout the city, rapid industrialization and the investment of northern capital in the post-Civil War era contributed to the phenomenon of reconciliation in Dallas, Texas. The good feelings among businesses and veterans softened some of the bitter attitudes toward northerners living in Dallas.[342] In Rev. Scofield's first years in Dallas, veteran reunions of both Union and Confederate regiments gained some popularity in Dallas, Texas. For example, in 1884 a spirit of reconciliation among ex-Confederates invaded North Texas when Dallas County played host to a substantial "ex-Confederate re-Union meeting" at Long Lake from August 7-9, 1884.[343] Even though Confederate-only reunions remained prominent in Dallas, the 1884 event was perhaps the largest Dallas meeting of regiments from both sides drawing over 40,000 in attendance.[344]

Though Rev. Scofield did not attend reunion meetings nor divulged his Confederate service, many of his community attended the elaborate programs. At the three-day event in 1884, veterans and their families listened to speeches about reestablishing social bonds among

[340] Phillips, , 2
[341] Phillips, 42.
[342] Phillips, 42
[343] Report of the Proceedings of the Various Associations of Ex-confederates, 1884; http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth20990 ( accessed 25 October 2011), cover page
[344] Report of the Proceedings of the Various Associations of Ex-confederates, 1884, 45.

war veterans.[345] Circulars promoted the meeting agenda as having "no desire to revive the bitter memories of the past" and letters from Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee encouraged this attitude among the ex-Confederates.[346] Reunion speakers called on all veterans to "mingle in social intercourse" by focusing on the shared sacrifices, not the causes of the war itself.[347] Religious language elevated and equated the status of both Confederate and Union soldiers memorializing veterans of both sides as "good and faithful servants."[348] As one historian noted the attitude of "reconciliation and fraternization" among veteran cultures promoted comingling for social and business affairs.[349]

Regardless of the brief reconciliatory rhetoric of the 1884 grand re-Union meeting, the lament of the Lost Cause and challenge to northern presence persisted in the Dallas culture.[350] Though Reverend Scofield hoped to evangelize throughout the city, he sensed resistance towards his efforts, which he attributed to the northern heritage of Congregationalism and his northern birth. In the *Life Story*, Dr. Scofield complained that home visitation programs, cottage meetings, and Bible studies did not bridge sectional divisions still present in Dallas in 1887.

In those first years, Rev. Scofield felt the "bitter prejudice" that the people of Dallas held against "Yankees" and "abolitionists" [Congregationalists] inhibited his success in the Dallas community.[351] With its large population of Confederates, the northern Scofield stepped into a cultural struggle between the southern and northern way of life. The predominantly southern

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[345] Report of the Proceedings of the Various Associations of Ex-confederates, 1884, 50. H.M. Manson, formerly of Co. H of the 7th Tennessee Infantry did attend the reunion.

[346] "Jefferson Davis," *The Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 7, 1884.

[347] Report of the Proceedings of the Various Associations of Ex-confederates, 1884, 41.

[348] Report of the Proceedings of the Various Associations of Ex-confederates, 1884, 41.

[349] David Blight, *Race and Reunion, The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 2001), 198.

[350] Phillips, 34. See Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause*, 1865-1920, (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2009), 162. The establishment of the United Confederate Veterans institutionalized the Lost Cause ideology in Dallas, Texas in 1890. .

[351] Trumbull, 44.

Dallas community found it difficult to tolerate or embrace northerners like Rev. Scofield and the Congregationalist church for fear of the northern influence on their way of life.[352]

Despite resistance, Rev. Scofield implemented his growth plan for the First Congregational Church much as he described in his first Pastor's report by holding weeklong revivals and weekday Bible readings.[353] Reverend Scofield led the church members in "scattering seed of kindness" through hospitality gatherings in member's home, which drew several newcomers.[354] For the 1886 Christmas holiday, Rev. Scofield headed up an elaborate open-to-all service to hand out "above average gifts" to his staff.[355] Though some believed the church "made wonderful strides under the pastorate of the Rev. C.I. Scofield," the pastor still expected more from his leadership.[356]

Rev. C. I. Scofield lived in Confederate-rich Dallas, Texas for five years without uttering a word of his Confederate service to the community.[357] During this period, Confederate gatherings gained increasing popularity in Dallas and became a vital activity of the former soldiers.[358] One of Cyrus Scofield's comrades from the 7th Tennessee Infantry, Henry Walker (H.M.) Manson, vice president of the ex-Confederate Tennesseans, frequented the Dallas soldier reunions.[359] Formerly of Wilson County, Tennessee, Manson enlisted in Confederate service

[352] Wilson, 41.

[353] "Local Notes," *Dallas Morning News*, January 12, 1886 and "Bible Reading," *Dallas Morning News*, March 8, 1886.

[354] "A Pleasant Reception," *Dallas Morning News*, November 20, 1886.

[355] "The Christmas Festivities," *Dallas Morning News*, December 25, 1886.

[356] "The Gay World of Fashion," *Dallas Morning News*, February 28, 1887.

[357] Gray, 551. In 1884, over 500 ex-Confederate Tennesseans attended the reunion meeting including Dr. Hal M. Manson. Report of the Proceedings of the Various Associations of Ex-confederates, 1884

[358] Wilson, 36.

[359] Henry Walker Manson, Confederate pension application number 51531, Texas Comptroller's Officer, Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library and Archives Commission.

with the 7th Tennessee Infantry and served with Scofield in Company H.[360] After the war, Manson relocated to Rockwall, Texas and became editor of a newspaper, the *Rockwall Success*.

On one of Manson's visits to Dallas, he recognized Rev. Scofield as one of his rebel comrades from the 7th Tennessee and wrote about the encounter for his newspaper. The *Dallas Morning News* ran the story quoting, "the following tribute handed THE NEWS with a request to publish, is from the *Rockwall Success,* edited by Dr. H. M. Manson."[361] Published on Christmas day 1887, under the title "A Noble Tribute," Manson described seeing Rev. Scofield ministering in a church in a "fashionable portion of the city."[362] Manson said he recognized Scofield as an "old army friend" from the Rebel front.[363] Describing the encounter in Dallas, Manson wrote that taking a seat inside the church "he listened with pleasure and profit to the words of wisdom, love, and mercy, and above all charity that fell from the lips of the man of God.[364]

In his news piece, Manson said while he listened to Rev. Scofield his "mind wandered back to the winter of '61, when this now dignified preacher" stood only "stripling boy." [365] Manson recalled Scofield served honorably on the war front with Stonewall Jackson. Manson also described how he remembered a time when Scofield "kindly divided his scanty rations with his comrade who had been on duty all night in the snowstorm."[366] Comparing the goodness of Scofield to his battlefield comrades, Manson declared this noble preacher continued the "old doctrine of redemption." [367]

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[360] Henry W. Manson, Compiled Service Records of Soldier who served in Organizations from the State of Tennessee, M268, http://www.fold3.com/image/#68823682 (accessed 25 October 2011). Manson served until the end of the war. Union authorities released him from prison only after he took the oath of allegiance on May 30, 1865.

[361] "A Noble Tribute," *Dallas Morning News*, December 25, 1887.

[362] "A Noble Tribute."

[363] "A Noble Tribute."

[364] "A Noble Tribute."

[365]"A Noble Tribute."

[366]"A Noble Tribute."

[367]"A Noble Tribute."

Manson's editorial article marked the beginning of the Dallas community's awareness that the northern born Rev. Scofield served in the Confederate cause. In the *Life Story*, Dr. Scofield said, "little by little the people of Dallas, however, came to learn that the new pastor of the Yankee church was a Confederate soldier [and] that gave him social standing."[368] Rev. Scofield's acceptance into the Confederate community offered him a ready identity to a community with a determined social order.[369]

Manson's article mentioned nothing of Scofield's discharge for alienage or his later desertion and Scofield never clarified the events. Manson likely assumed Scofield left the front due to his poor health or perhaps injury since he left so soon after the battle at Antietam. Years later, Scofield told an associate that "an out of town editor met him on the street and straightaway published an account of meeting with him."[370] Scofield intimated to his associate that after reading of his Confederate service, "a change was wrought in the people of Dallas" and he was more highly esteemed than before.[371] Scofield believed the revelation that he was a Confederate soldier was the Lord's way of removing the obstacle of his northern birth.[372]

After Manson's article appeared in the newspaper in 1887, Scofield acquired a shared past and sense of community in Dallas, Texas.[373] Fond of saying he "surrendered when Lee did," Scofield claimed he never let sectionalism into the Dallas church.[374] In one of his Dallas sermons, Scofield said when "Gen. Lee and Gen. Grant met together and made peace all I had to

[368] Trumbull, 44.
[369] W. Fitzhugh Brundage, The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2005), 3.
[370] Gray, 551.
[371] Gray, 551.
[372] Luther Rees, "What the Dallas Church Owes Dr. Scofield," *The Sunday School Times*, September 17, 1921, 498.
[373] Foster, 142.
[374] Rees, 498.

do was to accept that peace."[375] Scofield's gentle rhetoric encouraged growth of his ministry at First Congregational Church. The "wealthy and aristocratic" white Dallas elites, many of whom were Confederate veterans joined the membership rolls of Congregational church.[376] One of the most influential and prominent members of the Rev. Scofield's church included a member of the Dealey family affiliated with the *Dallas Morning News*.[377] One of Rev. Scofield's associate pastors described the church as a "cosmopolitan" church under Scofield's ministry with members from all over the Union and several foreign countries.[378]

Even before the revelation of Rev. Scofield's Confederate status the Dallas church realized some growth under Scofield's leadership. Though the church began with only twelve active members, the church grew to two hundred members by 1886. By summer 1887, the First Congregational Church contemplated the possibility of building a larger meeting space. That summer during his annual leave from the pulpit, Rev. Scofield reviewed possible architectural plans for a new building.[379] Once in the new building, First Congregational Church continued steady growth under Rev. Scofield's leadership with 551 members on its rolls when Scofield resigned his first tenure in 1895. During Scofield's first fourteen years at the Dallas pastorate, the church received over 800 members to the church rolls.[380]

Besides finding community acceptance in his Confederate status, Rev. Scofield's charismatic and warm demeanor played some role in his cultivation of his following. One of Rev. Scofield's Dallas admirers described his preaching as "a full tide of burning and convincing

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[375] "Meaning of the Cross," *Dallas Morning News*, 1 October 1905.

[376] Considered a northern church when Scofield arrived, the First Congregational Church became so ensconced in Confederate veteran activities that it eventually played host to United Confederate Veteran meetings. "Centeninal [sic] Discussed for Confederate Camp," *Dallas Morning News*, 27 May 1935.

[377] Phillips, 48.

[378] Rees, 498.

[379] Minutes, 54. "Religious," *Dallas Morning News*, July 10, 1887. The First Congregational Church remained in this building until 1950.

[380] Trumbull, 51.

oratory."[381] He also praised Rev. Scofield's use of his "logical, massive mind in his sermons and other public addresses."[382] Scofield's congregation expressed love for him and showered him with praise for the vision he brought to the Dallas church.[383] One church member described him as a humble and "unartificial" man.[384] Baptist pastor George Truett called Scofield "noble and his preaching "inspirational."[385] Another admirer and Baptist minister in Dallas, J. B. Cranfill, observed that "all the people of Dallas of every race, creed, and class" hold Scofield in "loving esteem."[386] Certainly, the revelation of Scofield's service under the immortal Stonewall Jackson did not hurt his stature in Dallas.

As a trusted white male member of the evangelical community, Reverend Scofield frequently conveyed power and authority by preaching the gospel as a remedy for the social concerns in the city of Dallas. Rev. Scofield proved a "valiant opponent" of prizefighting in the state of Texas.[387] He also served as a delegate to a convention of prohibitionists in Dallas in 1887.[388] Reverend Scofield beckoned the people of Dallas to avoid the lure of sin found in the theater, cards, gaming, lottery, wine, and makeup.[389] As one historian noted, "Satan seemed to lurk at every window, and evangelicals, more than ever before were determined to subdue him."[390] He addressed the rising divorce and crime in the community by teaching that only

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[381] R. E. Cowart to W. A. Nason, manuscript letter, 25 October 1916, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.

[382] R. E. Cowart to W. A. Nason, 25 October 1916.

[383] H. Page to C. Scofield, manuscript letter, 15 November 1893, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.

[384] W. I. Carroll to W. A. Nason, manuscript letter, 26 September 1916, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.

[385] George Truett to W. A. Nason, manuscript letter, 10 October 1916, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.

[386] Perhaps the reference to every class, race, and creed might have been an overstatement. J. B. Cranfill to W. A. Nason, manuscript letter, 10 October 1916, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.

[387] "Reverend C.I. Scofield to Speak," *Boston Journal*, January 20, 1896.

[388] "Primary Convention," *Dallas Morning News*, April 3, 1887.

[389] "Pleasures of Sinning, "*Dallas Morning News*, March 30, 1891.

[390] Ted Ownby, *Subduing Satan: Religion, Recreation, and Manhood in the Rural South, 1865-1920*, (University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, 1990), 211.

salvation could answer such worldly problems.[391] Rev. Scofield served on the board of directors of the Bethel Mission, which appointed a "slum brigade" to reach the poorest in Dallas.[392] Even in his male-oriented recreational endeavors, such as joining the Trumbull Rifle Team, the local community endorsed Scofield as a "prominent citizen."[393]

Though the community and First Congregational Church regarded Rev. Scofield highly, his family life remained secondary to his religious and professional life. As Rev. Scofield observed, religious work in the community and in the church consumed most of his time and attention.[394] The gendered work of leading a church and warning a community of its social dangers took up much of Rev. Scofield's day.[395] In the late nineteenth century, some men viewed physical exhaustion and poor health as evidence of failure in their professional careers and thus their failure as men.[396] In 1891, Scofield confided his concerns to a close male friend about his physical condition saying that his heavy workload lent to his suffering from "nervous prostration" and "wretched health" but he was otherwise secretive about his frequent bouts with illness.[397]

Though Hettie Wartz Scofield accompanied her husband to some conferences as vacations, husband and wife clearly spent much time apart due to the pastor's ambitious workload. In 1886, the Reverend took a three-month sabbatical in Canada returning to the pulpit in early October.[398] In 1887, Hettie Scofield joined Rev. Scofield for his long sabbatical to

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[391] ""Round about Town," *Dallas Morning News*, 18 July 1897.
[392] "Bethel Mission Opened," Dallas Morning News, 9 February 1894
[393]"Trumbull Rifle Team," *Dallas Morning News*, April 16, 1887.
[394] C. Scofield to F. Boyle, 18 August 1892..
[395] Lindman, 397
[396] Anthony Rotundo, "Body and Soul: Changing Ideals of American Middle-Class Manhood, 1770-1920," *Journal of Social History*, 16, no. 4, (Summer 1983), 27.
[397]C. Scofield to F. Boyle, 1 January 1891 and C. Scofield, 19 May 1891.
[398] "Personal," *Dallas Morning News*, October 5, 1886.

Bible conferences but his attention to work "spoiled" the entire stay for his wife.[399] After another hectic year of travel all over the Southwest, the Scofield's went north for the fall Bible conference season in 1888.

Scofield's wife gave birth to their son, Noel Paul, in her home town of Ypsilanti, Michigan on December 22, 1888.[400] The following summer Rev. Scofield took his annual leave but spent much of the time in church meetings in Massachusetts then returned to Dallas in early October 1889.[401] During that year, Rev. Scofield attended to church work while his wife, Hettie, cared for their infant son. In August 1890, Rev. Scofield shuffled between Dallas and Canada while his wife Hettie nursed their ailing child, who suffered a life threatening infection. Rev. Scofield left the family to return to the Dallas ministry because his "heart was <u>there</u> [emphasis in original]."[402] Noel Paul Scofield hovered near death for ten days and then "Mrs. S. & baby" spent the rest of the summer recuperating in Michigan while Rev. Scofield continued his religious ministry in Dallas, Texas.[403]

Later that month on October 25, 1889, Emeline Scofield Papin died of heart disease at her Webster Groves home in St. Louis but Rev. Scofield did not attend his oldest sister's funeral service.[404] Instead, he lead a dedication service for the new First Congregational Church sanctuary on October 27, 1889.[405] The year after Emeline died, Rev. Scofield spent part of his

[399] Trumbull, 61 and "The Gay World of Fashion," Dallas *Morning News*, October 3, 1887.

[400] Noel Paul Scofield, Death Certificate, Canfield Papers, Box 4, Folders #10, Archives, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina.

[401] "Personal," *Dallas Morning News*, October 19, 1889

[402] C. Scofield to L. Rees, 19 August 1890.

[403] C. Scofield to F. Boyle, 11 September 1890.

[404] Emeline Scofield Papin, Death Certificate, Canfield Papers, Box 4, Folders #10, Archives, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina.

[405] "Died," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 26, 1889 and "Impressive Dedication Service, "Dallas *Morning News*, October 28, 1889.

forty-seventh birthday visiting with his sister Laura Scofield Eames while he attended a Bible conference at Niagara Falls.[406]

Rev. Scofield continued to absent himself from his first family in Atchison, Kansas. While Rev. Scofield worked countless hours planning revivals and holding Bible readings, his daughters moved on with their daily lives. On May 27, 1886, Rev. Scofield's oldest daughter Abigail graduated from high school in Atchison, Kansas. Affectionately called Abbie, she delivered her valedictory address, *Nihil Novum Sub Solem*, to the graduating class of Atchison High School. The eloquent display of intellect acquired from her classical education likely would have pleased her father who loved classical literature, history, and logic.[407] Perhaps, in Abigail's closing words there was a brief glimpse of how she reconciled her feelings towards her long absent father. Abbie mused that she longed to find that "heavenly school where God himself will teach us the truths of eternal life and where at last will be wrought out the solution of those hard, deep problems which here may have foiled us through long years of toil."[408]

[406] C. Scofield to L. Rees, 19 August 1890.
[407] Trumbull, 2.
[408] "Valedictory Delivered by Abbie Leontine Scofield," *The Atchison Daily Champion.* May 28, 1886, Issue 58, col C.

# CHAPTER 5

## A DECORATED VETERAN AND BIBLE SCHOLAR

As the twentieth century approached, Cyrus Ingerson Scofield achieved a remarkable professional transformation from a disgraced lawyer to a prominent religious leader in Dallas, Texas. Rev. Scofield grew his church membership, cultivated a community following, and established professional relationships throughout the southwest in his role as minister and Confederate veteran. While concentrating on his position as the lead minister of a congregational flock, Rev. Scofield also developed his reputation as an interdenominational Bible teacher. Though Reverend Scofield's congregation admired him for his preaching, his development as a Bible teacher contributed significantly to his eventual reputation as a Bible scholar. The most prevalent influence on Rev. Scofield's development as a Bible teacher and scholar came from his association with the conservative Bible conference movement, especially the Niagara Bible Conference.[409]

To appreciate the way in which Bible conferences influenced Rev. Scofield's method of approaching the Bible requires a brief review of the emergence of Bible conferences as conservative centers of learning. As early as 1878, American Christian theologians began dividing into two schools of thought on the role of religion in society.[410] A shift by some Christian theologians towards cultural modernism, scientific discovery, and historical scholarship in Biblical doctrine and orthodoxy alarmed traditional Protestant theologians who rejected the shift as too liberal or modern. Conversely, liberal theologians rejected traditional or conservative theological attitudes towards the Bible as antiquarian. Regardless of advances in science or historical scholarship conservative Christians, later called fundamentalists, adamantly

[409] George Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, 2.

[410] George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture, the Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism 1870-1925*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 51.

opposed modernization of Christianity and dogmatically held to the divine authorship of the Bible.[411]

The sharpest distinctions between liberal and conservative theologians revolved around their views of the origin of the Bible. The scientific theory of evolution and the use of historical-critical methods, sometimes called Higher Criticism, with Biblical text produced new hypotheses regarding authorship, dating, and the historical accuracy of the Biblical text. These emerging hypotheses threatened major tenets of the Bible and its role in a predominantly Protestant society. Strict adherence to a particular view on the origin of the Bible widened the gulf between liberals and conservatives such that the two schools of thought became theologically incompatible in academic institutions.[412]

As mainline denominations attempted to align their seminaries with modern scientific methods, conservative theologians became increasingly isolated from intellectual institutions and associated publications.[413] In the absence of conservative seminaries, traditional theologians turned to Bible conferences instead of seminaries to educate pastors in the traditional or conservative school of thought.[414] The key tenet of Bible conferences was the belief that the Bible was the literal Word of God and provided the "supreme rule of faith" in matters of religion and orthodoxy.[415]

Ordained just three years before attending his first Bible conference in 1886, Scofield found a group of theologians engaged in pushing back against science and Higher Criticism.

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[411] Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, 13.

[412] Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism; British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), x; John D. Hannah, *An Uncommon Union: Dallas Theological Seminary and American Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2009), 32; and Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 3.

[413] David Rausch, "Protofundamentalism's Attitudes Toward Zionism, 1878-1918," *Jewish Social Studies*, 43, no. 1 (March 1981), 137.

[414] Hannah, 39.

[415] David Rausch, *Zionism Within Early American Fundamentalism, 1878-1929: A Convergence of Two Traditions.* New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1979, 4.

Bible conference theologians were anxious to ground a young minister like Scofield in what they viewed as the Biblically correct doctrine. The training at Bible conferences focused Scofield on conservative theology, especially the principle of accepting no authority but the Bible and applying a literal interpretation. Already predisposed by Brookes's early training, Scofield adapted quickly to the Bible conference program and positioned himself to become a leader in Bible conferences, especially on matters of prophecy.

This chapter will focus specifically on how Bible conferences shaped Rev. Scofield as a Bible teacher and ultimately his claim of being a Bible scholar. This chapter will also examine some of Rev. Scofield's public addresses in which he employed the rhetoric of the Lost Cause in Dallas, Texas after 1902.

## Bible Conference Training

In the *Life Story*, Dr. C. I. Scofield referred to Bible conferences as a "formative influence" in his life.[416] Scofield highly regarded theologians such as "Drs. W. J. Erdman, James H. Brookes, Nathaniel West, and others that taught the Bible with the highest scholarly and spiritual power" at Bible conferences.[417] Dr. Scofield cited the Northfield Bible Conference as his "first introduction to wider fields of acquaintances and service in the Lord's vineyards."[418] Dwight L. Moody organized the annual Northfield Bible Conferences in Northfield, Massachusetts, to focus on holiness in the Christian life. In 1886, after D. L. Moody invited Rev. Scofield to speak at the fall Northfield conference, the Dallas minister took a three-month leave from the First Congregational Church to attend Northfield and other Bible

[416] Trumbull, 52.
[417] Trumbull, 53.
[418] Trumbull, 52.

conferences in the north.[419] This was the beginning of a lifetime practice of taking a long sabbatical each year to attend Bible conferences.

After attending his first Northfield conference, Rev. Scofield also attended the Niagara Bible Conference founded by his St. Louis mentor, dispensational theologian, Dr. James H. Brookes.[420] Dr. Scofield said it was in the Niagara Bible Conference that he "was welcomed into this fellowship and became a favorite teacher."[421] Though Cyrus Scofield maintained a pastoral ministry for most of his life, the focus of his religious work turned towards the conservative conference ministry after 1886. Later, Rev. Scofield relocated his pastoral duties to D. L. Moody's home church in East Northfield, Massachusetts to be closer to conference ministry.[422]

In the *Life Story*, Dr. Scofield acknowledged Dr. Brookes for his influential role in shaping his method of interpreting the Bible.[423] Though the two studied together for about eighteen months between 1879 and 1882, Scofield came under Brookes's teaching ministry again in prophecy conferences between 1887 and 1897. Through the teaching at the Niagara Bible Conference, Dr. Brookes significantly influenced the development of Scofield's view of the Bible and prophecy.

Reflecting on the role of Dr. Brookes in Rev. Scofield's theological development, Arno C. Gaebelein described Brookes's mentorship of Scofield as the "most important" event after Scofield's conversion.[424] It was at Niagara that Rev. Scofield "learned [from Brookes] what he

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[419] "Personal," *Dallas Morning News*, 5 October 1886.

[420] Trumbull, 52.

[421] Trumbull, 53. Bible conferences oriented their programs on topics related to either holiness or spiritual life (such as the Northfield Bible Conferences) or to topics related to proper exposition of prophetic scriptures (such as the Niagara Bible Conference). In the earliest years, both types of conferences generally drew the same audiences, however, prophecy conferences emerged as the dominant conference agenda by the turn of the century. Rausch, *Zionism Within Early American Fundamentalism*, 1878-1918, 45.

[422] Trumbull, 53.

[423] Trumbull, 52.

[424] Arno C. Gaebelein, *The History of The Scofield Reference Bible*, 22.

could not have learned in any of the theological seminaries of that time."[425] Gaebelein said Rev. Scofield's "keen analytical mind" was as important to Scofield's theological development as Dr. Brookes's influence.[426] Gaebelein observed that after Dr. Brookes instructed Scofield on the "high points," Scofield refined his classic view on prophecy through his own "deeper study."[427]

While at his first Niagara Bible Conference in 1887, Rev. Scofield approached Dr. Brookes's teaching with the same analytical and logical methods he used in other textual studies. Gaebelein believed Scofield's method combined with Brookes's teaching on prophecy revealed the "right division of the word of God" to Scofield.[428] At the 1887 Niagara conference, Rev. Scofield arranged the right divisions of the Bible into an outline form and published the outline as a small tract entitled *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth* the following year in 1888.[429]

Rev. Scofield modeled his views on the origin of the Bible, his study method, and his eschatological views after his earliest mentor, Dr. James Brookes. Thus, it is difficult to appreciate Scofield's development as a Bible teacher without comparing Brookes's and Scofield's views and methods together. In the *Life Story*, Dr. Scofield credited Dr. Brookes with teaching him to interpret scripture with other scripture to ascertain the meanings of words and concepts in the Bible.[430] As a conservative theologian, Dr. Brookes held such a high view of the authenticity of the Bible as a divine text that his peers called him a "valiant defender of the Inerrant Bible, who hurled thunderbolts at the destructive Higher Criticism."[431]

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[425] Arno C. Gaebelein, *The History of The Scofield Reference Bible,* 22.
[426] Arno C. Gaebelein, *The History of The Scofield Reference Bible,* 22.
[427] Arno C. Gaebelein, *The History of The Scofield Reference Bible,* 23.
[428] Arno C. Gaebelein, *The History of The Scofield Reference Bible,* 22.
[429] Arno C. Gaebelein, *The History of The Scofield Reference Bible,* 22.
[430] Trumbull, 36.
[431] Brookes received his seminary training at Princeton Seminary, which was still a conservative seminary at the time. Williams, 203; Norman C. Kraus, *Dispensationalism in America: Its Rise and Development* (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1958), 37.

In the *Life Story* Dr. Scofield described an equally vehement view towards modern scholarship observing that Higher Criticism wrought "tragic devastation" to Biblical interpretation.[432] At a 1914 Bible conference, Dr. Scofield famously thumped loudly from the pedestal that he "would rather spend Sunday morning in a saloon than sitting in a church under the preaching of a modern Higher Critic."[433] This seems a strong declaration since Dr. Scofield admitted a problem with alcohol. Dr. Scofield attributed his disdain for modern scholarship to Brookes's influential teaching in St. Louis, Missouri, and in his decade of teaching at the Niagara Bible conferences.[434]

Scofield's early adoption of Brookes's view was evident in his 1883 ordination statement in which he stated, "I believe in the divine origin and authority" of the Old and New Testament.[435] During his ministry years, Rev. Scofield developed a stronger defense of the origin of the Bible which appeared in his sermons and public lectures. For example, one of his Bible class addresses included a lecture on the "Inspiration and Authority of the Sacred Scriptures."[436] By 1895, Rev. Scofield articulated the conservative view of the Bible well enough to deliver a rebuttal to Robert Ingersoll's view of the Bible a laughable book.[437]

Besides sharing the same views on the origin and use of the Bible, Rev. Scofield developed a similar method of studying the Bible as Dr. Brookes. Again, consistent with a conservative philosophy, Dr. Brooks instructed Scofield that the Bible was the supreme guide of the Christian life and therefore the doctrines of the Bible guided all life situations.[438] To study out the Christian doctrines, Dr. Brookes made copious "notes" in the margins and blank spaces

[432] Trumbull, 129.
[433] Trumbull, 130.
[434] Trumbull, 44.
[435] Minutes, 25, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.
[436] "Bible Conference, *"Plain Dealer*, March 6, 1897.
[437] "Talk on Ingersoll," *Dallas Morning News*, April 1, 1895.
[438] Trumbull, 36. See also Williams, 164.

of his personal Bible.[439] Using this method allowed Brookes to cross-reference related texts and concepts throughout his Bible. Reading the Bible repetitively, Brookes reportedly wrote down every passage that included key words and then noted the related passages in the margins. Using this method, Dr. Brookes created "his own concordance" within the pages of his Bible.[440] Scofield adopted a remarkably similar system by marking up his Bible with extensive noting and cross-referencing.[441] The conceptual idea of *The Scofield Reference Bible* is nearly identical to Dr. Brookes's personal study Bible. Also like Dr. Brookes, Scofield kept a "question box" available as a means of studying questions from his followers.[442]

Dr. Scofield's orientation to dispensational and pre-millennial theology generally mirrored Dr. Brookes's views. In the *Life Story*, Dr. Scofield described Dr. Brookes's teaching as "making plain dispensational truth and the great fundamentals of the prophetic study of God's Word."[443] When Scofield underwent his Bible conversion in 1879, his mentor was the most visible American teacher of dispensational theology. In addition to the Niagara conferences, Dr. Brookes held Bible study meetings in his home and in small groups in other cities.[444] Historians persist in drawing a straight but circumstantial line from prominent dispensationalist John Nelson Darby (Plymouth Brethren) to James H. Brookes (Southern Presbyterian) to C.I. Scofield (Congregationalist).[445]

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[439] Williams, 164.

[440] Williams, 165.

[441] Trumbull included a facsimile of a page from Scofield's Bible showing the extensive noting. See photo insert after page 60. Interestingly, Williams also included a sample Bible page showing Brookes notes in his memoir of Brookes.

[442] Williams, 169. See also C. I. Scofield, ed. Ella E. Pohl, Dr. Scofield's Question Box, (Chicago: Bible Institute of Colportage Association, 1917).

[443] Trumbull, 35.

[444] Sandeen, 74.

[445] Dispensationalism during this period was interdenominational; Darby belonged to the Plymouth Brethren, Brookes to the Southern Presbyterians, and Scofield to the Congregational association. For a discussion on Darby's influence on Brookes see Sandeen, 72 but compare to Kraus, 39. Sandeen argued that Darby influenced Brookes's dispensational theology during Darby's visits to St. Louis between 1862 and 1877 but Kraus argued that Brookes developed a dispensational scheme before Darby visited St. Louis.

Darby, Brookes, and Scofield did share strikingly similar dispensational views though Dr. Brookes and Dr. Scofield each claimed they acquired their views based on spiritual illumination during personal Bible studies rather than from Darby. Even though Scofield said he learned dispensational truth from Brookes, he also claimed in the *Life Story* that his intensive study in Dallas revealed the "beginning truths" of his dispensational scheme.[446] Again, the comparison to Brookes is noteworthy for Brookes claimed he acquired his pre-millennial understanding of the return of Christ while reading *The Book of Revelation* at breakfast.[447]

Described by historians as the preeminent prophecy conference, the Niagara Bible Conference served as the primary institution of learning for conservative Biblical views and the fountainhead of dispensational training by the time Rev. Scofield began attending in 1887.[448] Dr. Brookes and other leading conservative teachers such as Dr. William J. Erdman, D. L. Moody, and Arno D. Gaebelein filled the conference programs with leaders in conservative pre-millennial theology. After attending the conferences for a few years, Rev. C.I. Scofield also delivered addresses at the programs.[449]

Scofield both acquired his conservative education and in turn educated others at Bible conferences. Rev. Scofield and other conference ministers contributed editorial work to prophetic periodicals such as *The Truth* edited Dr. Brookes and *Our Hope* edited by Arno C. Gaebelein.[450] Through conference publications and periodicals, conservative theologians educated ministers and sometimes the laity on popular topics such as the authority and inerrancy of the Bible, the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and the role of Jews and Israel in their contemporary

[446] Trumbull, 61. Scofield believed that a plain reading of scripture revealed the dispensational truths to anyone.
[447] Williams, 148.
[448] Sandeen 132.
[449] Arno C. Gaebelein, *The History of The Scofield Reference Bible*, 36.
[450] Kraus, 37.

world.[451] Dr. Scofield said the teachers at the Niagara Bible conferences taught the Bible with the "highest scholarly and spiritual power."[452] The conference speakers expounded the prophetic passages of the Bible and gave direct refutation to Higher Criticism. Scofield and other conference leaders portrayed higher criticism to be "higher nonsense" that brought immeasurable harm to Christianity.[453]

Rev. Scofield established his credentials as a dispensational theologian with his first publication already mentioned, *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth*. Published just five years after his ordination, the dispensational outline defined Rev. Scofield's interpretative method for Biblical text and appeared to be the doctrinal foundation of Scofield's view on the correct arrangement and meaning of key parts of scripture. Just as the title implied, Scofield theologically grounded his booklet in his nonstandard interpretation of II Timothy 2:15 that includes the phrase "rightly dividing the word of Truth." Scofield interpreted "Truth" meant the word of God or the Bible, and divisions meant time or ages in which God judged mankind according to His revelation in that dispensation.[454]

Rev. Scofield taught in *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth* that a "workman" who studied the Bible without observing his right divisions would find the Bible "profitless and confusing."[455] Scofield's objective for the tract was to "indicate the more important divisions" of the Bible to its readers in a broad form for fruitful Bible study. *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth* contained the earliest widely printed exhortation to study the Bible from the divided time format and was surely the seed for the reference Bible project. In fact, Scofield alluded to his

[451] Sandeen, 137.
[452] Trumbull, 53.
[453] Arno C. Gaebelein, *Half a Century: The Autobiography of Servant* (New York: Our Hope, 1930), 80.
[454] Scofield, *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth*, 1888; Findlay: Fundamental Truth Publishers, (1988; reprint, u.d.) 3-4 (page citations are to the reprint edition) .
[455] Scofield, *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth*, 4.

future project in the booklet writing, "a complete analysis of the Bible" would be necessary to outline all the divisions.[456]

Scofield's outline represented his logical and systematic classification of the Biblical text into seven dispensations and was the study method he promoted for the rest of his life.[457] Scofield's seven dispensations were: 1) Man Innocent which extended from creation to expulsion of Adam from the Garden of Eden, 2) Man Under Conscience which began with the fall of man in Adam to the Noahic flood, 3) Man in Authority Over the Earth which covered the time after the flood until the confusion of tongues at the tower of Babel, 4) Man Under Promise which began with Abraham and continued to the Israelites in Egyptian bondage, 5) Man Under Law which ran from the time of Moses to dispersion into Babylonian captivity, 6) Man under Grace which began with the crucifixion of Jesus Christ and ends with the return of Christ in Judgment, and 7) Man Under the Personal Reign of Christ where Jesus reigns from a restored Israel for a Millennium. At the end of the Millennium, a final Armageddon battle of the nations will bring the earth and all humanity to final judgment, and then will come the new heaven and new earth.[458]

Rev. Scofield sought wider venues to teaching his new Bible study method as outlined in *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth*. In 1890, Rev. Scofield launched the editorship of his own monthly journal, *The Believer*. Established in the tradition of Dr. Brookes' prophetic journal *The Truth*, Scofield's first issue rolled out July 1890. Scofield believed that the "church was

[456] Scofield, *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth*, 4.
[457] Scofield, *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth*, 12. See also Kraus, 33, 91. W. E. Blackstone outlined seven "aions" in *Jesus is Coming*, which Kraus indicated may be the basis of Scofield's outline.
[458] Scofield, *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth*, 12-15.

interested in Bible study more than any time in history" and that he could teach Christians how to study the Bible using his new study method.[459]

Scofield promoted *The Believer* as "a monthly journal devoted to the exposition and practical application of scripture" and offered a discounted rate to pastors, Y.M.C.A. secretaries, and Christian clubs of ten or more to get the circulation underway.[460] In the first issue, Scofield advertised his *Scofield Correspondence Course* as a series of lessons that would follow a fifty-two week plan, which he believed would "form a system of Bible truth."[461] Though Scofield hoped for wide circulation of the journal, by its third issue he included an appeal for assistance in increasing its subscribers.[462] The desired subscribers failed to materialize and the journal ceased publication without notice after nine issues ending in March 1891.

After publishing his new study method in *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth*, Scofield focused much of his attention on the task of educating ministers and lay Christians on his method of studying the Bible. Scofield longed to open Bible institutions and schools to educate ministers in his conservative, dispensational methods.[463] In 1892, after the correspondence course picked up its first publisher, Scofield founded the Southwestern School of the Bible to educate ministers from his dispensational perspective through the distribution of his correspondence course. The Southwestern School of the Bible along with the Philadelphia School of the Bible, co-founded by Scofield in 1914, represented just two of his earliest attempts to counterbalance what he saw as liberal seminary training.

[459] *The Believer*, Vol. I, July 1890, No. 1, 16.
[460] *The Believer*, Vol. I, July 1890, No. 1, 1.
[461] *The Believer*, Vol. I, July 1890, No. 1, 14.
[462] *The Believer*, Vol. I, September 1890, No. 3, 1.
[463] Hannah, 76.

Scofield's followers viewed the Southwest School of the Bible as the forerunner to Dallas Theological Seminary, which opened in 1924.[464] Until the founding of Dallas Theological Seminary, no seminary oriented its teaching curriculum to the dispensational viewpoint. Scofield shared his vision of an academic institution with his protégé, Lewis Sperry Chafer.[465] According to Chafer, the Dallas Theological Seminary was the school that Scofield "prayed and hoped" for in Dallas and the realization of Scofield's dream of a rigorous "training institution."[466] The seminary prepared students for ministerial careers by teaching "systematic theology and Bible instruction entirely from his dispensational and pre-millennial" interpretive grid.[467] Much like the Southern Baptists, Scofield recognized seminary training as an authoritative and professional conveyance of the Biblical concepts.[468]

By 1895, the work of the Bible conference circuit dominated Scofield's thoughts and efforts. D. L. Moody returned to Dallas that year for another evangelism campaign and asked fifty-two year old Scofield to take an appointment as pastor at Moody's home church of Trinitarian Congregational Church in East Northfield, Massachusetts. In 1896, First Congregational Church of Dallas granted Scofield a one-year leave and the Scofield family moved north to the heart of the prophecy conferences.[469]

Though the First Congregational Church of Dallas and the community played a significant role in Rev. Scofield's development as a Bible teacher, his move north opened new avenues for professional growth through increased exposure at conferences. The First Congregational Church reluctantly accepted Rev. Scofield's departure. The news of Rev.

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[464] Raucsh, "Protofundamentalism's Attitudes Towards Zionism, 1878-1918," 140.

[465] Hannah, 76.

[466] Lewis Sperry Chafer, Lewis Sperry Chafer to Noel P. Scofield, manuscript letter, 12 April 1924, Lewis Sperry Chafer Papers, Archives, Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas, Texas, quoted in Hannah, 324, n4.

[467] Hannah, 86.

[468] Harvey, 104

[469] William A. BeVier, "A Biographical Sketch of C.I. Scofield," (MA Thesis, Southern Methodist University, 1960), 58.

Scofield's leaving prompted one former church member to write a tribute for publication in the *Dallas Morning News*. The admirer said he "felt sorry for Dallas" but praised the "great work" Scofield did in the city.[470] He went on to call Rev. Scofield a "most uncommon man, truly one of God's saints."[471] As much as the Dallas residents loved their pastor, they released him for the great work of the Lord in the wider regions of the North.[472]

## North to the Bible Conference Ministry

Between 1882 and 1895, Rev. Scofield built a reputation in Dallas, Texas and in conference ministry as a conservative dispensational, pre-millennial Bible preacher. Between 1896 and 1909, though still a church pastor Rev. Scofield cultivated a more scholarly reputation as a Bible teacher. While difficult to measure, Rev. Scofield's credibility as a Bible scholar seems derived at least in part from the title Doctor of Divinity (D. D.), which alluded to an affiliation with an academic association. The source of Dr. Scofield's use of the title remains elusive.

Research for this study found the earliest use of the D. D. title with Rev. Scofield's name appeared in a newspaper report published in the *Dallas Morning News* on November 26, 1885. The *News* reported, "Rev. Dr. C.I. Scofield officiated at the wedding for a Dallas couple."[473] This early use may support historian Todd Mangum's suggestion that use of the title "was a practice and value in the community [of Congregationalists] of which Scofield was a part." If so,

[470] "Tribute To Rev. C.I. Scofield," *Dallas Morning News*, January 3, 1896.
[471] "Tribute To Rev. C.I. Scofield."
[472] "Tribute To Rev. C.I. Scofield."
[473] "A Notable Society Event," *Dallas Morning News*, November 26, 1885.

he may have used the title from the time the Congregational board licensed him to preach in 1880 or beginning after his ordination in 1883.[474]

On March 30, 1891, another newspaper piece reported on a revival at First Congregational Church in Dallas where "Dr. C.I. Scofield" preached on the "Pleasures of Sinning."[475] The title appeared again that year in a religious program where Scofield participated in the ordination of one of his Dallas students in June 1891.[476] The 1891 usage roughly coincides with Scofield's founding of the Southwest School of the Bible but only leads to conjecture since no records reveal a particular relationship. Scofield used the title more often after joining the faculty at Moody's Christian schools in Northfield, Massachusetts in 1896. Research for this project only turned up one instance where Rev. Scofield used the title in personal correspondence.[477]

In the United States, academic institutions usually awarded the D. D. degree in recognition of advanced study or work in religion. Mostly an honorary degree, the title typically indicated affiliation with a particular university or educational program. It seems ministers used the title inconsistently in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. For example, the 1909 edition of *The Scofield Reference Bible* included Scofield's name as editor along with eight consulting editors. All the editors included D. D. titles with their name but only two editors listed a seminary with their title. Two other editors listed a Bible institute with their title and the

[474] Mangum and Sweetnam, 47.
[475] "Pleasures of Sinning, " *Dallas Morning News*, March 30, 1891.
[476] Canfield, 172. This citation is used with caution as Canfield did not document the location of this source. It serves as one example for this writer's reluctance to rely on Canfield's work.
[477]The relatively few surviving manuscripts from Scofield limited their usefulness as a sample set. Dr. & Mrs. C.I. Scofield to Thomas M. Scott, manuscript letter, 17 November 1904, http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth35193, ( accessed 25 October 2011).

remainder of the editors, including Scofield, listed no affiliation with an educational institution.[478]

Dr. Scofield denied any "formal collegiate or academic education" so the use of the title must have been honorary at most.[479] Several searches failed to locate any records that confirm an academic institution awarded an honorary D. D. degree to Scofield and perhaps any such records are no longer extant.[480] Interestingly, the *Dallas Morning News* chronicled much of Scofield's personal and profession life, yet none of the several articles reviewed for this project recorded his receipt of a D. D. degree. In *The Incredible C. I. Scofield and his Book*, Joseph M. Canfield concluded that the degree was self-awarded to add a prestigious title to the pastor's name.[481] Mangum rightly chided Canfield that it was amateurish to argue the "absence of evidence as evidence of absence" but this writer suggests Scofield's silence on the source of his D. D. is rather deafening.[482] Dr. Scofield neglected to clarify the source of the D. D. title in the *Life Story* when recounting his accomplishments as a Bible scholar suggesting that something is amiss.

Other than acquiring regular usage of the D. D. title, Scofield's pastorate at Trinitarian Congregational Church in Northfield, Massachusetts appeared unremarkable. In fact, he spent much of his time away from the church. Besides the usually busy conference schedule, the Scofield family spent most of the entire year away from Northfield, Massachusetts in 1899. In February of that year, Scofield applied for a passport for himself, Hettie, and Paul to travel abroad.[483] Sometime before Scofield's family left for their trip, Scofield and Moody experienced

[478] Scofield, *The Scofield Reference Bible*, face page.
[479] Trumbull, 7.
[480] Mangum and Sweetnam, 46.
[481] Canfield, 188.
[482] Mangum and Sweetnam, 46.
[483] C. Ingerson Scofield, Passport Applications, 1795-1905; ARC Identifier 566612 / MLR Number A1 508; NARA Series: M1372; Roll #519, Ancestry.com (25 October 2011).

a "misunderstanding."[484] The family left in late spring and returned after a seven-month sojourn abroad in November 1899.[485] Without clearing up their misunderstanding, D. L. Moody died on December 26, 1899. Rev. Scofield officiated the popular evangelist's funeral assisted by the Rev. R. A. Torrey.[486] Scofield later observed that the misunderstanding with Moody resolved itself when the older evangelist entered heaven. [487]

Major newspapers around the United States carried news of Moody's funeral service and the Missouri papers quickly picked up C.I. Scofield's familiar name. On December 28, 1899, *The Kansas City Journal* published a story under the headline "A Preacher with a Past" which recounted Scofield's checkered history in the states of Kansas and Missouri. Indicating Atchison residents still sought restitution from Scofield after he became a clergyman, the paper reported, "when approached by his Kansas creditors, Parson Scofield declared that he is poor and unable to pay."[488] Perhaps what Rev. Scofield owed in Atchison, Kansas far exceeded his income sources but the cost of seven months abroad might have made some headway in paying the debts.

Rev. Scofield continued on staff at D. L. Moody's ministries in Northfield, Massachusetts until another opportunity caused him to take a leave of absence.[489] Still on leave at half salary in September 1902, Rev. Scofield spent most of the time off arranging his next ministry opportunity.[490] It seemed Rev. Scofield already planned to publish a study Bible, which he

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[484] CI. Scofield to A. P. Fitt, manuscript letter, 1 July 1, 1905, Canfield Papers, Box 4, Folders #10, Archives, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina.

[485] "Franklin County," *Springfield Republican*, November 21, 1899. The newspaper story did not include the trip itinerary but it seems that Rev. Scofield may have already been laying the groundwork for his study Bible.

[486] "Dwight L. Moody Buried," New York Times, December 27, 1899, http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F70E14FF3B5913738DDDAE0A94DA415B8985F0D3

[487] C. Scofield to A.P. Mr. Fitt, 1 July , 1905.

[488] "Preacher with a Past, "

[489] BeVier, 67.

[490] Cyrus Scofield to A.P. Fitt, manuscript letter, 18 September 1902, Moody Collection, non-indexed , Archives, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina.

expected to complete from his old charge in Dallas, Texas.[491] Rev. Scofield did not officially resign from the Northfield ministries until February 1903.[492]

## Planning the Study Bible and a Return to Dallas

In April 1897, Rev. Scofield's mentor and the founder of the Niagara Bible Conference, James H. Brookes died. With no designated successor to lead the Niagara Bible conferences, the prophetic event limped on for a couple of years before closing permanently in 1900. With D. L. Moody gone and the demise of the Niagara Bible Conference, Scofield apparently began to consider establishing his own prophecy conference while contemplating getting a study Bible project underway.[493]

Scofield's study Bible project was an ambitious task that required expertise and financing, neither of which Rev. Scofield possessed on his own. He did not know any Bible languages and admittedly relied on Greek study aids for New Testament usage.[494] Up to this point, Scofield's study of Biblical doctrine and historical application resulted solely from self-study or interaction with like-minded peers. All of these hindrances became moot through Scofield's relationship with Arno C. Gaebelein. The two men developed a closer relationship during the waning years of Rev. Scofield's Northfield ministry between 1900 and 1902.[495]

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[491] C. Scofield to F. Boyle, 5 November 1902.

[492] Cyrus Scofield to A.P. Fitt, manuscript letter, 19 January 1903, Moody Collection, non-indexed , Archives, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina.

[493] Arno C . Gaebelein, *The History of the Scofield Reference Bible*, 42. Gaebelein suggested he and Scofield contribute to the divisiveness because of their "imminent return" views, which differed sharply from other conference members with mainstream views on Jesus's Second Coming.

[494] Arno C. Gaebelein was a consulting editor of *The Scofield Reference Bible*. See Arno C . Gaebelein, *The History of the Scofield Reference Bible*, photo inserted after 32.

[495] Arno C. Gaebelein, *Half a Century: Autobiography of a Servant*, 72.

Scofield and Gaebelein shared nearly identical beliefs on dispensational theology and a disdain of "scholarly Bible criticism."[496] The two ministers also shared a belief in the controversial "imminent coming of Christ" doctrine sometimes called the any-minute-rapture doctrine [497] When the Niagara Bible Conference broke up over the controversial imminent coming of Christ doctrine, Scofield and Gaebelein aligned to start their own prophetic Bible conference. After Rev. Scofield invited Rev. Gaebelein to speak at the Northfield church on April 19, 1900, the two ministers began a series of conference planning meetings.[498]

Though the study Bible was apparently C. I. Scofield's concept, Arno C. Gaebelein made important financial connections for Scofield. Gaebelein was a part of small group of Plymouth Brethren men that met in New York city for Bible study. The other members of the group were Francis Fitch, owner of a printing business, and two other wealthy men, John T. Pirie and Alwyn Ball, Jr.[499] Gaebelein credited his fellowship with Fitch, Pirie, and Ball in fully "acquainting [him] with the theological works of…John Nelson Darby and others."[500] Gaebelein said he "esteems[ed] these men next to the Apostles in their sound and spiritual teaching."[501] By 1900, with the encouragement of his Plymouth Brethren study group, Gaebelein contemplated a "nationwide ministry" of Bible study that included proselytizing Jews through dispensational teaching.[502] Gaebelein brought the Brethren-influenced theology of Fitch, Pirie, and Ball into fellowship with Scofield. Together, these men set in motion a nationwide effort to spread Rev. Scofield's particular idea of dispensational theology. [503]

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[496] Arno C. Gaebelein, *Half a Century: Autobiography of a Servant*, 81.
[497] Arno C. Gaebelein, *The History of the Scofield Reference Bible*, 43.
[498] Arno C . Gaebelein, *The History of the Scofield Reference Bible* , 38.
[499] Arno C. Gaebelein, *Half a Century: Autobiography of a Servant*, 83.
[500] Arno C. Gaebelein, *Half a Century: Autobiography of a Servant*, 84.
[501] Arno C. Gaebelein, *Half a Century: Autobiography of a Servant* , 85.
[502] Arno C. Gaebelein, *Half a Century: Autobiography of a Servant* , 85.
[503] Arno C. Gaebelein, *Half a Century: Autobiography of a Servant*, 85.

After Arno Gaebelein spoke at Northfield, he and Scofield continued to meet periodically to discuss the possibilities of launching their own prophecy conference. Using Gaebelein's Plymouth Brethren contacts, Scofield and Gaebelein started a new prophecy conference called the Sea Cliff Summer Conferences.[504] Sea Cliff was John T. Pirie's summer estate that was located on Hempstead Harbor on Long Island Sound in New York.[505] Pirie offered the use of his estate for the summer conferences for ten successive years until he passed away. At the first conference held on July 23-29, 1901, Pirie provided a large meeting tent that accommodated seating for six hundred people.[506] The 1901 Sea Cliff Summer Conference represented Rev. Scofield's first opportunity to act as a leading speaker in a prophetic conference where as the keynote speaker he delivered four addresses.[507] Gaebelein and Scofield's saw the Sea Cliff Conference as a venue for a "nationwide ministry in which dispensational truths should be made prominent."[508]

Scofield's vision for a study Bible and Gaebelein's vision for a nationwide ministry came together in a tangible plan at the first Sea Cliff conference. As Gaebelein recounted the story, one evening after a series of meetings, he and Scofield took a stroll that lasted well into the night. During this evening stroll, Scofield told Gaebelein that he was thinking about putting together a study Bible with footnotes on the pages explaining the Biblical text. Scofield told Gaebelein he had been thinking about the idea since from early in his Dallas ministry but that the project failed to materialize for lack of financial support.[509] Gaebelein recalled that Scofield expressed concern about his dependence on the Northfield ministry for income. Scofield let it be known

[504] Arno C. Gaebelein, *The History of The Scofield Reference Bible*, 38
[505] Arno C. Gaebelein, *Half a Century: Autobiography of a Servant* , 117
[506] Arno C. Gaebelein, *History of The Scofield Reference Bible*, 45.
[507] Arno C. Gaebelein, *Half a Century: Autobiography of a Servant* , 117
[508] Arno C. Gaebelein, *Half a Century: Autobiography of a Servant* , 141.
[509] Arno C. Gaebelein The *History of The Scofield Reference Bible,* 47.

that he would need enough financial support to travel and teach while editing the study Bible.[510] Gaebelein said he offered to make inquiries for financial backing on behalf of Scofield to get the project underway.[511]

In the *Life Story*, Dr. Scofield failed to mention the 1901 conversation with Gaebelein but recalled that Alwyn Ball inquired of Scofield in 1902 about what kind of work he was planning other than the conference ministry. Scofield said he told Ball about his idea for a reference Bible to which Ball offered financial support.[512] Scofield said soon after Ball agreed to support the project, John T. Pirie entered into "a hearty fellowship" with him to get the reference Bible underway.[513] Not surprisingly, in their respective biographies, both Scofield and Gaebelein emphasized their own roles in getting the Bible project underway. Perhaps, Gaebelein laid the groundwork for Scofield's project, which prompted Ball to approach Scofield future work but both Scofield and Gaebelein recounted that a definite plan emerged for Rev. Scofield to prepare a study Bible beginning in summer 1902.

Between 1900 and 1902, Rev. Scofield's actions indicated he was preparing to leave the ministries of Northfield. In early 1900, Rev. Scofield gained admittance to the Lotos Club in New York city. Established in 1870, the Lotos Club promoted "social intercourse among journalists, literary men, artists…and such merchants and professional gentlemen of artistic tastes and inclinations as would naturally be attracted by such a club."[514] The Club valued its broad appeal and included a special category for clergy in its constitution.[515] The Lotos Club included distinguished literary members and guests such as Mark Twain and Charles Dickens but

[510] Arno C. Gaebelein The *History of The Scofield Reference Bible,* 47
[511] Arno C. Gaebelein The *History of The Scofield Reference Bible,* 47.
[512] Trumbull, 75.
[513] Trumbull, 76.
[514] John Elderkin, *A Brief History of the Lotos Club* (New York: Press of Macgowan & Slipper, 1895), 9.
[515] Elderkin, 11.

also included well-known New York business leaders such as Whitelaw Reid of *The New York Tribune*. The Club roster read much like a who's who in New York City and included many prominent Jewish and Zionist leaders such as Samuel Untermeyer.[516]

On March 19, 1900, Horatio N. Frazier proposed C. Ingerson Scofield for a nonresident membership in the Lotos Club and John Elderkin seconded the proposal. According to the club historian, the Elections Committee displayed names of proposed members on the Club bulletin board for consideration by other members. In addition, the club notified current members of proposed members by letter so that any member who objected to a nomination could notify the Elections Committee.[517] After the Elections Committee considered the nominations, the Board of Directors received the names of recommended members for final acceptance. In 1900, the members of the Election Committee that approved Rev. Scofield's nonresident membership were William Henry White (Chair), John Elderkin, and William Jay Ives.

The Lotos Club recorded that C. Ingerson Scofield listed his profession as minister.[518] At the time, Rev. Scofield had two published works, the previously mentioned *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth* and *The Plain Papers of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* published in 1899.[519] As a nonresident member, Scofield, or someone on his behalf, paid a one hundred dollar initiation fee and an annual fee of thirty dollars.[520] The club also rented rooms for overnight stays for an additional fee.[521] Scofield periodically used club stationery and received mail at the

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[516] J. Robert Moskin and Nancy Johnson, eds. *The Members of the Lotos Club 1870-2007*(New York: Lotos Club, 2008), 4.

[517] Nancy Johnson, email message to author, 19 May 2011. The Club letter that notified members of Scofield's proposal and the usual letters of support have not been found in club archives.

[518] N. Johnson to author, 19 May 2011.

[519] N. Johnson to author, 19 May 2011.

[520] N. Johnson to author, 19 May 2011. In 1915, annual fees increased to $40. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics CPI, the initiation fee would be the equivalent of approximately $2500 in 2011. The membership fee would be the equivalent of approximately $900 annually. Scofield's annual salary of $1200 would be the equivalent of approximately $31,000.

[521] N. Johnson to author, 19 May 2011.

club address from time to time while he worked on the reference Bible project.[522] At the time Scofield joined the Lotos Club, the clubhouse was located at 556-68 Fifth Avenue. In 1909, the clubhouse relocated to 110 West 57th Street and Rev. Scofield remained a member of the Lotos Club until his death in 1921.[523]

Dr. Scofield's detractors have seized on his Lotos Club membership as proof of a Zionist conspiracy. Joseph M. Canfield argued that wealthy Zionists, primarily Samuel Untermeyer, sponsored Rev. Scofield's membership in the Lotos Club as part of a conspiracy to promote a Zionist agenda in the United States through the publication of *The Scofield Reference Bible*.[524] It appears from club records that Samuel Untermeyer played no role in Scofield's club membership and the conspiracy charge seems unwarranted without considerable more information. While the theology of the reference Bible supported Jewish nationalism and therefore the Zionist agenda, there seems to be no connection between Samuel Untermeyer and Cyrus Scofield.

It seems more likely that the Lotos Club's long history of devotion to the arts and literary works appealed to Rev. Scofield. He not only loved classic literature and art prints but enjoyed the theatre as well.[525] In addition, Rev. Scofield may have thought Club acquaintances would be helpful to getting a large publishing project off the ground but there seems to be no connection between a particular club member and Scofield's later association with Oxford University Press.

A second step that Rev. Scofield took that indicated he might leave Northfield, Massachusetts was the purchase of a large property in New Hampshire. On October 21, 1901, a New Hampshire couple deeded just over eight acres of property in the village of Ashuelot to

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[522] C. Scofield to A. P. Fitt, 1 July 1905; C. Scofield to A.P. Fitt, 18 September 1905.

[523] N. Johnson to author, 19 May 2011.

[524] Canfield, 219-220, David Lutzweiler disagreed with Canfield's conspiracy theory but suggested Scofield unwittingly benefitted from Zionist support through sympathetic club members. David Lutzweiler, 138-140.

[525] C. Scofield to Abbie, 4 May, 1921; Rausch, *Arno C. Gaebelein, 1861-1945*, (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1983), 205.

Rev. Scofield. Named Crestwood, the property initially held large tents for his family's summer visits but eventually Rev. Scofield built a summer home and an office on the property.[526] The reverend and his wife along with his secretary used the property as a site for editing the Bible pages during the pre-publication phase of the study Bible project.[527]

A third move that Rev. Scofield made that indicated he planned to leave Northfield permanently was the acquisition of his former residence in Dallas, Texas in March 1902. Though Scofield still needed exact arrangements of the financial support for the Bible project, he closed the transaction on his old residence at Holmes Avenue in Dallas, Texas on March 24, 1902. The Starkes deeded the property back to Cyrus and Hettie Scofield for the sum of one dollar and in "further consideration of the love and affection we have for the said C.I. Scofield and his wife Hettie Scofield."[528] Rev. Scofield clearly intended to return to his beloved Dallas community.

Scofield and Gaebelein finalized their plan to pursue the study Bible project later that summer at the Sea Cliff Summer Conference held from July 29 through August 4, 1902. Scofield agreed to resign from his position as pastor at Northfield and return to Dallas to work exclusively on the Bible project.[529] Gaebelein recorded that Alwyn Ball and John Pirie supported the project "with great delight" but neither he nor Dr. Scofield offered specific dollar amounts of financial support. Whatever the amount, it was a sufficient for Scofield to leave the Northfield ministry and return to Dallas, Texas.[530] Though there were others in the conference circuit that contributed financially, Dr. Scofield acknowledged that Ball and Pirie "made it

[526] Trumbull, 115.
[527] Trumbull, 112.
[528] Deed, 24 March 1902, Canfield Papers, Box 4, Folder 10, Archives, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina.
[529] Arno C. Gaebelein, *History of the Scofield Reference Bible,* 48.
[530] Arno C. Gaebelein, *History of the Scofield Reference Bible*, 49. See also Sandeen, 190. Sandeen noted Lyman Stewart of Union Oil Company contributed $1000 to the publication of *The Scofield Reference Bible* but listed no other specific donor amounts.

possible for me to prepare *The Bible Study Bible*." [531] *The Bible Study Bible* was Scofield's preliminary title for what ultimately became *The Scofield Reference Bible*.

Throughout 1902, Rev. Scofield planned his typical ambitious schedule of Bible conferences while he planned for the study Bible project. In April, after finalizing the Holmes residence deal Scofield wrote from Dallas about his planned summer schedule which included travel to "St. Louis on the fourth, then to Eagles Mere, PA for 2-19, then Sea Cliff for July 12-19, and finally to Lake Orion, 23-31."[532] In September 1902, Scofield returned to Crestwood in New Hampshire while friends prepared the Dallas house for occupancy. Scofield wrote to a friend to send the measurements of the first floor rooms of "our house on Holmes."[533] Perhaps the taxing schedule proved too much for fifty-eight year old Rev. Scofield. In October 1902, Scofield suffered a critical illness and spent several months recuperating at The Sanitarium in Clifton Springs, New York. The illness delayed his permanent return to Dallas.

In the *Life Story*, Dr. Scofield attributed the sanitarium stay to a quiet retreat for work on the Bible project but his correspondence revealed how seriously ill he claimed to be while at the Sanitarium.[534] Writing to a fellow pastor about how much he longed to return to Dallas when health permitted, he cautioned, "I don't believe my friends there realize the very critical condition in which I was when brought here 18 days ago."[535] Rev. Scofield went on to say that the doctors thought he "might not live another ten days" after he arrived at the sanitarium.[536] In the meantime, a public announcement appeared in the *Dallas Morning News* that the First

[531] Arno C. Gaebelein, *History of the Scofield Reference Bible*, 52.
[532] Cyrus Scofield to A.P. Fitt, 25 April 1902, Moody Collection, non-indexed, Archives, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina.
[533] C. Scofield to F. Boyle, manuscript letter, 9 September 1902..
[534] Trumbull, 95.
[535] C. Scofield to F. Boyle, 5 November 1902
[536] C. Scofield to F. Boyle, 5 November 1902. Scofield's death certificate reflected cardiovascular renal disease as the cause of death. Cyrus Ingerson Scofield, Death Certificate, Canfield Papers, Box 4, Folder 33, Archives, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina.

Congregational Church called its beloved pastor back home to their pulpit.[537] Hettie and Paul Scofield returned to Dallas in mid-November while Rev. Scofield continued recuperation in the New York hospital.[538]

Whether Rev. Scofield suggested his return to the First Congregational Church pastorate or they courted him upon hearing of his return to Dallas was not clear but during his Sanitarium stay, he engaged in preliminary employment discussions with the elders of the Dallas church. On November 13, 1902, the elders at the First Congregational Church formally extended an offer of employment as the pastor by sending a letter to him at the Sanitarium. The elders advised Rev. Scofield that upon commitment from him, they would work out all the necessary details when he arrived in Dallas.[539] On November 17, Scofield replied to the elders that he was happy for the offer of his old pastorate but he had "no light from God upon the matter."[540]

On the following day Rev. Scofield wrote another letter advising that his physical condition prohibited him from taking on such a charge saying "how vital to any future usefulness it is that I shall rest <u>now</u> [emphasis in original], & rest absolutely."[541] Though Rev. Scofield intended to resume residence in Dallas, his health seemed precariously frail and he appeared to be delaying a commitment to First Congregational Church. Perhaps he still needed to ascertain the extent of financial support for his study Bible project before deciding on the church's offer, but Scofield remained noncommittal for several months.[542] Rev. Scofield continued at the Sanitarium in Clifton Springs, New York at least until early December 1902.[543] After Rev.

[537] "Call to Rev. C.I. Scofield," Dallas Morning News, 16 November 1902.
[538] "Rev. Dr. Scofield Resigns," *Springfield Republican*, January 27, 1903.
[539] H. Page to C. Scofield, 13 November 1902.
[540] H. Page to C. Scofield, 17 November, 1902.
[541] H. Page to C. Scofield , 18 November 1902.
[542] C. Scofield to A.P. Fitt, 10 January 1903.
[543] C. Scofield to F. Boyle, 5 November, 1902

Scofield left the Sanitarium, he relocated to Dallas and filled the pulpit at the First Congregational Church from time to time beginning in February 1903.[544]

## A Distinctly Southern Man

When Dr. Scofield returned to Dallas, Texas, from Massachusetts he resumed his southern way of life and expanded his leadership in the local Confederate community. Though Rev. Scofield returned to his old pastorate, his focus remained on Bible teaching and conference lectures. After just a few months at the First Congregational Church, Rev. Scofield took his regular three-month leave of absence from Dallas for travel in the Bible conference circuit beginning in June 1903. Between June and October, Dr. C. I. Scofield attended or spoke at various religious conferences including his Sea Cliff Summer Conference in New York. Other cities visited on this tour included Chicago, Illinois, Eaglesmeare, Pennsylvania, Lake Orion, Michigan, several engagements throughout the state of New York, and a conference in Brantford, Canada.[545]

On October 18, 1903, the *Dallas Morning News* announced that Dr. Scofield returned to the Dallas community from his extended stay in the North and the East. Calling Dr. Scofield a native of Tennessee, the article called attention to his attendance at Cumberland University in Lebanon when the Civil War began in 1861. The article noted that Scofield served as a soldier in the Confederate Army before finishing his university training in Virginia.[546] The article mentioned nothing of Scofield's birth or years living in Michigan but offered that Dr. Scofield found it "very gratifying" to be back in Dallas, Texas.[547]

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[544] "Dr. Scofield Returns," *Dallas Morning News*, 18 October 1903.
[545] "Dr. Scofield Returns."
[546] "Dr. Scofield Returns." Almost all of the biographical data in this article is inaccurate.
[547] "Dr. Scofield Returns."

Dr. Scofield also spoke to the *Dallas Morning News* about his recent experience with northern perceptions towards the South's racial issues, especially the racial views in Dallas, Texas. Dr. Scofield based his insight on comments he read in the northern press saying he felt encouraged that "through the North and East there is a greatly improved feeling toward the attitude of the Southern people respecting the race issues in the South."[548] Dr. Scofield also said he believed the "position of the people in this section is better understood and appreciated."[549] The position of the people in Dallas during this time included the construction of an elaborate Lost Cause mythology to deal with the so-called "negro problem."[550]

During Rev. Scofield's first tenure in the Dallas community, he began to espouse the southern way of life as means of shaping his outward identity. As one historian noted, southerners whether black or white, "used their history to mold their deepest sense of self" but Scofield came to Dallas with only a northern identity until H. M. Manson identified Scofield as a Confederate veteran in 1887.[551] Until the appearance of Manson's editorial, Cyrus Scofield possessed no honorable past to share with the Dallas community and could not even claim a southern birth. The adoption of the southern heritage aided by Manson's editorial gave Scofield access to a shared history with other veterans and members of the Dallas community.[552]

By 1903, the shared history of the Dallas community included the various organizations and rituals created by southerners to deal with the presence of free blacks and white Northerners. Southerners perceived both groups as a threat to the southern social order.[553] Organization such as the United Confederate Veterans and the Daughters of the Confederacy filled Dallas, Texas

[548] "Dr. Scofield Returns."
[549] "Dr. Scofield Returns."
[550] Phillips, 45.
[551] Brundage, 3.
[552] Southern identity remains a contested concept. Brundage, 2.
[553] Phillips, 46.

with Confederate monuments and memorial as reminders of the South's noble and virtuous past. Rev. Scofield participated in several commemorative events held by the Dallas Confederate organizations to promote southern heritage.

The United Confederate Veterans founded their fraternal organization "to perpetuate the heroism and chivalry of the Southern soldiers" through regular meetings and activities that promoted public memory of and regard for Confederate veterans.[554] Established in New Orleans in 1889, the United Confederate Veterans organization grew to over fifteen hundred camps throughout the south by 1904.[555] In Texas, nearly all the Confederate camps were located in the eastern part of the state, which had a high concentration of Confederate sentiment. [556]

As a Confederate veteran and minister, Reverend Scofield became involved with Camp Sterling Price No. 31, the local United Confederate Veterans organization in Dallas, Texas. An important social activity for veterans, Camp Sterling Price probably appealed to Rev. Scofield but the local Confederate community may also have expected his participation in the camp as a community leader.[557] By 1903, approximately one-third of all Confederate veterans associated in some way with the United Confederate Veterans.[558]

Perhaps hoping to draw on the popularity of Dr. Scofield and his willingness to endorse southern attitudes, Camp Sterling Price announced that Rev. Scofield accepted an invitation to speak for the Dallas camp in November 1903.[559] The Sterling Price commanders expressed growing concern for the need to guard the Confederate memory and the need to raise funds for

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[554] United Confederate Veterans. Texas Division. Sterling Price Camp No. 31, *Charter, constitution and by-laws, officers and members of Sterling Price Camp, United Confederate Veterans, Camp No. 31*, 1893; http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth20993 ( accessed 18 September 2011), 3.

[555] Foster, 105.

[556] Foster, 107.

[557] Wilson, 30.

[558] Foster, 107.

[559] "Accepts the Invitation," *Dallas Morning News*, November 9, 1903. The United Confederate Veterans often used ministers to confirm the righteous nature of the Confederate tradition. Foster, 142.

Confederate monuments. Hoping to draw a large audience, the local camp decided to hold Rev. Scofield's upcoming address at the larger Criminal District Court space rather than their usual meeting space.[560]

The Confederate veterans of the Sterling Price camp hoped Rev. Scofield's address could help bolster the memory of southern honor in the Dallas community.[561] Confederate veterans often harbored fears that the loss of the war dishonored the southern men who fought in the Confederacy. Through the fraternity of veteran organizations, men shared their experiences of battle rather than debate the politics of the Civil War.[562] The camaraderie of United Confederate Veterans "offered a salve for the scars of defeat."[563] Though Dr. Scofield's scars of defeat resulted from a different kind of battle, he readily participated in the camaraderie with veteran men after his earlier failures in post-Civil War law and politics.

Rev. Scofield addressed Camp Sterling Price on November 23, 1903. As a "comrade," he delivered an address entitled "Religion of the Old Leaders." [564] Opening his address sixty-year old Rev. Scofield said, "Comrades, I rise to address you under the stress of profound emotion." [565] Calling attention to their "heads frosted of many winters," he said they were no longer "in the glow and beauty of their manly youth" and went on to recall past memories of battlefield experiences. He remembered how he heard "the rebel yell" on the battlefield and the time he saw General Robert Hatton fall at Seven Pines."[566] Rev. Scofield also described how

[560] The United Confederate veterans often made use of public spaces to promote the organization's mission. Brundage, 21.
[561] "Full to the Windows."
[562] Foster, 114.
[563] Foster, 114.
[564] "Address to Veterans," *Dallas Morning News*, November 23, 1903.
[565] "Address to Veterans."
[566] "Address to Veterans,"

General Robert E. Lee remained calm in battle and how Stonewall Jackson prayed "to the gods of battle."[567]

Using typical Lost Cause rhetoric to encourage the Dallas veterans to feel honorable and spiritual about their battlefield experience, Scofield extolled the virtues of the "southern pantheon" of Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and Jefferson Davis.[568] Rev. Scofield reminded his audience that the Confederate movement was the movement of a "religious people" exemplified by the spiritual nature of its leaders like General Lee, General Jackson, and President Davis.[569] In his message, Rev. Scofield told how he first saw General Jackson praying inside a church in a small Virginia village. According to Rev. Scofield, not only the leaders of the South were righteous but also the entire Army of Northern Virginia became a truly devout Christian army after the revivals of 1863 and 1864. Rev. Scofield praised the southern women who prayed at home while men faced the conflict on the front.

Though the South did not prevail in battle, Reverend Scofield laid the Confederate cause at the hands of God. He quoted Robert E. Lee who wrote to Mrs. Lee saying, "our success has not been as complete as we could desire, but God knows best."[570] Though defeated militarily, Rev. Scofield preached the "ecstatic adoration" of the Confederate leaders as model men to a virtuous society. Whether or not he personally believed his own words, the religious wrapping of the Lost Cause was familiar and soothing rhetoric to the Dallas Confederate veterans.[571]

Eager for more of Dr. Scofield's religious perspective on their past, the United Confederate veterans continued to include Rev. Scofield in their commemorative events. In

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[567] "Address to Veterans."
[568] Foster, 121.
[569] "Address to Veterans." Southern Protestant ministers often used the spirituality of Lee, Jackson, and Davis as examples of "Christian values." Wilson, 25.
[570] Address to Veterans."
[571] Foster, 120.

early 1904, he participated with the Sterling Price camp and another Confederate organization, the United Daughters of the Confederacy to promote the virtue of Confederate veterans and southern culture. Established as a women's organization to support the goals of the United Confederate Veterans, the United Daughters of the Confederacy worked to build memorials, care for aging veterans, and recognize veteran's participation in the Confederacy during the Civil War.[572] The United Confederate Veterans and United Daughters of the Confederacy often held events together to celebrate the ritual of the Lost Cause. Special events such as honoring Robert E. Lee's birthday and the observance of Memorial Day were important occasions in maintaining and promoting the ideals of southern heritage.[573]

On January 19, 1904, the local Confederate organizations called upon Rev. Scofield to deliver an address "rendering honor to Gen. Lee" at a joint gathering of the Sterling Price camp and the Dallas chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy for the annual celebration of Robert E. Lee's birthday.[574] In his speech honoring General Lee's birthday, Rev. Scofield drew on a common comparison between Lee and George Washington.[575] Praising the virtues of the old leaders, Scofield declared, "the life of such men as Lee and Washington, Stonewall Jackson, and Johnston is the proof of the purity and propriety of the old regime and the social conditions of the time before the war."[576]

Another instance of Rev. Scofield's participation in promoting the Confederate ideals occurred at the Dallas Memorial Day celebration on April 24, 1904. The United Confederate Veterans and United Daughters of the Confederacy of Dallas gathered for the annual decoration

[572] Foster, 108.
[573] Wilson, 32.
[574] "In Honor of Lee," *Dallas Morning News*, 17 January 1904 and "Honor Lee's Birthday," *Dallas Morning News*, January 20, 1904.
[575] Wilson, 40.
[576] "Honor Lee's Birthday."

of graves to honor the Confederate dead.[577] Decoration of the graves of fallen Confederate soldiers became a "religious custom of the south" almost immediately after the Civil War and was one way of remembering the soldier's sacrifice for the southern way of life.[578] During the 1904 decoration service in Dallas, the camp veterans read the names of Confederate dead and commended their sacrifice and the "work which they did for the preservation for the Constitution of the United States."[579]

Rather than participating as a religious speaker, C. I. Scofield was an honored guest at the Memorial Day celebration in Dallas in 1904. On this Memorial Day, the United Daughters of the Confederacy awarded several Southern Crosses of Honor to Confederate veterans living in Dallas, including one to Rev. C.I. Scofield.[580] The United Daughters of the Confederacy ledgers listed no detail about the award other than that Dallas Chapter #6 awarded a Southern Cross of Honor to Private C.I. Scofield, Company H, 7th Tennessee Infantry.[581] The ledger did not indicate any special recognition for Private Scofield's activities at the Battle of Antietam or anywhere else on the southern battlefield.

After receiving the decoration, Dr. Scofield claimed the award specifically recognized his valor at Antietam. He highly valued his recognition of Confederate service by the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Rev. Scofield frequently included the decoration in his bibliographic data where he often claimed the award was for "valor at Antietam."[582] By characterizing the medal as an award of valor, Dr. Scofield indicated that he associated the

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[577] "Honor to the Dead," *Dallas Morning News*, April 25, 1904.

[578] Wilson, 28.

[579] "Honor to the Dead."

[580] "Honor to the Dead." The United Daughters conceived and designed the Southern Cross of Honor as a medal to honor Confederate soldiers participation in the Civil War. The organization awarded the medal at its sole discretion and not in conjunction with any government entity. "Southern Cross of Honor," u. d. http://www.hqudc.org/ (accessed 25 October 2011).

[581] Private C.I. Scofield, Southern Cross of Honor Certification, Official Records of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Ledger Book #4, Page 442.

[582] Canfield, 290.

women's recognition with his own manliness and honor.[583] Southern women often glorified the service of Confederate men as a form of adoration.[584] In turn, southern men soothed their doubts about past "failure, sexual rejection, and lost manhood" from the attention of "admiring" southern women.[585] Dr. Scofield's claim that the medal indicated a recognition of his valor implied he viewed himself as valiant and honorable. The restoration of his honor through Confederate idealism probably soothed Dr. Scofield's wounded manhood.

After receiving the award from the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Rev. Scofield took his place among the men of the community as a decorated Confederate veteran. On November 2, 1904, Dr. and Mrs. Scofield attended a dinner in Dallas as special guests along with other "comrades in the Confederate Army." The dinner included Dr. S.D. Thurston (founder of Camp Sterling Price), A. W. Hawks who was "a courier on Gen. Stonewall Jackson's staff," and his father, Major Hawks "to whom Gen. Jackson is said to have spoken his last words."[586]

Recounting the celebration in the *Dallas Morning News*, the paper reported the "old soldiers exchanged many reminiscences" but did not specify exactly what reminiscences Dr. Scofield shared with these comrades.[587] By participating in the Confederate veteran community, Dr. Scofield redeemed some sense of virtuousness and manliness lost after his political downfall.[588] At Confederate soldier gathering, men often recalled their virtues as a way of expressing their manhood.[589] The bonding of Confederate men also offered a sense of community to veterans."[590]

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[583] Rotundo, 28.
[584] Brundage, 54.
[585] Foster, 29.
[586] "Dallas Social Affairs," *Dallas Morning News*, November 2, 1904.
[587] "Dallas Social Affairs.".
[588] Men claiming southern identity viewed honor and nobility as expressions of their manhood. Foster, 25.
[589] Blight, 206.
[590] Foster, 142.

Rev. Scofield also benefitted from his decorated Confederate status professionally also. Evidenced by the *Dallas Morning News,* Scofield established himself as a religious statesman in the Dallas community. On Christmas day in 1904, the *Dallas Morning News* announced that Dr. Scofield consented to make a series of thirty sermons available for publication in the *News*. The announcement included a brief biography and an elegant photograph of Dr. Scofield. The biography featured the now familiar story to Dallas that Dr. Scofield "enlisted in the Confederate Army under Gen. Robert E. Lee." [591] In addition, the announcement touted Scofield as a "much sought after speaker at the principal Bible conferences and institutes all over the country."[592] One indication of the importance of Dr. Scofield's religious leadership in Dallas appeared in the *Dallas Morning News* the following month. The paper reported that Dr. Scofield alerted the community to "the alarming spread of rationalism" and beckoned "Christians to awaken from their lethargy."[593]

The *Dallas Morning News* printed the promised weekly sermon from Dr. Scofield throughout 1905. Emboldened by his acceptance and recognition in the Confederate community, Scofield included references to his service in the Confederate army in some of his printed sermons. In one sermon Rev. Scofield warned of the dangers that the business community brought to men of his day, especially the "captains of industry."[594] Scofield reminded his readers that it was their duty to keep their manhood in line with Biblical teaching by consistently judging their own actions. Recalling his boyhood days in Richmond, Virginia during the Civil War, he spoke of being in the company of Robert E. Lee and other "giants of the day."[595] Rev. Scofield

[591] "Rev. C.I. Scofield, D. D.," *Dallas Morning News*, December 25, 1904.
[592] "Rev. C.I. Scofield, D. D."
[593] "Fasting and Prayer," *Dallas Morning News*, January 31, 1905.
[594] "Busy about the Wrong Thing," *Dallas Morning News*, 5 March, 1905.
[595] "Busy about the Wrong Thing." In this sermon, Rev. Scofield compared his visit to Richmond during the Civil War to the time he visited Richmond thirty years later for a reunion.

mused, "where was that boy in Confederate butternut who saw it all?" Answering himself, he said, "I felt with a sudden sternness that were another to deal with that war-time boy…I should hold him to an uncomfortable accounting."[596]

Sometime in that heightened season of Confederate activities in Dallas, Texas, Scofield jotted notes for a sermon outline titled "Address to Confederates." The notes included the sentiment "right superior race to bear white man's burden of an inferior race in its own way."[597] Removed from its context, the quote must be read cautiously but its theme of white supremacy appeared later in Dr. Scofield's popular study Bible. It is likely no coincidence that he prepared the annotations for the reference Bible immediately after he participated so strongly in the Confederate tradition in Dallas between 1903 and 1904.

Evidently, the religious rhetoric and participation in the southern community by Dr. Scofield convinced his fellow Dallas community members that he was a true southerner in spite of his northern birth. When the *Dallas Morning News* announced Dr. Scofield would hold a special lecture series on prophecy in the city the announcement read in part, "Dr. Scofield is a Confederate soldier and in every respect a distinctly Southern man in his sentiments."[598]

[596] "Busy about the Wrong Thing."

[597] Canfield, 230. It appears Cyrus Scofield prepared the sermon notes for the November 1903 address to Camp Sterling Price but no language about race appeared in the text printed in the *Dallas Morning News*.

[598] "Noted Minister here for Bible Lectures," *Dallas Morning News*, 20 November 1911.

## The Scholar and His Bible

In 1905, the religious statesmen of Dallas turned his attention to the Bible study project that languished a bit amidst the community commitments upon his return to his old charge. The great amount of time and travel needed for the Bible study project prompted Reverend Scofield to reduce his Dallas pulpit ministry. On September 13, 1905, the church granted its beloved pastor an extended leave of absence with an annual salary of $1000 so that he could work on the study Bible. The reduction in pastoral duties enabled him to devote his full attention to the Bible project, which required a great deal of travel.[599]

In the *Life Story*, Dr. Scofield said after the Dallas church released him from full time duties he planned a trip to London, England where he would sightsee and work on the reference Bible.[600] After his resignation in September 1905, Rev. Scofield applied for a passport to travel abroad for two years. During that time, Dr. Scofield visited Oxford, England and Montreux, Switzerland where he worked with resident theologians on the study Bible project.[601] In October 1907, Dr. Scofield returned to Dallas, Texas for a homecoming sermon before going to Crestwood in New Hampshire to finish work on the reference Bible.[602] Dr. Scofield completed a substantial amount of the preparation of the Bible notes abroad, especially while in England.

On January 15, 1909, Oxford University Press published the first edition of *The Scofield Reference Bible*, edited by Rev. C.I. Scofield, D. D.[603] The face page of the reference Bible prominently displayed Dr. Scofield's name in large print as editor with eight consulting editors,

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[599] "Notice of Special Meeting," 13 September 1905, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.

[600] Trumbull, 89.

[601] Cyrus Scofield to Parker Family, manuscript letter, 23 January 1906, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records.

[602] C. Ingerson Scofield, U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925; New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957 Ancestry.com, (accessed on 26 October 2011); "Texans Abroad," *Dallas Morning News*, 20 August 1905; "Year's Work of Y.M.C.A. Told," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 20 March 1906; "Texans Abroad," *Dallas Morning News*, 9 March 1906; "In New York," *Dallas Morning News*, 7 July 1906; " Church Notes," *Dallas Morning News*, 6 October 1907; "Again in His Pulpit," *Dallas Morning News*, 7 October 1907.

[603] Arno C. Gaebelein, *History of the Scofield Reference Bible*, 9.

including Arno C. Gaebelein, listed below Scofield's name in much smaller print. Shortly after the release of *The Scofield Reference Bible*, sixty-six year old Dr. Scofield retired from the Dallas pastorate to begin work with other "eminent American Bible scholars," on a tercentenary edition of Oxford University Press's Authorized King James Bible.[604] In 1911, the *Dallas Morning News* heralded the return of C. I. Scofield, the "famed Bible expert and eminent Bible man" who was to deliver a series of lectures on prophecy during his visit.[605]

The association with the Oxford University Press essentially accredited Dr. Scofield as a Bible scholar and lent great weight to the perception of his reference Bible as a scholarly work.[606] Walking a fine line between scholarship and divine guidance, Scofield represented that esteemed men of theology from Oxford University and Princeton University reviewed his Bible notes but he chose the final wording based on the guidance of the Holy Spirit.[607] Claiming he "put himself under obligation to the entire field of modern Bible study and scholarship," Dr. Scofield also clarified that the "destructive criticism and the new theology, both emanating from Germany, were in no sense congruous with his plan, and were wholly rejected as out of harmony" with his reference Bible.[608] According to Charles Trumbull, the explanatory notes of *The Scofield Reference Bible* emanated almost entirely from Dr. Scofield's "mature mind, technically trained through the habit of close investigation."[609] A record of the contributions of the consulting editors remains virtually nonexistent.[610]

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[604] Minutes, November 3, 1909. "Famous Bible Expert to Lecture in Dallas, *Dallas Morning News*, 26 November 1911."

[605] "Famous Bible Expert to Lecture in Dallas."

[606] "Famous Bible Expert to Lecture in Dallas."

[607] Trumbull, 107.

[608] Trumbull, 98.

[609] Trumbull, 106.

[610] Rausch, *Arno C. Gaebelein, 1861-1945*, 242-244. Gaebelein contributed some exposition on prophecy passages. When Oxford University Press released the 1967 new edition of the Scofield study Bible, it was "a genuine committee project" to correct significant "bugs" in Scofield's notes. The 1967 editorial committee included non-dispensationalists and dispensationalists.

The release C. I. Scofield's four-year study Bible project introduced both a revolutionary concept and novel content in Bible publishing in North America. The reference Bible included Dr. Scofield's explanatory notes as he envisioned, "attached to the Word."[611] At the time Dr. Scofield conceived the idea for his study Bible, there was no similar product available.[612] By using simple annotations printed underneath the Biblical text and marginal cross-referencing, Dr. Scofield expected that a novice Bible reader could understand and interpret scripture without the aid of outside commentaries. Scofield anticipated the reader of his reference Bible would have a complete Bible study method contained within his in-text study notes.[613] Scofield's system proved so successful that many adherents failed to distinguish between text and notes.[614]

Dr. Scofield's reference Bible was most innovative for the content of its notes. Scofield based his explanatory notes on his *own* system of interpreting Biblical text from a dispensational and pre-millennial perspective accepted only by a small minority of theologians in 1909.[615] The dispensational perspective refers to Scofield's treatment of the Biblical text according to what he called its right divisions or dispensations much as he outlined in his 1988 tract *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth*. The separate dispensations provided an interpretative framework for all of Scofield's Bible notes.[616] Because Scofield viewed each dispensation as distinct from other dispensations, Scofield treated Israel and the Church as separate entities throughout the Biblical text and taught a literal construct for Jews in every dispensation.[617]

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[611] Trumbull, 76.

[612] Mangum and Sweetnam, 211. Sweetnam provides an excellent discussion of the evolution of the study Bible concept in the United States.

[613] C.I. Scofield, ed., *The Scofield Reference Bible*, (Oxford University Press: New York, 1909), iii.

[614] Sandeen, 222.

[615] Kraus, 40; Sandeen, 38; Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 52; Keith A. Mathison, *Dispensationalism: Rightly Dividing the People of God?* (Phillipsburg.: P & R Publishing, 1995), 5.

[616] Kraus, 40.

[617] Scofield, *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth*, 8. The majority view in historical Christianity views the New Testament church as the spiritual fulfillment of Old Testament Israel.

The pre-millennial, prophetic perspective of *The Scofield Reference Bible* refers to the literal interpretation of future events in the six and seventh dispensations that lead to the final judgment and end of history. Scofield taught that before the inauguration of the seventh dispensation the ethnic Jews must be restored to sovereignty in their rightful land in Palestine (including Jerusalem).[618] After the restoration of Israel, Scofield said Jesus would rapture the church away from the earth and then he would return to Jerusalem to reign as king for one thousand years (millennium).[619] At the end of the millennium, a final battle of the nations would end history.[620] Scofield's Bible notes called on Christians to show blessings and favor towards the Jews. Besides the prominent notes advocating for Jewish sovereignty, the Scofield study Bible also included explanatory notes that viewed descendants of Ham, thought of in the twentieth century as Africans, to be servants to Caucasians. Other passages equated Catholics to pagans.[621] Oxford University Press released Dr. Scofield's study Bible for distribution in the United States on April 2, 1909.[622]

On April 15, 1909, the *Dallas Morning News* announced that the Sanger Brothers department store in Dallas had received its first shipment of the new Bible of "striking excellence," which it said was compiled by Dallas's own prominent minister, Dr. C. I. Scofield and published by the esteemed Oxford University Press.[623] On April 26, 1909, the *Dallas Morning News* published a full review of *The Scofield Reference Bible* calling the Bible's

[618] Scofield died before Israel declared independence but his followers viewed modern Israel as the fulfillment of prophecy. Scofield, *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth*, 8.

[619] Jesus reigning from Jerusalem represents a literal fulfillment of the Davidic Kingdom. Scofield, *Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth*, 10.

[620] C.I. Scofield, ed., *The Scofield Reference Bible*, Oxford University Press, 1917, on the Sixth dispensation, 1115, n. (2); on the Seventh dispensation, 1250, n. 3. Unless otherwise specified, page citations are to the 1917 edition.

[621] The 1967 revision of the Scofield study Bible evidences a departure from certain aspects of Scofield's theology but retains his name and basic interpretive system.

[622] "Dr. Scofield Publishes New Reference Bible," *Dallas Morning News*, 26 April 26 1909.

[623] "Dallas Honored," Dallas Morning News, 15 April 1909.

simultaneous release in England and the United States an international accomplishment. In recounting the endeavors of the Bible editor, the story credited Scofield as the leader of the largest Bible correspondence school in the world but hailed the reference Bible as his "crowning achievement.[624] Besides noting the consulting editors listed in the reference Bible, the newspaper review called attention to the theologians from Oxford University in London, England, Princeton University in the United States, and the Theological Faculty of Lausanne, Switzerland who contributed to the project.

The article noted the world needed the reference Bible to combat "the eminent professors in American colleges hammering away at the rock of ages."[625] Described as self-interpreting and an entirely new rendering of Biblical interpretation, the reviewer predicted success for the reference Bible. In the thoroughly positive review, the *Dallas Morning News* said, if carefully studied this Bible will be the "instrument in God's hands of stripping many a humble believer of the grave clothes of theology, loosing him from the traditions of the fathers."[626] In a June 1909 review, the *Northern Christian Advocate* welcomed the Scofield study Bible as the best edition available to lovers of the Word.[627]

The esteemed reception of the innovative reference Bible portended worldwide fame for Dr. Scofield, yet there seemed to be something amiss in his personal life. Scofield's reported overindulgence in prescription alcohol during this time caused some of his colleagues to be quite concerned about him.[628] Disappointments expressed to his daughter Helen Scofield Barlow from

[624] "Dr. Scofield Publishes New Reference Bible."
[625] "Dr. Scofield Publishes New Reference Bible."
[626] "Dr. Scofield Publishes New Reference Bible."
[627] "Library Table," *Northern Christian Advocate*, 10 June 1909.
[628] Hannah, 63.

his Crestwood property later that year suggested Dr. Scofield remained unfulfilled by his "God-planned" endeavor.[629] In September 1909, Scofield confided to Helen:

> *…work calls and even louder the call of a purse which has grown dismally empty—Scofielditis you know. I hate to gather my books and papers for so many flittings as I seem doomed to make. When I get rich I am going to have 3 homes—one in a winter apartment on Washington Heights, NY City, one at Crestwood, one at Sorrento, Italy. I shall then have duplicates—triplicates—of everything in the way of belongings which I especially value—works of reference for serious studies; my favorite books, prints, etc. I shall live in NY Nov.-February,; Sorrento, March –May, Crestwood, June-October...have courage my dear. If my ____itis is ever healed you shall have ease too.*
>
> *Your loving father,*
>
> *C.I. Scofield*[630]

Though the aging Dr. Scofield conveyed disappointment with the material fruits of his religious career, he remained active in the Bible conference ministry as his health permitted. Between 1909 and his 1921 death, Dr. Scofield published or collaborated on at least ten more theological works.[631] Scofield also contributed articles to fundamental publications including the popular *The Sunday School Times*, edited by *Life Story* author Charles Trumbull, and continued *The Scofield Correspondence Course* among other educational endeavors.[632] During World War I, Oxford University Press published the 1917 revised edition of *The Scofield Reference Bible* that became even more popular and profitable for the publisher and editor.[633]

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[629] Trumbull, 114.
[630] Cyrus Scofield to Helen Scofield Barlow, manuscript letter, 30 September 1909, C.I. Scofield Papers.
[631] A complete list of C. I. Scofield's work is included in the bibliography.
[632] Mangum and Sweetnam, 17.
[633] Mangum and Sweetnam, 7.

By 1918, the health of the seventy-five year old Bible editor declined considerably. The following summer in 1919, Scofield agreed to meet his disciple and friend "Charley" [Charles Trumbull] at Dr. Scofield's vacation home. Trumbull planned a series of friendly conversations to prepare a series on the aging editor's life story. Though not Sorrento, Italy, a "steel magnate" provided the vacation home in Crescent City, Florida for Scofield's lifetime use.[634] Charles Trumbull published the interviews with Scofield as a series in his periodical, *The Sunday School Times*.[635] The following year Oxford University Press published the material as Scofield's biography, *The Life Story of C.I. Scofield*. Dr. Scofield returned to his main home called Greyshingles in Douglaston on Long Island, New York to live out his final days largely sidelined by age and illness but forever memorialized in Trumbull's biography as a decorated Confederate veteran, successful lawyer, and Bible scholar. The biography expresses the high importance Dr. Scofield placed on his service as a decorated Confederate veteran.

Even though religious work still occupied much of Dr. Scofield's mind after the publication of his biography, the waning time and declining health seemed to turn his thoughts more and more to the past he so carefully left behind. Over the years, Scofield had resumed at least a correspondence relationship with both daughters. Scofield assisted his daughters' applications for membership in the Daughters of the American Revolution when they were young women.[636] He also sent each of his Catholic daughters a copy of *The Scofield Reference Bible* after its first release in 1909.[637] Scofield made frequent pledges of financial support to his daughters but his self-described "Scofielditis" apparently restrained his generosity towards the

[634] Cyrus Scofield to Abbie Scofield Kellogg, 5 August 1918.
[635] Canfield, 353.
[636] Cyrus Ingerson Scofield, *U.S., Sons of the American Revolution Membership Applications, 1889-1970,* Ancestry.com (accessed 11 October 2011).
[637] C. Scofield to Helen Scofield Barlow, 30 September 1909.

two women.[638] His letters indicated both father and daughter shared news of major events of their lives and at least one daughter visited him at his Long Island home.[639] In his correspondence, Cyrus Scofield sometimes pledged his love to his daughters and often closed his letters affectionately with either Papa or Father.

Even after Dr. Scofield's omission of his daughters from the 1920 biography, Abbie Scofield Kellogg and Helen Scofield Barlow continued to correspond with their long-absent father. On May 4, 1921, a rather melancholy Cyrus Scofield wrote to his oldest daughter Abbie, apparently for the last time. Sounding as if he were feeling sentimental during his recent bout of illness, Scofield penned the seemingly apologetic words, "despite giving no proof of it I have never lived so much in my love for you & Helen & L. M. as during these months of growing infirmity." He closed the letter "with love to the L. M. if she is still with you.[640] Though the father seemed to be apologizing to the daughters, there was no other explicit indication of whom Dr. Scofield referred to as "L.M."[641]

The infirmity never abated and Cyrus Ingerson Scofield died at his Douglaston home on Sunday, July 24, 1921, without ever making a public acknowledgement of his two daughters. In his final denial, Helen Scofield Barlow requested a copy of her father's Last Will and Testament only to find her name absent from the important document. In the same month that Reverend Scofield pledged his love to his daughters, he also prepared his Last Will and Testament. The will made no mention of either Abigail or Helen but left his entire estate, including the

[638] C. Scofield to Helen Scofield Barlow, 30 September 1909.
[639] Cyrus Scofield to Abbie Scofield Kellogg 4 May 1921.
[640] C. Scofield to A. Scofield Kellogg 4 May 1921.
[641] Speculation abounds that the reference was to his former wife, baptized Mary Leontine Cerré. See *Early U.S. French Catholic Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1695-1954*, Ancestry.com. (accessed 25 October 2011). Scofield's sister Laura Marie died four years earlier in 1917. See death certificate of Laura Marie Eames, Missouri Death Index.

substantial royalty payments from Oxford University Press, to his wife Hettie Scofield and his son Noel Paul Scofield.[642]

[642] Martin Littleton to Helen Scofield Barlow, manuscript letter, 21 October 1921, Scofield Memorial Church Selected Records, CN014, Series, II, Folder 14, Archives, Dallas Theological Library, Dallas, Texas.

# CHAPTER 6

## THE LEGACY OF DR. C. I. SCOFIELD

In 1924 C. I. Scofield's protégé, Lewis Sperry Chafer founded the Dallas Theological Seminary in Dallas, Texas as the first seminary institution in the United States dedicated to teaching dispensational theology as found in *The Scofield Reference Bible*.[643] Already a popular study Bible among individuals in 1924, the institutionalization of *The Scofield Reference Bible* ensured longevity for C. I. Scofield's dispensational approach to Bible study.

Scofield's reference Bible gained adherents worldwide selling one million copies in its first two decades in print and accounted for tremendous profits for Oxford University Press for several years.[644] On the fiftieth anniversary of the initial publication, Oxford University Press called *The Scofield Reference Bible* the "most widely known reference edition of the Bible in English language."[645] The popular 1917 edition of *The Scofield Reference Bible* remains widely available.[646] Surpassing one hundred years of publication, *The Scofield Reference Bible* still bears C. I. Scofield's name and dispensational system even though an editorial committee significantly revised the reference work over forty years after his death.[647] Available in almost every major language, translation, and version, the Scofield study Bible is so commonplace in

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[643] Hannah, 88. Hannah offers an authoritative history on the complex relationship between Dallas Theological Seminary and conservative evangelicals with differing millennial views.

[644] Mangum and Sweetnam indicated the Scofield Bible sales sustained Oxford University Press through the lean years of World War I and sales increased during the Great Depression. Mangum and Sweetnam, 7. Oxford declined to release exact Bible sales and fire destroyed most Oxford records related to the 1909 and 1917 editions of the Scofield Bible. For general sales history, see Peter H. Sutcliffe, *The Oxford University Press: An Informal History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 184 and Frank Gaebelein, *The Story of the Scofield Reference Bible, 1909-1959* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), 6.

[645] Frank Gaebelein, 5; Mangum and Sweetnam, 211. Mark Sweetnam provided an excellent discussion on the groundbreaking role of Scofield's work in American study Bibles.

[646] C.I. Scofield, ed. *The Scofield Reference Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1909, rev.ed. 1917, reprint edition 1945). In 1967, Oxford University Press made significant revisions to Scofield's 1917 edition and re-titled the work *The New Scofield Reference Bible*. Editions bearing *The Old Scofield Reference Bible* refer to the 1917 edition.

[647] Even though the 1967 editors revised the explanatory note related to the descendants of Ham, the anti-Catholic sentiments remain integral to the dispensational system.

Bible education that it influenced some of the best-known religious authors in modern American Christianity including Hal Lindsey, John MacArthur, Chuck Swindoll, John Hagee, Charles Stanley, and Kay Arthur.[648]

In assessing the impact of C. I. Scofield's *magnum opus* on systematic theology, Todd Mangum said, "historically speaking, *The Scofield Reference Bible* was to dispensationalism what [Martin] Luther's *Ninety-Five Theses* was to Lutheranism, or John Calvin's *Institutes* to Calvinism."[649] Historians have not failed to appreciate the historical role of *The Scofield Reference Bible* in American religious movements. Historian George Marsden called Scofield "the great systematizer" of the dispensational movement based on his method of dividing and classifying Biblical text for novice readers.[650] Fundamentalist historian Ernest Sandeen called *The Scofield Reference Bible* "the most influential single publication in millenarianism and fundamentalist historiography."[651] Historian Stephen Sizer referred to Scofield as "the most influential exponent of dispensationalism" through the canonization of Zionism."[652] Dr. Scofield's reference work became a mainstay in study Bibles and a cornerstone of the Christian fundamentalist movement.[653]

As has been shown, Dr. Scofield dropped his seminal work in the fairly still and pristine waters of Christian theology in 1909. Of the many ripples that resulted, one of the most notable has been the effect of dispensationalism on garnering unqualified support of Israel. The widespread publication of the pre-millennial, dispensational scheme in *The Scofield Reference Bible* ignited a revolution in Christian thinking exhorting its readers to believe that modern Jews

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[648] Mangum and Sweetnam, 197.
[649] Mangum and Sweetnam, 195.
[650] Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 59.
[651] George Marsden revised much of Sandeen's contributions on the roots of American Christian fundamentalism. Sandeen, 222.
[652] Stephen Sizer, *Christian Zionism: Road Map to Armageddon?* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 2004), 64.
[653] Sandeen, 222.

were the heirs to the most revered religious places in the world. Dr. Scofield's Bible annotations encouraged Christians to show special favor towards modern Jews, which contributed to widespread Christian support of Jewish nationalism. Christian favoritism towards Jews and Israel developed into nonnegotiable religious and political ideals in modern American culture.[654]

Rev. Scofield defined both Jews and Israel as having literal meanings in Biblical and contemporaneous events.[655] As Rev. Scofield explained, before Jesus could return to Israel the Jews *must be restored* to their scriptural homeland. At the time Scofield wrote his Bible notes, the ancient land of Israel was under Arab control in Palestine. Adherents to Scofield's dispensational theology not only expected statehood for Jews based on his interpretation of the Bible's prophetic passages, but also saw Christians as agents in the divine plan to bring about restoration of the Jews to Palestine. *The Scofield Reference Bible* and its followers became some of the most powerful arbiters of the Jewish national revival.[656]

Religious zeal for Jews to inherit the land of Palestine became a political movement known as Christian Zionism in the United States.[657] In both Christian and Jewish thought, Zion was the homeland, whether spiritual (New Jerusalem), geographical (Jerusalem), or both, that was given to a chosen people (Jews) of God. Zion, then, is a metonymy for all things Jerusalem. Zionists, whether Jewish or American, advocated through religious, political, and cultural ways for the restoration of Jews to statehood in Palestine, which includes Jerusalem. During the late nineteenth century, dispensationalists viewed any movement whether secular or religious as part of the divine plan for the Jewish restoration.[658] American support for Jewish statehood was

[654] Sizer, 76.
[655] *The Scofield Reference Bible* 25.
[656] Rausch, *Arno C. Gaebelein, 1861-1943*, 65-66.
[657] Sizer, 96
[658] Rausch , *Arno C. Gaebelein, 1861-1943*, 67.

rooted in religious beliefs found in the widely popular dispensational system popularized in *The Scofield Reference Bible*.[659]

Cyrus Scofield believed that if interpreted according to his system, the Bible functioned as a guide to understanding and predicting the major events of world history. Increased usage of *The Scofield Reference Bible* encouraged Christians to relate events in twentieth century Palestine to prophecy events as explained in Scofield's Bible notes. In an article entitled "The Israel of God" published in the prophetical periodical *Our Hope*, Rev. Scofield emphasized that the promises of God to the Jewish people remained valid and foreshadowed the literal fulfillment of events human history. He forewarned anyone that might stand in Israel's way saying, "no nation had ever persecuted the Jew and escaped national retribution."[660]

Prominent dispensationalist and consulting editor of *The Scofield Reference Bible* Arno C. Gaebelein proclaimed Jerusalem "free" after the 1918 British capture of "David's City."[661] Gaebelein said the return of the world's Jews to their "God given land" was divinely ordained and a fulfillment of prophecy.[662] The founding of the state of Israel prompted great excitement among pre-millennial minded Christians who believed it was the "most significant fulfillment of prophecy in the twentieth century."[663] Of course, dispensationalists believed that Jesus Second Coming was imminent.

Widely used by Christian conservatives throughout the twentieth century, modern conservative evangelicals inherited many fundamentalist ideas from *The Scofield Reference*

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[659] Sandeen, 234.
[660] Rausch , *Arno C. Gaebelein, 1861-1943*, 66.
[661] Sandeen, 234 quoting, Arno C. Gaebelein, "The Capture of Jerusalem and the Great Future of that City," Christ and Glory; Addresses delivered at the New York Prophetic Conference Carnegie Hall, November 25-28, 1918 (New York: Publication Office of Our Hope, 1919), 3. Gaebelein died in 1945 still believing that a national Israel would be a reality.
[662] Sandeen, 234.
[663] Sizer, 85.

*Bible*.[664] By the mid twentieth century, conservative evangelical Christians advocated politically for agendas that conformed to their religious beliefs. These politically active evangelical Christians presently represent a formidable voting cohort in the cultural fabric of the United States. Just a few examples demonstrate the manifestation in modern American culture of conservative Christian beliefs related to Jews and Israel inherited from *The Scofield Reference Bible* notes.

Jerry Falwell worked tirelessly to promote a socially conservative Christian agenda through political advocacy.[665] Based on his religious beliefs, he also became a staunch advocate for the nation of Israel within the American political system. Jerry Falwell's relationship with Israel started with his purchase of *The Scofield Reference Bible* while he was a young college student. As soon as Falwell became a Christian, he purchased a Scofield study Bible at the local bookstore. Falwell "ravenous[ly] read both the Bible and Mr. Scofield's notes."[666] Much like Cyrus Scofield, Falwell quickly adopted Biblical literalism and decided within months to enter the ministry. Falwell transferred to the dispensational Baptist Bible College to complete his theological training.[667] Rev. Falwell later became President of the Christian college, Liberty University, and a popular televangelist

A well-known friend and ambassador to Israel for over half a century, Jerry Falwell's special relationship with Israel exemplified his application of Scofield's Bible notes on showing favor towards Jews. [668] In 1980, former Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin recognized Jerry Falwell's aid to the Jewish nation by awarding Falwell the Jabotinsky Medal of Freedom.

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[664] Mangum and Sweetnam, 5.
[665] Sizer, 104
[666] Macel Falwell and Melanie Hemry. *Jerry Falwell: His Life and Legacy* (New York: Howard Books, 2008), 28.
[667] Macel Falwell and Melanie Hemry.
[668] Sizer, 89,

Begin also gave Falwell the use of a Lear jet aid the televangelist in his travels to promote the sovereignty of the Israeli government to his constituents.[669] Besides working with Israeli leaders, Falwell worked closely with parachurch organizations such as the International Fellowship of Christians and Jews to promote "bridge-building between the two faiths."[670]

After Jerry Falwell died in 2007, the president of the International Fellowship of Christians and Jews praised Falwell's work of ensuring that American Christians supported Israel. Quoting Falwell, the Fellowship president said, "the Bible Belt is Israel's safety belt." He went on to say, "wherever there are faithful, Bible-believing Christians, I can be assured of finding true friends and supporters of Israel. He [Falwell] did much to ensure that 'safety belt' remained strong as ever."[671]

Israel found its relationship with Rev. Falwell instrumental in times of international stress between the United States and Israeli governments. In 1981, the Israeli air force bombed an Iraqi nuclear facility outside Baghdad, Iraq killing ten Iraqis and one French civilian. The attack prompted international outrage against Israel but as the American State Department contemplated diplomatic reaction to the strike, Menachem Begin called Rev. Falwell to smooth relations. Menachem Begin explained to Falwell, "I did it to save our little children from the danger of annihilation" and asked the evangelist to rally American support through his politically active evangelical base.[672] Falwell reportedly replied, "I support Israel with all my heart."[673]

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[669] Shlomo Nakdimon, *First Strike: The Exclusive Story of How Israel Foiled Iraq's Attempt to get the Bomb*, trans. Peretz Kidron (New York: Summit Books, 1987), 254. Falwell was the first non-Jew to receive the medal.

[670] "Rabbi Eckstein Mourns Rev. Falwell—an 'Undeterred Supporter' of Israel," 15 may 2007, http://www.ifcj.org/site/News2?page=NewsArticle&id=15163 (accessed 25 October 2011).

[671] "Rabbi Eckstein Mourns Rev. Falwell—an 'Undeterred Supporter' of Israel."

[672] Nakdimon, 254. Nakdimon also reported that Begin called Falwell before he called any U.S. official.

[673] Nakdimon, 254.

After public pressure, the United States tamped down the United Nation's actions towards Israel.[674]

In a 2004 survey conducted by the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, surveyors studied Americans' views on religion, politics, and public policy concerning Israel. Not surprisingly, the survey found ordinary American Christian voters hold strong pro-Jewish attitudes shaped by their religious beliefs and use those beliefs to inform their political opinions and voting behavior. The survey studied the 2004 Presidential election finding that evangelical Christians, which include dispensationalists, constituted twenty-six percent of the American population and provided George Bush with forty percent of his total votes.[675]

The evangelical Christians that overwhelmingly supported George Bush also expressed unprecedented support for Israel and cited religious beliefs as the single biggest influence on their views toward Israel. Seventy-two percent of evangelicals believed that God gave the land of Israel to the Jews, while sixty-three percent of evangelicals believed that Israel fulfills Biblical prophecies related to Jesus's Second Coming.[676] The survey also found that religious beliefs affect which ethnic and national groups American evangelicals prefer to favor with public policy. In the same 2004 Pew survey, the surveyors found that sixty-four percent of the most traditional evangelicals agreed that United States policy should favor Jews over Palestinians.[677] With evangelical Christians comprising one fourth of the American populace, it is not surprising that

[674] David K. Shipler, "Israelis are Critical of U.S. Decision to hold up F-16's for Raid on Iraq," *New York Times*, 12 June 1981, http://www.nytimes.com/1981/06/12/world/israelis-are-critical-of-us-decision-to-hold-up-f-16-s-for-raid-on-iraq.html?scp=2&sq=osirak&st=nyt (accessed 25 October 2011).

[675] "American Evangelicals and Israel," 15 April 2005, http://pewforum.org/Christian/American-Evangelicals-and-Israel.aspx (accessed 25 October 2011).

[676] "American Evangelicals and Israel."

[677] "American Evangelicals and Israel."

an Israeli prime minister would turn to evangelical Christians to buttress American support for its activities involving Arabs and Palestinians.[678]

Though American Jews represent a powerful American lobby for pro-Israeli policies, the group only accounts for about two percent of the United States population.[679] Evangelical Christians represent millions more and hold tremendous sway in the voting booth. Commenting on the political power evangelicals bring to bear on Washington D.C., Christian Zionist and dispensationalist John Hagee said, "When a Congressmen sees someone from AIPAC coming through the door, he knows he represents six million people. We [evangelical Christians] represent forty million people."[680] As the Pew study found, evangelical American Christians overwhelmingly believed that Israel exists because it was God's will, that God gave the land of Israel to the Jews as an inheritance, and that modern Israel plays a key role in the Second Coming of Christ. In the 2004 Presidential election, evangelical Christian beliefs played a decisive role in the American political and policy process. [681]

A 2004 study at George Mason University found similar outcomes but specifically studied attitudes towards foreign policy among American pre-millennial dispensationalist. This study concluded that "fundamentalists are distinctively pro-Israel and this can be plausibly attributed to pre-millennialism."[682] Other than the Bible, the George Mason University study cited two contemporary influences on pre-millennial beliefs, the work of Jerry Falwell and the best-selling series, *Left Behind* books co-authored by Tim LaHaye and Jerry Jenkins.[683] Introduced in 1995, books from the *Left Behind* series sold over eighty million copies and seven

[678] Richard Allen Greene, "Evangelical Christians Plead for Israel," 19 July 2006, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/5193092.stm, (accessed 25 October 2011), 1

[679] Greene, 2.

[680] Greene, 2

[681] "American Evangelicals and Israel."

[682] Jeremy D. Mayer, "Christian Fundamentalist and Public Opinion Toward the Middle East: Israel's New Best Friends," *Social Science Quarterly*, 85, no. 3, 704.

[683] Mayer, 705.

out of sixteen titles registered on the New York Times bestseller list. Tim LaHaye is a pre-millennial, dispensational author who holds a doctor of literature degree from Liberty University and is a prolific writer on Biblical prophecy.[684] Jerry Jenkins is a publisher with the Moody Bible Institute.[685] *Left Behind* is a series of apocalyptic thrillers that follow the lives of those left behind after the rapture of the church prior to Jesus Second Coming.[686] The *Left Behind* series is essentially a fictional account of the end times events developed from the dispensational theology of C. I. Scofield.

These brief examples of the role of dispensational theology in modern American culture demonstrate the lasting influence of C. I. Scofield. Rev. Scofield's particular interpretation of prophetic events and the belief that modern Jews and Israel play a key role in Jesus's Second Coming were virtually unknown in Christianity before publication of *The Scofield Reference Bible*.[687] Publisher George B. Dealey of the *Dallas Morning News* summed up C. I. Scofield's legacy best, saying, "though he is dead, his work has not ceased."[688]

[684] "Tim LaHaye's Biography," u. d., https://timlahaye.com/shopcontent.asp?type=Biography (accessed 25 October 2011)
[685] "Biography," u.d., http://www.jerryjenkins.com/about-2/biography/ (accessed 13 November 2011).
[686] "Tim LaHaye's Biography."
[687] Sandeen, 74.
[688] "Tributes Paid to Dr. C. I. Scofield," *Dallas Morning News*, 28 November 1921.

# CHAPTER 7

# CONCLUSION

This thesis reveals that C. I. Scofield's claim to be a decorated Confederate hero, a successful lawyer, and a Bible scholar merely reflected a reputation he sought after his political and personal ruin in Atchison, Kansas in 1873. C. I. Scofield used opportunity, confidence, and the good will of others to disguise an unrepentant ambition for recognition as a professional minister. Reverend Scofield's claim of being a decorated veteran, successful lawyer, or Bible scholar each seem less than compelling individually, but considered together as part of his life story reveals the complex nature of the man and his theology.

As this thesis has shown, Cyrus Scofield rose to the height of his manhood when President Grant appointed him to the position of federal attorney in 1873. In the late nineteenth century, the standard for white manhood included the traditional notions of power, authority, and identity.[689] Men both derived and expressed their identity through their daily work and management of their household.[690] As modernization and industrialization wrought social changes in American society, men valued hard work and physical strength as virtues of their manhood. Professional achievement and wealth evidenced a man's hard work and individual success.[691] Scofield embodied the pursuit of these ideals in both his professional and family life. Once scandal removed his identity, Scofield turned to evangelicalism and the Confederacy to acquire his new male identity yet both appear to be a thin veneer.

Clever, logical, and articulate—Scofield artfully invested his traits like capitalists invested money in steel and railroads. Over the course of his life, Scofield capitalized on nearly every opportunity to establish his male identity through his professional and social status, which

[689] Lindman, 394.
[690] Lindman, 395.
[691] Rotundo, 30.

reached its height in Dallas, Texas. Becoming a minister and adopting a southern, battle-hardened image, Rev. Scofield transformed into a man of valor and prestige. Though no Andrew Carnegie, Scofield's prominence and especially his income from the reference Bible sales should have improved his Scofielditis.

The publication of *The Scofield Reference Bible* proved more than a one-man *coup d'état* over standard Christian theology, it became a financial powerhouse and a source of individual fame. Between 1915 and 1921, Oxford University Press disclosed $76,847.63 in royalties paid to Scofield, which represented an average annual income of $15,269.46. In 1920, the average family earned just over $1200 in annual income.[692] Already above average at the $1500 annual salary from the First Congregational Church of Dallas, Scofield's personal income soared with increasing sales of the reference Bible.

Rev. Scofield's adoption of the rhetoric and the rituals of the Confederate tradition while a minister in the Dallas community indicated the regional measures he employed to bolster his professional status. Some historians may bristle at the idea of Rev. Scofield, a Confederate deserter, seated in the midst of a Dallas dinner party reminiscing about Confederate war stories with a courier of Stonewall Jackson. Similarly, many will see Dr. Scofield's purported reminiscence of General Lee securing "Union eats" for his men from an obliging General Grant as one of the "romantic re-imagined surrender stories" prevalent in the reconciliation years of the 1890s.[693] These events seem dishonest since Scofield left the war front to live safely behind Union protection but they also forewarn of his unnecessary participation in the Lost Cause

[692] Peggy Whitley, *"American Cultural History, 1920-1929,"* Lone Star College-Kingwood Library. November 2008. http://wwwappskc.lonestar.edu/popculture/decade20.html (accessed 25 October 2011).

[693] Caroline E. Janney, "Appomattox and Retreat from Reconciliation," *The Journal of Southern History* 77, no. 1 (February 2011), 94. Ironically, because Scofield discharged and deserted before Appomattox, he unwittingly falsified an already false legend, the so-called Myth of Appomattox.

culture and his promotion of the divisive pre-war social order of the south while living in Dallas, Texas.

Telling more than a few war stories, Dr. Scofield perpetuated the commonly held Plantation Myth that slave owners cared for an inferior race of people out of love. In the *Life Story*, Dr. Scofield described slavery as a "kind, patriarchal form" where "masters and mistresses loved one another."[694] As if he had personal knowledge, Scofield said he recalled, "more than one Southern family mortgaged its land in order to continue to take care of its free but needy slaves."[695] Rev. Scofield likely acquired his patriarchal view of blacks during his years in Dallas, Texas where the idea flourished among elite whites.[696] This paternalistic view of society was fundamental to the Lost Cause vision of the south and Scofield canonized the idea in *The Scofield Reference Bible*.[697] With a view towards African Americans, Scofield explained in his reference Bible note on Genesis 9:25 that the "prophetic declaration is made that from Ham will descend an inferior and servile posterity."[698] In the twentieth century United States, the inferior and servile race usually referred to African Americans.

Dr. Scofield's use of southern rhetoric on race begs the question of whether he relied more on the Confederate tradition or Oxford theologians to edit some his Bible notes.[699] While the view that the Bible somehow sanctioned black inequality did not originate with Cyrus Scofield, he did marry the idea to his prophetic interpretations by pointing towards black servanthood as the will of God in his Bible annotations. In the 1920 biography, Dr. Scofield

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[694] Trumbull, 6.

[695] Trumbull, 6.

[696] Phillips, 51. Phillips argued that Scofield used his racially charged preaching to maintain the status of white elites in Dallas, Texas. Phillips work on Scofield is part of a larger whiteness study in Dallas, Texas .

[697] Wilson, 100.

[698] *The Scofield Reference Bible*, 16, note to Genesis 9:25; See also Mangum and Sweetnam, 82; Mangum and Sweetnam acknowledged that *The Scofield Reference Bible* gave "stature and popularity to the curse of Ham" but attributed its source to Old School Southern Presbyterians" rather than Scofield's acculturation in Dallas, Texas.

[699] Foster used the phrase "confederate tradition" to describe the Lost Cause rituals of the south. Wilson used the phrase "civil religion." See updated discussion on the debate over the two terms in Wilson, xiv.

related similar notions towards African Americans to Charles Trumbull who included the story as a "Confederate reminiscence which appeals to Scofield's sense of humor."[700] The story Dr. Scofield told involved a formal dinner that both he and Senator Roscoe Conkling attended during the Reconstruction years. Senator Conkling arrived late to the dinner after some political haranguing with Senator Charles Sumner from Massachusetts. In explaining his late arrival, Senator Conkling declared, "the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Sumner] has just been making his annual attempt to enact a law to abolish the distinction made by God Almighty between black and white."[701] By characterizing the story as a Confederate recollection, Dr. Scofield left open the notion that he viewed Reconstruction as a futile endeavor since he seemed to believe the separation of the races was divinely ordained.

Almost every student of C. I. Scofield draws a line of demarcation after his 1879 Bible conversion but this thesis shows no such line is justified. Todd Mangum concluded that Scofield seemed to exhibit no pattern of deception about his past, especially after the 1879 conversion. However, Scofield's obvious deception about his Civil War experience significantly damages his credibility. After deserting the southern conflict, escaping to Union protection, and repudiating what he called the "rebel religion," Scofield hardly seems the model Confederate soldier that stood with General Lee at the Appomattox Courthouse in 1865. Instead, the self-aggrandizing C. I. Scofield deceived his followers about his past throughout his entire life, especially by claiming he served throughout the Civil War. As this thesis reflects, he maintained the false claim until his death in 1921.

From his Civil War enlistment to the publishing of his biography one year before his death, Scofield masterfully adapted and arranged just enough truth about his life to serve his own

[700] Trumbull, 128.

[701] Trumbull, 128. Both Charles Sumner and Roscoe Conkling introducing several Reconstruction bills to promote black equality.

ambitious and manly needs. Todd Mangum wrote, "in the final analysis C.I. Scofield seems to have lived a life of high Christian character."[702] Scofield's followers will decide if they agree but this thesis reflects that Rev. Scofield carefully cultivated his following by misrepresenting himself as a noble ex-Confederate Bible scholar. Egotistically drenched in southern heritage, C.I. Scofield built a scholarly reputation by promoting an anti-black, anti-Catholic, pro-Jewish theology. This writer emphatically agrees with Todd Mangum on at least one count, there is an urgent need for sound scholarship on Cyrus Ingerson Scofield and his legacy, *The Scofield Reference Bible*.[703]

[702] Mangum and Sweetnam, 20.
[703] Mangum and Sweetnam, 5.

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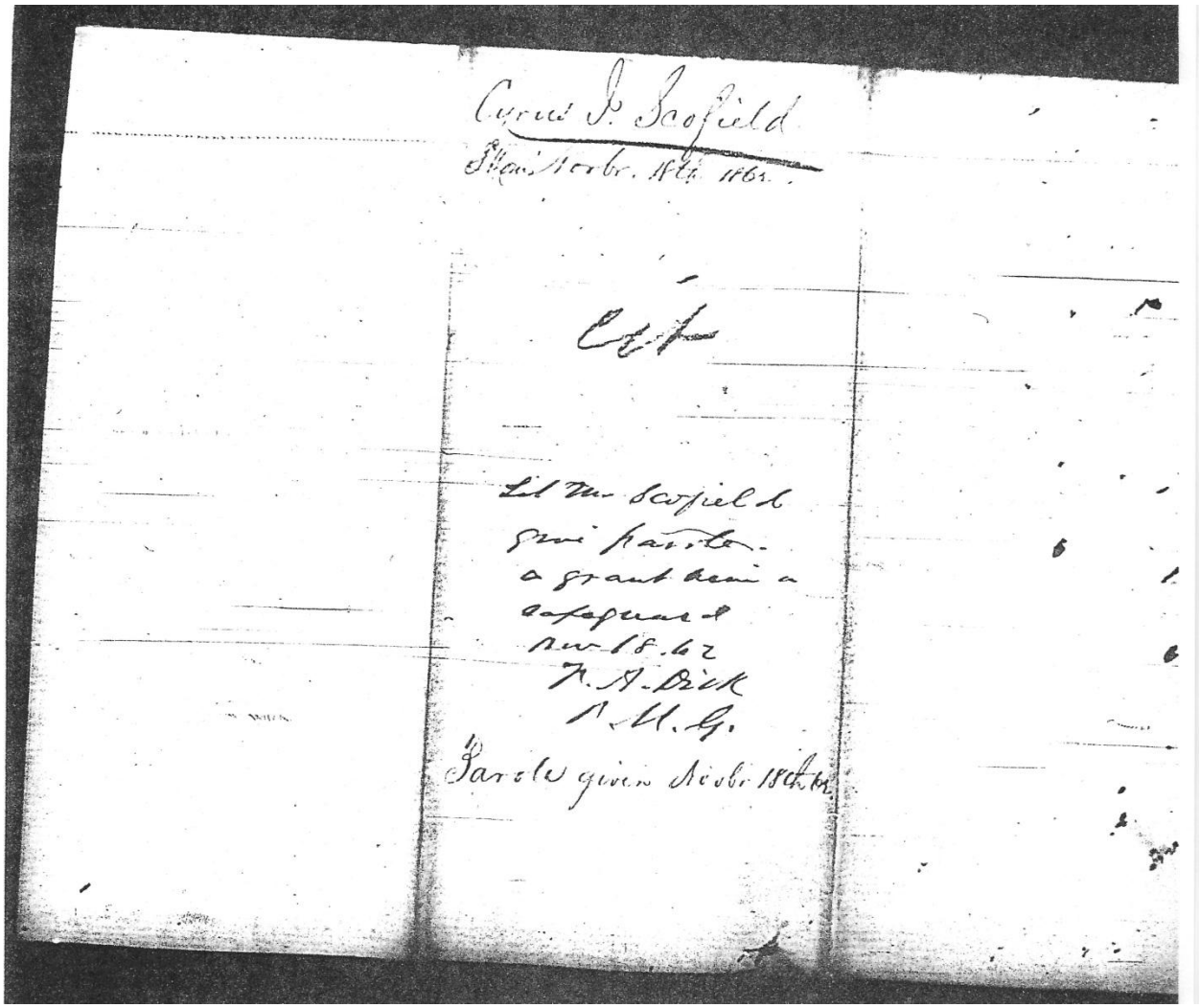
Appendix

Cyrus Scofield Letter to Col. F. A. Dick, 18 November 1862



St Louis Nov 15th 1862

Col F A Dick.
Provost Marshal General
Sir,

Having recently come to this City from the States in rebellion I beg to lay my case before you:
I am a native of Clinton, Michigan, where I resided in my fathers family until Febuary 1861 at which time I was 17 years old. I then went to Lebanon Tennessee seeking for employment under my brother-in-law Dr W H Eaves Dentist. In may following I was persuaded to join the State troops of Tennessee before the secession of the state. Shortly afterwards the Company I joined was ordered into the Confederate service I repeatedly sought for a discharge which I did not obtain until the 29th of September last when having made application as an "alien to the Confederate Government and a citizen of the United States" I finaly after persistent efforts and a personal interview with the Confederate Secretary of war, obtained under great difficulty at Richmond, I obtained. The object of my desire — my dismissal from the Rebel army as a U.S. citizen who was never sworn into the service of the

Confederate States and proceeded back to my friends in Lebanon there I found that my brother in law had gone to St Louis a Union refugee I remained there some three weeks in my sisters family when being ordered by the military Authorities to a Camp of Military instruction at McMinnville I started on foot with the intention of effecting my escape to the federal lines which I succeeded in doing after marching 75 miles to Bowling Green Ky. Here I reported myself to the Authorities took the oath of allegiance and passed on to St Louis to my friends here. I am now and have been since my arrival a resident in the family of another brother-in-law Mr. S.C. Pascin.

The discharge which I got from the Confederate Authorities I left with my sister Mrs Eames in Lebanon Tenn as I was afraid if found with it when endeavoring to escape the rebel lines I would be arrested and sent back to the Army.

It may be proper for me to state in explanation that after obtaining my discharge and reaching Tennessee the rebel rule became much more strict and that having been ordered to a Military Camp of instruction my discharge

as a U.S. Citizen would have been no protection to me. And if once secured I would have been compelled to a new service in the rebel ranks.

My desire is to be allowed to remain here as a loyal Citizen of the U.S. which I have always been notwithstanding the untoward circumstances in which I have been placed during this rebellion and the false position I have found myself against my inclination occupying until my recent escape from Tennessee.

Very respectfully &c
Cyrus I. Scofield

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