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Wesleyan Theological Journal

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SAVING SOULS IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY: A MISSIOLOGICAL MIDRASH ON JOHN WESLEY	7
William J. Abraham	
THE HOLINESS MOVEMENTS IN WORLD CHRISTIANITY: HISTORIOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONS.....	21
David Bundy	
GILBERT W. BLINN AND THE ORIGINS OF THE METROPOLITAN CHURCH ASSOCIATION IN SOUTH AFRICA..	54
William C. Kostlevy	
NAZARENE ODYSSEY AND THE HINGES OF INTERNATIONALIZATION	66
Stan Ingersol	
A PERFECT CHURCH: TOWARD A WESLEYAN MISSIONAL ECCLESIOLOGY	83
Stephen W. Rankin	
ETHICAL DIALOGUE: TRINITARIAN EXTERNALITY AS A PATTERN FOR EVANGELISM AND MISSIONS.....	105
Eric R. Severson	
THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH IN ACTS: INCLUSIVE OR EXCLUSIVE?	125
Thomas E. Phillips	
A THEOLOGY OF URBAN MINISTRY, SUPPORTED BY THE WESLEYAN QUADRILATERAL	138
John E. Stanley	
THE REVIVALIST MOVEMENT AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A HOLINESS/PENTECOSTAL PHILOSOPHY OF MISSIONS.....	160
Wallace Thornton, Jr.	
REFORM AND HOLINESS FOR PRISONERS: A WESLEYAN MISSION FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY... 	187
Robert Henning	
WHY DO MISSIONS? PROBE OF WESLEY IN SEARCH OF MOTIVATIONAL RESOURCES FOR MISSIONS	210
Ron Creasman	
W. H. TURNER AND THE CHINESE PENTECOST	226
William T. Purinton	
BOOK REVIEWS AND ADVERTISING	242

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The Society's mission is to encourage the exchange of ideas among Wesleyan-Holiness theologians; to develop a source of papers for CHP (Christian Holiness Partnership) seminars; to stimulate scholarship among younger theologians and pastors; and to publish a scholarly journal.

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EDITOR'S NOTES

In this issue Thomas Phillips examines the “inclusive” nature of the church’s mission as found in the Book of Acts and William Abraham joins Ron Creasman in both revisiting the missiological mandate at the heart of John Wesley’s teaching and exploring its dilemmas and opportunities in the current “postmodern” context. A key component of the Wesleyan/Holiness missiological tradition is made clear by David Bundy. For understanding the theologies and relationships of holiness movements in today’s world Christianity, he reports that one must break free of the notion that all “holiness” people are related to the nineteenth-century American camp meeting tradition and some version of Methodism. If the Holiness Movement is dying, as is sometimes reported, the death is only in the limited framework of the North American setting, narrowly defined. In fact, there is much diversity and vitality in Holiness networks around the world.

The essays in this issue were presented at the 37th Annual Meeting of the Wesleyan Theological Society that convened on the campus of Hobe Sound Bible College in Florida, March 1-2, 2002. The theme was “Mission in the Wesleyan Traditions.” Global dimensions of the Christian mission in this distinctive environment are highlighted in the articles by William Purinton on the “Chinese Pentecost,” William Kostlevy on the Metropolitan Church Association of South Africa, and Stan Ingersol on the dynamics of internationalization in the Church of the Nazarene. Aspects of the origin, nature, and application of a Wesleyan/Holiness philosophy of mission are treated helpfully by Robert Henning, Stephen Rankin, Eric Severson, and Wallace Thornton, Jr. Book reviews, publisher advertisements, and a Society membership application are also included as a service to readers. All of this is sent forth for the good of the churches and their important mission in the world today.

The Wesleyan Theological Society is pleased that, under its auspices and sponsored by the Bahamas Wesleyan Fellowship, there was convened on January 9-10, 2003, in Nassau, Bahamas, a special conference with the theme “Faith Working Through Love: Wesleyan Traditions Today.” Select papers delivered on that occasion will appear in the Fall 2003 issue. The 38th Annual Meeting of WTS convened March 20-22, 2003, hosted by Asbury Theological Seminary and meeting jointly with the Society for Pentecostal Studies. The theme was “Wesleyan and Pentecostal Movements for a New Century: Crucial Choices, Essential Contributions.” Select papers from this meeting will appear in the Spring 2004 issue. Included in this issue is a book review and advertisement of Laurence Wood’s *The Meaning of Pentecost in Early Methodism* (Scarecrow, 2002), winner of the Society’s Smith/Wynkoop Book Award for 2003.

Officers of the Wesleyan Theological Society are listed herein, with email addresses for ease of communication. For further information on the Society, consult its web site: www.wesleyantheologicalsociety.org

Barry L. Callen, Editor
Anderson University
November, 2002

SAVING SOULS IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY: A MISSIOLOGICAL MIDRASH ON JOHN WESLEY

by

William J. Abraham

In their rules for a helper, John Wesley and the early Methodist preachers lay out in rule number eleven the following: “You have nothing to do but to save souls. Therefore spend and be spent in this work. And go always, not only to those who want you but to those who want you most.”¹ We must be careful not to read this mandate through the lens of the popular forms of evangelicalism that prevail in our culture. Minimally, salvation involved justification and sanctification. Yet in and around these concepts there swirled a whole network of other planets: conviction of sin, repentance, good works, regeneration, adoption, entry into the kingdom, assurance, the witness of the Spirit, perfection in love, and the like.

¹This rule was added at the Conference of 1745. The other rules, twelve in all, were developed at the Conference of 1744. They can be found in Rupert Davies, A. Raymond George, and Gordon Rupp, eds., *A History of the Methodist Church in Britain* (London: Epworth Press, 1988), vol. 4, 116-119. It is worth noting that this was not an empty formula in early Methodism. It became part of the mindset of generations of Methodist workers. Mary Tucker, a wife of one of the early American preachers, expressed herself as follows. “With youthful ardor and sanguine expectations, I set upon life’s great journey, determined, if I could not labor like my husband in a public manner, I would devote all my energies to smoothen the rough paths, and strengthen his hands for the great work of saving souls.” See John H. Wigger, *Taking Heaven by Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 71.

In his own way and in his own selective biblical jargon, Wesley provided a very thick description of Christian initiation. The whole process was, of course, governed by grace from one to the other, that is, by prevenient, justifying, and sanctifying grace. The presence of this grace was entirely compatible with urgent action in season and out of season on the part of those called and equipped by God to preach the gospel and ground people in the faith. So the mandate to save souls is not an authorization for counting spiritual scalps. Nor is it a recipe for cheap conversion. In its own way it is a call for the making of robust disciples who will become salt and light in the world.

We can supplement this vision of mission, of course, by adding in the reform of the nation, the embrace of comprehensive social action, the commitment of a preferential option for the poor, and the like. We can, indeed, find a genuine foothold for all of these moves within Wesley himself. What we cannot do is eliminate the intensely personal task of relating people to God the Father, through the Son, in the power of the Holy Spirit. Eliminate this and we eliminate a constitutive element in any accurate and robust vision of mission that would be minimally faithful to Wesley. However difficult it may be to enrich and enact in an appropriate way the initial call to save souls, Wesley has provided us with a missiological insight and challenge that we ignore at our peril. If we do cast it aside, then let it be done openly and in the fear of God.

Reading Wesley in the Correct Context

The temptation at this point is to put Wesley's mandate in the theological microwave and serve it up immediately for our own day. Thus those on the more conservative side of the tradition will reach for the claim that the church needs to get really serious about evangelism and conversion. It is precisely at this juncture that historical work becomes crucial. More precisely, we have to come to terms with perhaps the most delicate part of our work as historians and theologians, namely, the task of reading Wesley accurately against the wider situation in which his work is embedded.

The prevailing judgment has been that John Wesley did his work against the backdrop of the Enlightenment in eighteenth-century England. This is nicely illustrated in Henry Rack's description of Wesley as a "rational enthusiast."² The general sense is that Wesley managed to find

²See Henry D. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast, John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1989).

space for a more experiential and emotional version of Christianity that provided release from the narrow confines of rationalism. Alternatively, we might say that Wesley exploited the standard empiricism of his day, represented most fully by John Locke, by developing a form of spiritual empiricism; he thus provided a philosophical rationale for an appeal to religious experience as the foundation of Christian faith and theology.

Either way, Wesley becomes a model for providing a corrective to the intellectual extremes of our day. Speaking to our contemporary situation, he provides a paradigm for attending to the claims of reason and experience without succumbing to a narrow orthodoxy or fundamentalism on the right or to a thin theism or atheistic secularism on the left. In focusing on the saving of souls we can, then, it would appear, carry on with this agenda with minimal worries. After all, we have our own crop of narrow secularists, rationalists, mere theists, and fundamentalists who need a good dose of experience of God and who can have it in good Wesleyan fashion without having to send their brains on a holiday. So, on a first run through our material, Wesley can fit very nicely into a reading of our current situation.

Suppose, however, that we relocate the life and work of Wesley on a very different intellectual map. Suppose we take seriously the possibility that Wesley operated within a confessional state and a confessional church? Suppose, further, that we take seriously that Wesley was able to do his work at a time when the intellectual opponents of Christianity had been essentially routed? What might this say to us about Wesley and about what we can learn from Wesley missiologically today? I think the thought experiment is fascinating in the extreme.

Let's begin by registering that Wesley really did live within a confessional state and within a confessional church. The debate about subscription to the Anglican "Articles of Religion" is complex, but we know that subscribing to the "Thirty Nine Articles" of the Anglican Church was no casual affair, still less a reprehensible affair, in the eighteenth century. John Henry Newman was within a hair's breadth of an ecclesiastical trial in the late 1830s not just for disagreeing with The Articles, but also for developing an interpretation of them that tried to square them with Tridentine Catholicism. Equally we know that in the late nineteenth century many intellectuals were deeply troubled in conscience at Cambridge and Oxford because they could no longer believe in miracles. Some gave up their jobs in the 1860s because they could no longer meet the confessional

requirements either of ordination or of their teaching posts.³ What this suggests is that our common perceptions about the eighteenth century as the “Age of Reason” needs to be radically revised.

The intellectual heavy lifting at this point has been supplied by the contemporary historian Jonathan C. D. Clark in his *English Society 1660-1832*.⁴ The core of his argument is that the influence of the Enlightenment in the England of the eighteenth century has been grossly overrated. We might say that extrapolating from the French experience to the situation across the English Channel has misled historians. Indeed, we might claim that we have been taken in by Enlightenment interpretations of the Enlightenment!⁵ Over against these misperceptions, Clark contends that religion played a vital role in everyday life in England in the eighteenth century. Religion shaped the political thinking of the period. More specifically, the Church of England was deeply influential, exercising enormous power by insisting on confessional tests for political office and aiding and abetting the monarchy in its claim to rule by divine right. Both Whigs and Jacobites operated within this political orientation and both appealed to divine providence as a crucial concept in political judgment.

On this reading of the situation, John Locke is a peripheral figure. Natural right theories, far from flourishing, lost ground during this period, and Locke’s religious heterodoxy prevented many contemporaries from taking his political arguments seriously. Locke lies outside the political mainstream because he lies outside the theological mainstream. Moreover, in this analysis John Wesley, far from being a peripheral or anomalous figure, becomes altogether typical and conventional. He was a good, solid Tory committed to the carefully constructed alliance of parliament, church, and monarchy.

Add the second layer I mentioned a moment ago. We know that in the late seventeenth century there was a brilliant outburst of Arianism in England. Maurice Wiles’ sympathetic review of this development is especially illuminating.⁶ We also know that this attack on traditional Christianity was

³One of the more famous was Sir Leslie Stephen, the author of *An Agnostic’s Apology*.

⁴Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, 2nd edition. For a wonderfully argued alternative to Clark, see Roy Porter, *The Creation of the Modern World, The Untold Story of the British Enlightenment* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2000).

⁵Peter Gay supplies the classical version along these lines.

⁶Maurice Wiles, *Archetypal Heresy: Arianism Through the Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

short lived. Butler in his *Analogy of Religion* effectively answered the attack in culturally and intellectually sterling fashion.⁷ Butler's strategy was quite simple. He showed that the problems deists, Arians, and natural religionists complained about in the realm of special revelation were reiterated on their own field of general revelation and natural theology. Grant the possibility of problems and mysteries in natural religion and the way was immediately paved for the possibility of problems and mysteries in the field of special revelation. Special revelation did not involve problems that were different in kind from those that cropped up for general revelation or for natural religion. To be sure this strategy was fraught with intellectual menace, for it left open the option of rejecting all religion and turning to atheism. But Butler knew how to engage in culturally sensitive apologetics, and he knew that atheism was not a live option. His target was specific, his aim was sure, and his impact was devastating. In turn Butler's victory was supplemented and driven home by figures as diverse as William Law, Bishop Berkeley, William Sherlock, and William Paley. The result was this: a small army of Christian philosophers rebutted in no uncertain fashion a serious intellectual attack on traditional Christianity.

It is easy to miss this complex, confessional, intellectual background in reading Wesley and in reading apologists for Wesley. I recall vividly as a student, when I was working in a cement factory in England, ploughing with great relish through John Wesley Bready's *Before and After Wesley*.⁸ Bready made Wesley the great hero of his narrative by painting eighteenth-century England in as dark tones as possible, thereby creating space in which Wesley could shine as a prophet and apostle par excellence. It is easy to do this by relying on Wesley himself. He is a man on a mission and, like most people on a mission, he makes his case by painting the situation in pretty lurid terms. Besides, Wesley's standards as to what constitutes real Christianity are so high that not even his beloved Methodists could escape the hammer of his wrath. His late sermon, titled by Joseph Benson "The Causes of the Inefficacy of Christianity," makes for grim reading. He excoriates his Methodists for their addiction to money and laments the fact that he had not earlier imposed a dress code similar to the kind required by the Quakers. What we now know, however, is that Wesley's vision of the situation in the eighteenth century is lopsided and prejudiced. He lived in a society and in a world that was far

⁷Butler's *Analogy of Religion* was first published in 1736.

⁸London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1938.

more Christian than he allowed. At least, this is the case if we take seriously the well-argued revisionist position of Clark.

The hermeneutical and missiological point I want to make in the wake of these historical observations is quite simple. Wesley operated in a universe where there was a confessional state and a confessional church, and where he was aided and abetted by very significant work in Christian apologetics. It is small wonder that he was worried about “dead orthodoxy” when orthodoxy was systematically made available in the liturgical life of the church and in the requirements for political office. Hence, the danger of settling for a barren intellectualism was genuine. Moreover, it comes as no surprise that he wielded the tools of reason when the intellectual air he breathed was awash with arguments that supported orthodoxy. His short and easy arguments for the inspiration of the Bible are typical of the intellectual temper of his times. They involve a drag him out, knock him down, kill him dead style that presupposed a host of intellectual material in the cultural hard-drive.

Given this complex background situation, Wesley could give his best and lasting attention to one thing, to the saving of souls. This is surely the consensus about Wesley that has been wrung from the last half century of hard intellectual labor. The center of gravity in Wesley’s life and work lay in understanding and cultivating the Christian life. His canonical sermons are remarkable when read from this angle.⁹ Hence, they flow naturally from an early batch of sermons dealing with becoming a Christian, to a middle batch that deal with the Sermon on the Mount and lay out the content of the Christian life, on to the last batch that picks up a rag bag of issues that arise precisely for those on the journey of salvation that Wesley so assiduously tried to unpack and make practically possible. Equally, his practices make perfect sense from this angle. Wesley was engaged in serious experiments in catechesis and group spiritual direction that would be effective in making robust disciples of Jesus Christ in his day. In this he was remarkably successful.

Wesley’s Worlds Have Collapsed

Perceptive readers will realize immediately where I want to go next. It is surely patently obvious that the intellectual, political, and ecclesiastical worlds Wesley occupied have completely collapsed.

⁹By canonical sermons I mean here those sermons, forty-four in all, that were officially adopted by the Methodists in England when they became a church.

First, the culture we inhabit is post-Christian and generally terrified of all forms of religious specificity and orthodoxy. Pluralism, tolerance, and skepticism about the place of religion in the public order are endemic. We have seen the partial erosion of this outlook over the last ten years or so, but there is no denying that our culture is only minimally or marginally Christian. The very idea of an aggressive form of Christianity committed in a serious way to the conversion of the West is greeted with alarm, suspicion, and fear. Robust forms of Christian orthodoxy, no matter how generous in tone or content, will almost immediately be dismissed as fundamentalism within the church and as a revival of theocracy within the culture.

Second, the practices of band, class, and society and the regulations governing them are gone forever, even in the most staunchly loyalist and conservative Wesleyan circles. Most forms of robust “Wesleyanism” are really a reworking of the moralism, legalism, and revivalism of the late nineteenth century. These have rendered an invaluable service in keeping alive neglected features of the Wesleyan heritage, but none seriously pretend that they are a straight recapitulation of Wesleyan catechetical practice. Moreover, self-confessing conservative Wesleyans are currently under great pressure to conform to the theological convictions and practices of generic evangelicalism. Methodism as it existed in the early period is no longer with us in the West.

Third, the mainstream churches are systematically anti-confessional in ethos and orientation.¹⁰ Indeed, their leaders have invented sophisticated histories of their traditions designed precisely to conceal their original confessional commitments. Thus the Anglicans have abandoned their “Articles of Religion,” the Presbyterians have relativized their confessional commitments by the simple expedient of multiplication,¹¹ and the United Methodists have relocated their material confessional standards within a relativist historical orientation that eviscerates their status. The very idea of taking the conventional confessional standards seriously is seen as hopelessly anachronistic and irrelevant.

Fourth, outside a few parochial and limited sectors, Christian intellectuals have given up on apologetics. Christians have lost the intellectual debate in high culture. We can see the fruit of this development among

¹⁰I include within this the United Methodist Church.

¹¹The strategy here involves adding new creeds and confessions, thus depriving, say, The Westminster Confession of Faith.

those who come forward for the ordained ministry. Typical seminary students are at heart skeptics. Even though some would love to hold that what they believe is justified and warranted, they are deeply suspicious of any serious arguments in favor of Christianity. This should surprise no one, given that Christian intellectuals have settled for the least epistemic status possible. They have settled for possibly true beliefs over against positively rational beliefs, or justified beliefs, or warranted beliefs, or knowledge. This is the lowest of the low in the epistemology of theology. Rationality, justification, warrant, and knowledge are not possible; they are prizes totally beyond our reach. There are no proofs for the existence of God, there are no good arguments for divine revelation, and the appeal to religious experience is a byproduct of the conceptual scheme used to identify and describe religious experience in the first place.¹² Religion is a matter of faith, not in the ancient sense, where it meant appeal to special revelation, but in the modern sense of being a matter of basic, unsupported choice. Faith has become a fiduciary framework, a placeholder for whatever is rock-bottom and unsupported in one's noetic structure.

Postmodernity as the Default Option

In these circumstances it is no surprise that many have turned to postmodernism for relief. Nobody can really secure positive rationality, justification, warrant, or knowledge, so we should settle for the possibility of mere true belief. Given the end of foundationalism, given the demise of objectivity in science, given the loss of the text to be interpreted, given the inevitably constructivist vision of the self, there are no solid grounds on which to stand. Hence we are all reduced to the low status given to theology over the last three centuries. Everybody is in the same leaky boat.

One way to think of postmodernity is that it tries to make a virtue of this intellectual necessity. Postmodernity in both its vulgar and sophisticated forms provides space for anything and everything to flourish. Under postmodern descriptions of our epistemic situation, we are inescapably tied to our communities, to our languages, to our social locations, to our ethnic identities, and to our gender. If we can attain intellectual coherence, reflective equilibrium, and conversational consensus, we can achieve all that we can or should expect intellectually. Everything else is

¹²The state of the art expression of this position can be found in Wayne Proudfoot, *Religious Experience* (Berkeley: University of Southern California Press, 1985).

an expression of foundationalism, a covert form of political ideology, an exercise in naked power, a self-concealing insecurity masquerading as certainty, an unacknowledged bowing to the idolatry of the modern liberal state, and the like. The very best we can hope to do in these circumstances is to make hay of our marginal status. Thus Christian intellectuals have taken to lauding the epistemic privileges of the margins as the latest effort to snatch back lost ground. We might better describe it as a last ditch effort to develop one more defensive intellectual strategy to save Christianity from the hands of its critics.

Interestingly, there is an ever so faint echo of Butler in the general strategy of putting everybody in the same leaky boat. We undermine the opposition by showing that the opposition is in exactly the same epistemic predicament that we are in. We create space for ourselves by locating all claims to truth in community and tradition; we then claim that the opposition, contrary to its self-understanding, is inescapably located in its community and tradition. Our only virtue is that we at least know we are in a leaky boat and we have figured out the theoretical reasons why all boats are leaky. We might characterize this overall strategy in another fashion. Just as the modernists invented modernity out of the chronology of the last two or three centuries and then gave it a privileged epistemic status, we of late have invented postmodernity out of the chronology of our own times and given it epistemic privilege. Consequently, postmodernity becomes the ticket to academic respectability and a seat at the cultural table.

The general conclusion to be drawn at this juncture is clear. Wesley's commitment to saving souls was lodged in a cultural, ecclesial, and intellectual context that has collapsed over time. It was at home in a network of spiritual and evangelistic practices that have eroded. To put it mildly, Wesley inhabited remarkably auspicious times for the saving of souls. In a way that he never acknowledged, he was able to exploit the prevailing winds of confessionalism and of highbrow philosophy, and he set his sails accordingly to develop the practices that would initiate folk in a very serious way into the kingdom of God. My admiration for his labors, ingenuity, and success is unalloyed. However, any attempt to reinstate Wesley's project of saving souls without attending to the intervening developments is simply a non-starter. We can and we must come to terms with the wider challenges that knowledge of Wesley's background brings to light. Hence, we cannot come to terms with the saving of souls in a way that will begin

to do justice to Wesley if we do not face the tough choices that confront us in the doctrinal and intellectual renewal of the Christian faith as a whole.

The Possibilities Before Us

Where then do we go from here? I trust that I have made clear the distance between ourselves and Wesley. What are our options at this point? Let me identify three options and ruminate briefly on the possibilities before us. Perceptive readers will quickly recognize that, given the complexity of the issues and lack of space, I will not argue extensively for my own favored option.

First, we can simply abandon the whole Wesleyan project. The saving of souls belongs, on this analysis, to a theological and political world that is now gone forever. We either give up on Christianity, the option taken by many in the late nineteenth century, or we can invent a version of Christianity as best we can to suit the political, moral, and intellectual demands of today. In the latter case, we develop a revisionary faith and a revisionary apologetics and seek to implement them in the institutions bequeathed to us from Wesley. We might call this the “radical” strategy because it involves a self-conscious uprooting of the original vision. One way to do this would be to accept the package currently on offer from Bishop Spong and remarket it within the Wesleyan ecclesial traditions.

Second, we can keep Wesley’s concern about the saving of souls, but relocate this in a presumably better intellectual and philosophical package that was available in Wesley. Thus, we might stretch the redemption of the individual, say, to the point where it extends to the redemption of society, and then relocate all of this in an updated theological and philosophical worldview. This was certainly one option developed in the nineteenth century. In this instance, the theological and philosophical bank that supplied the intellectual line of credit was German Idealism shored up by an appeal to religious experience. We might call this the “revisionist” strategy. There are many variations we might well want to pursue at this point. Many of them insist on a significant departure from the line taken in the late nineteenth century.

The key to this strategy is finding the right intellectual line of credit. One of the favored options in the recent past has been to turn to process philosophy and theology as the appropriate set of background beliefs and convictions. The epistemic stance at stake generally involves a pivotal

appeal to human experience. The stock for this bank used to be strong in Dallas, and it remains high in and around Los Angeles. Another stock option is to look for credit in a recent merger of the resources of Karl Barth and Alasdair MacIntyre, using them to pursue a more conservative reading of Barth.¹³ This bank has been doing especially well in and around Durham, North Carolina. Alternatively, we might try a merger of Barth, Kierkegaard, and Derrida, working through the postmodernist side of Barth. Another option is to combine what we can of Wesley with the philosophical theology and existentialism of Paul Tillich. Yet another stock option is to develop a line of credit from the many franchises that operate under the logo of Liberation Theology. In the liberationist versions of the tradition, the epistemic credit is derived either from Karl Marx or, more recently, by a fascinating partnership of Barth, Lindbeck, and Lacan suitably extended to find a privileged site of fresh insight from the poor.¹⁴

All these versions of the second option are relatively highbrow in orientation. At a popular level the most favored option is to relocate the saving of souls in some version of Church Growth derived in one way or another from Donald McGavran. The philosophical and epistemological rationale in this case is more tacit. It involves an appeal to empirical considerations derived from sociology, anthropology, and cultural studies. In some instances McGavran is hailed as a heroic intellectual figure akin to Freud or Marx, that is, someone who has caused a paradigm shift in our thinking about reality.¹⁵

The outcomes of the revisionist program are worth noting. On the one side, revisionists in mainline Wesleyan circles have had to cobble together as best they can a patchwork of incompatible proposals spread out precariously under the banner of the “Quadrilateral” and marketed aggressively as a robust version of pluralism. The advantage of this development is that Wesleyans have been able to enrich the tradition by incorporating insights from other visions of the Christian faith. On the other hand, revisionists outside the mainline are often driven to forms of con-

¹³We can be sure that the emergence of “Radical Orthodoxy” will offer the possibility of yet one more merger in this market.

¹⁴Joerg Reager is currently pursuing this line in a fascinating way. See especially his *God and the Excluded* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001).

¹⁵It would be difficult to overestimate the impact of the Church Growth tradition on almost all strands of the Wesleyan tradition.

cealment and dissimulation because of the more confessionalist cast of their traditions and because of the encroachment of fundamentalism at various levels of their traditions. The advantage of this development has been the self-critical but unstable preservation of components of the Wesleyan tradition too readily dropped because of contemporary criticism. Either way, strenuous effort has been extended to argue for the continuity of the proposed alternative either with Wesley himself or with Methodism conceived as a movement in the church as a whole.¹⁶ Hence, the disadvantage of both of these developments inside and outside the mainline is the emergence of a sophisticated cult of John Wesley that fails to take seriously the canonical and ecclesial developments after Wesley.

There is a third option. We can keep Wesley's commitment to the saving of souls, retrieve the patristic core of the doctrinal and intellectual DNA deployed by Wesley, and take seriously the task of epistemology and apologetics, all the while reinventing, as we proceed, the ecclesial practices and disciplines that will both feed into and be fed by these doctrinal and intellectual resources. We might call this the "retrievalist" and "renewalist" alternative.

Previewing the Preferred Way Forward

As this retrievalist or renewalist alternative is the option I prefer, let me indicate very briefly what I think is involved. At a minimum there are four *desiderata*; these are logically but not operationally distinguishable.

First, we will have to look again at the whole history of Methodism after Wesley, paying particular attention to the shift from a movement to that of a network of Wesleyan denominations. The spontaneous aversion to "institutionalism" will have to be overcome if this is to happen. In particular, we need to come to terms with what I now want to call the canonical history of Methodism. In this we must pay careful attention to the official, canonical decisions made, identifying the specific canonical heritages created, and the canonical mechanisms invented for adjusting them over time. It helps enormously to set this in good Wesleyan fashion against the backdrop of the canonical heritage of the church of the first millennium.

¹⁶In this arena, Albert Outler's claim that Wesley is helpfully seen as the governor general of an "evangelical order" within the church catholic has become critical.

Second, it is within this network of history and practice that we need to relocate the recovery of the patristic faith that was nominally but not always fully operational within Wesley's theology. To be more precise, we need to abandon the biblicism that was so tempting to Wesley but that has acted as a virus that has systematically destroyed the canonical faith of the church within modern Protestantism. On the alternative scenario, Bible and doctrine do not function as foundation and superstructure, or as basis and building; Bible and doctrine operate as wonderful gifts of the Holy Spirit to be used delicately as instruments of spiritual formation within a wider network of practices, persons, and materials.¹⁷ Central to this wider network is the renewal of robust baptismal and Eucharistic practice, although we have a long way to go to get this on the agenda of renewalists. Equally important is a full updating of what we have learned about the manifold working of the Holy Spirit from Wesley's grandchildren, the Pentecostals.

Third, we need significant and timely experiments in catechesis and spiritual formation that will put robust initiation into the kingdom of God front and center in evangelism. In and through this we need a long and patient conversation on what used to be called "the work of God among us."¹⁸ The progress on this front over the last generation has been remarkable. Yet in many ways the work has just begun.

Fourth, we need to come to terms with the resources already becoming available within the best of contemporary epistemology. We must come to terms with the revolution in philosophy of religion that began in the late 1960s and that is now beginning to be grudgingly acknowledged within contemporary analytical philosophy, but that is systematically either ignored or deftly denigrated within contemporary theology. In the short term we can, of course, take refuge in some of the space created by the emergence of postmodernity, deconstruction, and the demise of classical foundationalism. It is one of the marks of informed Christians that must be a source of unceasing frustration to its intellectual enemies that they can co-opt virtually any philosophy invented by the wit of man and woman. Hence, as long as we keep our wits about us, we can beg, borrow,

¹⁷I have argued for this way of understanding scripture in *Canon and Criterion in Christian Theology: From the Fathers to Feminism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998, 2001).

¹⁸I borrow this phrase from its usage at the Quarterly Meetings in my native Irish Methodism.

and steal from everyone. However, it is high time that Wesleyans began to do the kind of first-rate work in the epistemology that is now commonplace in some Reformed circles. Even then, despite the enormous gains over the last twenty years in epistemology and philosophy of religion, there is much unfinished business that remains to be done, not least on the epistemology of divine revelation and on the evidential value of the appeal to religious experience. Both of these projects can find a natural foothold in Wesley.

Summary

Let me summarize. In Wesley and the early Methodists we have before us a missiological mandate of almost alarming simplicity. We have nothing to do, they insisted, but to save souls. I have argued that this mandate found a natural home within a wider theological and intellectual framework that has come under considerable strain over the last two centuries. Moreover, this missiological mandate was enacted in a network of practices that have for the most part fallen by the wayside. Over time, the original framework and the correlative practices have been more or less abandoned. Consequently the children and grandchildren of Wesley have been at pains to find new ways into the future.

Not surprisingly, Wesleyans have recently been lured by the temptations of postmodernism to make a virtue out of necessity and draw on noisy but wobbly philosophical and cultural developments to find space to survive. Without in any way claiming to be comprehensive, I have also suggested that it is helpful to identify the material alternatives currently available as radical, revisionist, and renewalist in orientation and style. My own preference is clearly tilted toward the renewalist option. Within this I have provided a sketch of the *desiderata* involved. Given the contested nature of all these claims up and down the line, we can be sure that, whatever happens, the conversation will be lively and the future will not be boring.

THE HOLINESS MOVEMENTS IN WORLD CHRISTIANITY: HISTORIOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONS

by

David Bundy

The crucial problems of research on the global structures of the Holiness Movements in World Christianity is that Holiness churches and denominations have to do with the conceptual framework of what scholars consider “Holiness.” Is “Holiness” limited to the 19th-century North American definition (and sets of personal relationships) of the National Camp-Meeting Association? Is one of necessity first a Methodist before one can be “Holiness”? A Holiness scholar recently observed that all “Holiness” people were related to the 19th-century American Camp-Meeting tradition and to a version of Methodism. It is the argument of this essay that such a definition is untenable, even in North America, and that the reality of “Holiness” churches around the world, both past and present, require a revisiting of the historical definition and attention to Holiness ecumenism and theology.

In North America, the present Holiness churches are so separated from each other that they scarcely recognize each other in meaningful ways. Rarely do scholars not related to the larger European-American Holiness churches attend the Wesleyan Theological Society (WTS) or the meetings of the Christian Holiness Partnership (CHP). There are few, if any, sustained WTS connections to Holiness scholars outside North America. Holiness believers in non-Holiness churches (Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, etc.) are even farther removed from conversation, much

less cooperation. These are often under attack, as in the General Convention of Baptists in which there is a serious effort to deny the Holiness teaching and ethos dating back to the formation of the tradition in the 1880s and, astonishingly, to reinterpret the whole as a Calvinist experience. Certainly J. A. Edgren, the premier theologian of the tradition would be surprised.¹

As well, there are the continuing results of the North American experience of the Pentecostal revival of 1906 and following. Holiness Pentecostals in North America are separated from their Holiness co-religionists even more than they are from their Pentecostal colleagues. The "Holiness" and "Sanctified" Pentecostal churches have had to endure both the animosity of both the CHP-related denominations and scholars and the Assemblies of God. It remains to be seen whether the recent joint meetings of the Society for Pentecostal Studies and the Wesleyan Theological Society will bring these closer together.

¹On John Alexis Edgren, the most influential theologian of the Swedish Baptists in the U.S.A. see John Alexis Edgren, *Minnen från hafvet, kriget och missionfältet* (Chicago: Enander & Bohmans tryckeri, 1878) and L. H. Ahlstrom, *John Alexis Edgren. Soldier, Educator, Author, Journalist* (Chicago: Conference Press, 1938). Contextual material can be found in Adolf Olson and Virgil A. Olson, *Seventy-Five Years: A History of Bethel Theological Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota, 1871-1946* (Chicago: Conference Press, 1946), and Adolf Olson, *A Centenary History, as related to the Baptist General Conference of America* (Chicago: Baptist Conference Press, 1952). The best analysis, but with no understanding of his theological perspective in its North American context, is Gunnar Westin, "Johan Alexander (U.S.A. John Alexis) Edgren," *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* 12 (1949), 117-121. Faith healing and sanctification were regularly discussed at the Swedish Baptist Conferences with the Swedish faith healer A. J. Gordon and A. B. Simpson mentioned as authorities. Edgren's own writings reveal the pervasiveness of his commitments: John Alexis Edgren, *A Study in Prophecy* (Chicago: F. H. Revell, 1881), *idem*, *På livets hav jemte andre föredrag och uppsatser* (San Francisco: G. F. Wokströms tryckeri, 1898), *idem*, "Whitfields (sic) tankar om Wesley," *Zions Vaktare* #4 (aug. 1871), [1], *idem*, *Kristelig troslara, uppställ för barnen* (Stromsberg, NE: Johnson & Lindströms Tryckeri, 1886). In this volume all discussions of conversion, sanctification, and ecclesiology are included under the rubric of "salvation," *idem*, *Biblisk troslara* (Chicago: Hemlandet Publishing Company, 1890), 154-171; translated as *idem*, *Fundamentals of Faith* (trans. J. O. Backlund; Chicago: Baptist Conference Office, 1948). This volume was comprised of his lecture notes at the Swedish Baptist Theological Seminary, in which he argues for eradication of the sinful nature of humans at sanctification, *idem*, "Predikan (Mt. 16:26)," *Evangelisk Tidskrift* 1,1 (Nov. 1877), 2-7. Edgren insisted that one should do the will of God perfectly, *idem*, "Betydelsen af personlig helgelse i Herrens tjänst," *Biblisk Tidskrift* 4,19 (Nov. 1881), 218-220, and *idem*, "Moody och Sankey," *Evangelisk Tidskrift* 5,3 (1 Feb. 1882), 35-36.

Because of these divides (and others), the historiography of the Holiness movements outside North America has often been defined as, and limited to, the history of the missionary efforts of the North American Holiness churches related to the Camp Meeting Association tradition. This limits the historiographical questions since most of these churches had small numbers of missionaries before World War II. It does not provide a basis for interpreting the religious reality experienced by Europeans, Africans, Asians, Australians, and Latin Americans during the periods following the English Wesleyan revival. Historians outside of North America have been hampered in their analysis of the influence of the Holiness movements by the North American definition of “Holiness” and because of the lack of meaningful access to North American and European sources.

Related to the problem of ecumenism among the Holiness believers is the issue of theology. If the philosophies of Scottish realism and empirical modernism, interacting with early modern French and Spanish mysticism as seen in the work of Upham, Palmer, and their associates, produced normative 19th and 20th-century American Holiness theology, the post-modern philosophical persuasions should warn all Holiness believers that there will be cultural differences in the development and articulation of Holiness theologies around the world. As has been forcefully presented in the volume by Kim-Lundell, Korean and Korean-American Nazarene understandings of sanctification and the holy life are significantly different from those of North American Nazarenes of European backgrounds.² The same could be said of Holiness theologies around the world, and not of Holiness theologies alone; all theologies, not just Christian theologies, are shaped by their contexts.

None of these highly complex problems can be addressed adequately in an essay of this length. The goal here is to highlight the historiographical problems faced by those who would study the “Holiness” traditions around the world and to raise issues of ecumenism, theology, and mission. The problems include the problem of meta-theory and the related search for common themes, cultural specificity in theology and practices, and diversity of sources. For better or worse, there has never been a Holiness magisterium to determine correct teaching, a common language, common

²In-Gyeong KIM-LUNDELL, *Bridging the Gaps: Contextualization among Korean Nazarene Churches in America* (Asian Thought and Culture, 18; New York, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995) in *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 32(1997), 226-227.

cultural structures or even a common theological framework. The method is to present brief case studies of Holiness mission around the world.

From Anglo-American Tradition to Global Movement

The mission movement that dominated Anglo-American religion during the 19th century developed particular forms and approaches within the Wesleyan/Holiness movements. Wesleyan/Holiness mission began on the edge of the churches. It was, from the beginning, trans-Atlantic, and reached beyond the boundaries of Methodism.³ The primary activists and theorists of the 19th century were Lorenzo Dow, William Taylor, James Hudson Taylor and the Booth family. William Taylor was influential in establishing Holiness Methodist congregations and inspiring Holiness and Pentecostal denominations around the world. His mission theory was adapted by the Scandinavian Pentecostal movements and has had a major role in defining what it means, missionally, structurally and theologically, to be Holiness and/or Pentecostal outside North America.⁴

James Hudson Taylor became the most important model for self-sacrificial “faith missions.” He recruited Holiness adherents for the China Inland Mission both in the USA and Europe, and his descendents affili-

³David Bundy, “Pauline Missions: The Wesleyan Holiness Vision,” *The Global Impact of the Wesleyan Traditions and Their Related Movements*, ed. Charles Yrigoyen, Jr. (Wesleyan and Pietist Studies, 14; Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 13-26.

⁴David Bundy, “Bishop William Taylor and the Methodist Mission Board,” *Methodist History* 27,4 (July 1989), 197-210; 28,1(October 1989), 2-21; and, *idem* “William Taylor, 1821-1902: Entrepreneurial Maverick for the Indigenous Church,” in *Mission Legacies: Biographical Studies of Leaders of the Modern Missionary Movement*, ed. Gerald Anderson, et alia (American Society of Missiology Series, 19; Maryknoll: Orbis Press, 1994), 461-468. See also the discussion of his significance in Dana L. Robert, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice* (The Modern Missionary Period 1792-1992: An Appraisal, ed. Wilbert Shenk; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1996), 193-194, *et passim*. On the use of William Taylor as a primary theorist in Scandinavian Pentecostalism, see David Bundy, “Swedish Pentecostal Mission Theory and Practice to 1930: Foundational Values in Conflict,” *Mission Studies* 14(1997), 147-174.

ated with the Free Methodist Church.⁵ His disciple Frederik Franson recruited additional missionaries in Europe and North America from Holiness and other churches. The Salvation Army, despite its centralized structure, became remarkably indigenous by contemporary standards as it quickly moved to organize corps throughout the world, including with great success in North America. The Salvation Army established a Wesleyan/Holiness presence throughout Europe and Asia. An American Indiana Hoosier, Samuel Logan Brengle, played a significant role in the definition of that tradition and influence.⁶ Armed with these models and ideas, Wesleyan/Holiness and Holiness/Pentecostal missionaries, including missionaries from churches influenced by their ideas, fanned out across Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Sustaining the work of these figures were the networks established and/or supported by trans-Atlantic and trans-Pacific evangelists. The acceptance, adaptation, and retransmission of the Holiness ideals in Europe is just beginning to be understood. There were trans-Atlantic revivalist efforts by Lorenzo Dow, James Caughey, Phoebe Palmer, William Taylor, D. L. Moody, Robert Pearsall Smith, Asa Mahan, and others, including missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal, Evangelical and United Brethren, Anglican, Baptist and Presbyterian traditions.⁷ In England, Holiness revivalism, as well as Keswick and the Salvation Army effected social and institutional changes. In Germany and Sweden, the tradition produced institutions and denominations as well as changes

⁵On J. H. Taylor, see Howard Taylor, *Hudson Taylor's Spiritual Secret* (Chicago: Moody Press, repr. 1982); J. Herbert Kane, "The Legacy of J. Hudson Taylor," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 8(1984), 74-78, reprinted in *Mission Legacies: Biographical Studies of Leaders of the Modern Missionary Movement*, ed. Gerald Anderson, *et alia* (American Society of Missiology Series, 19; Maryknoll: Orbis Press, 1994), 197-204. On recruitment in Europe, by Andreas Franz, *Mission ohne Grenzen: Hudson Taylor und die deutschsprachigen Glaubensmissionen* (Brunnen: Theologische Verlagsgemeinschaft [TVG], 1993).

⁶For an initial effort at a global history, see Robert Sandall, *The History of the Salvation Army* (5 vols. London: T. Nelson, 1947-1965). Clarence William Hall, *Samuel Logan Brengle: Portrait of a Prophet* (Chicago: Salvation Army, 1933).

⁷Richard Carwardine, *Trans-Atlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865* (Westport, London: Greenwood, 1978), and a different approach in David Bundy, "Keswick and the Experience of Evangelical Piety," *Modern Christian Revivals* (ed. Edith L. Blumhofer and Randall Balmer; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 118-144. Both of these analyses are too narrow in their scope, focusing on Great Britain, specifically England.

among the Lutherans and Methodists.⁸ In Sweden, the Baptist Union (and other denominations as well) was heavily influenced by the trans-Atlantic Holiness connections.⁹ The influence of the Holiness movements was extensive and enduring in Denmark.¹⁰ In other areas, such as France, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Belgium, the Holiness influence was more subtle, but clearly present and to this date inadequately analyzed.¹¹ Quickly, sometimes within days of hearing the Holiness message,

⁸On the German context see Dieter Lange, *Eine Bewegung bricht sich Bahn. Die deutschen Gemeinschaften im ausgehenden 19. und beginnenden 20. Jahrhundert und ihre Stellung zu Kirche, Theologie und Pfingstbewegung* (Giessen: Brunnen Verlag; Dillenburg: Gnadauer Verlag, 1979) and Karl Heim-bucher, hrsg. *Dem Auftrag verpflichtet. Die Gnadauer Gemeinschaftsbewegung: Prägungen—Positionen—Perspektiven* (Giesen, Basel: Brunnen Verlag; Dillenburg: Gnadauer Verlag, 1988). For the influence of the American Wesleyan/Holiness traditions on Methodism in Germany and the outworking of those ideas in that context, see Michel Weyer, *Heiligungsbewegung und Methodismus in deutschen Sprachraum; Einführung in ein Kapitel metodistischer Frommigkeitgeschichte und kleine Chronik einer Bewegung des 19. Jahrhunderts; mit ausgewählten Quellen und Bibliographie* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Evangelisch-methodistischen Kirche, 40; Stuttgart: Christliches Verlagshaus, 1991). On Sweden, see J. P. Bang, *De Stora Väckelserörelserna. En historisk och psykologisk framställning* (Modern Religionspsykologi; Stockholm: Sveriges Kristliga Studentenrörelses Förlag, 1926), Emanuel Linderholm, *Pingstströrelsen i Sverige* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 1925), and Allan Hofgren, ed., *Svenska Trossamfund: Historia, tro ock bekännelse, organisation, Gudstjänst-och fromhet-sliv* (8th ed. Uppsala: EFS-förlaget, 1990).

⁹See for example: Gunnar Westin, *Svenska Baptistsamfundet 1887-1914. Den baptistiska organisationsdualismens uppkomst* (n.p.: Westerbergs, 1965); David Lagergren, *Framgångstid med dubbla förtecken: Svenska Baptistsamfundet åren 1914-1932* (Örebro: Bokförlaget Libria, 1989) and *idem*, *Förändringstid. Kris och förnyelse. Svenska Baptistsamfundet åren 1933-1948* (Örebro: Bokförlaget Libria, 1994). Both scholars underestimate the significance of the trans-Atlantic connections because of a lack of access to North American sources.

¹⁰Elith Olesen, *Det frigiorte og trællefolket. Amerikansk-Engelsk indflydelse på dansk kirkeliv omkring år 1900* (Frederiksberg: Anis, 1995).

¹¹On the Réveil, see Ami Bost, *Mémoires pouvant servir à l'histoire du réveil religieux des églises protestantes de la Suisse et de la France, et à l'intelligence des principales questions théologiques et ecclésiastiques du jour* (2 vols. Paris: Librairie Protestante, 1854-1855), Daniel Robert, *Les Églises Reformées en France, 1800-1830* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1961), Hans Krabbendam, *Zielenverbrijzelaars en zondelozen: Nederlandse reacties op Moody, Sankey en Pearsall Smith* (Doctoralscripsie, Leiden, 1988), and for how these religious impulses played out in the development of Pentecostalism see, David Bundy, "Between the Réveil and Pentecostalism: The American Wesleyan-Holiness Traditions in Belgium and The Netherlands," *Asbury Theological Journal* 51:2(1996), 106-113.

African, Asian and Latin American Holiness believers joined the missionary movement. Their story is generally yet to be told.

Ethnically, the Holiness movements have been understood as “European-American,” but despite their lack of representation in trans-denominational Holiness ecclesial and academic associations, the African-American population in North America among Holiness adherents certainly surpasses that of the European-American groups. The African-American “sanctified churches” are growing rapidly and play crucial roles in American culture. Also growing quickly are congregations established by immigrants from the Caribbean, especially Haiti and the Dominican Republic, Brazil, and from Asia, especially Japan and Korea, but also China. On a global level, the significant majority of Holiness adherents are neither European nor of European descent.¹²

In the global context, the Holiness tradition is represented around the world by the Salvation Army as well as by both indigenous movements and mission churches related to the North American churches. Often, the non-North American daughter churches have out-evangelized and out-grown the parent churches. This is true for the Free Methodists, the Missionary Church, Wesleyans, the Church of God (Anderson), the Church of God (Cleveland), and the Church of God of Prophecy. Depending on how one estimates the numerical significance of relationships in China, the same may be true for the Church of the Nazarene. Holiness related churches started by the Holiness missions, including World Gospel Mission, the Bethel Mission, Peniel Mission, and OMS, have developed a significant presence in a number of countries.

The questions of ethnic and theological identity as well as of influence are further complicated by the fact that numerous evangelists have had extensive influence beyond the borders of Holiness institutions, and

¹²The essential bibliographic source for the global Wesleyan/Holiness movements remains Walter Hollenweger, *Handbuch der Pfingstbewegung* (10 vols. Diss. Zurich, 1966, microfilm 1967). Unfortunately this magnificent work is rarely cited, and because of the collecting habits of libraries, much of the material cited or discussed is difficult to find. This dissertation had an initial interpretative volume and then provided, for each country in alphabetical order, brief histories, prosopographies, and bibliographies for each “denomination” found in each country.

not only in the USA. For example, John Sung,¹³ Andrew Gih,¹⁴ and Sadhu Sundar Singh (founder of the Holiness Unto the Lord Churches in India)¹⁵ have made important contributions to the definition of what it means to be Christian in east Asia and India.

Other groups in Asia have flourished. These include the Korean Holiness Church (and derivative churches) that have an important presence throughout Asia and increasingly in Africa, Europe, and the USA, with a seminary in Los Angeles.¹⁶ In Japan, there are a number of Holiness denominations, both those related somewhat directly to the influence of American, Swedish, and Canadian missionaries, and those that are indigenous denominations with minimal linkage to foreign traditions.¹⁷

¹³John Sung is a very complex personage. The widely circulated biography [Leslie T. Lyall, *Flame for God: John Sung and the Revival in the Far East* (London: Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1954)] does not mention the Holiness background of Sung, probably because of the difficulties that arose at some point between Sung and Andrew Gih. It is clear from Sung's writings, his association with Wesleyan/Holiness evangelists in various countries, and his longtime association with Gih and the Bethel Mission, that his basic orientation was Holiness. It was because of his claims to "entire sanctification" while a student at Union Theological Seminary in New York that he was committed to an "insane asylum" by UTS President Henry Sloan Coffin. For a version of Sung's testimony, see John Sung, "Out of Modernism into God's Family," in *Into God's Family*, ed. Andrew Gih, forward by J. Edwin Orr (revised edition; London, Edinburgh: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1955). See Tim Tow, *John Sung: My Teacher* (Singapore: Christian Life Publishers, 1988), and *idem*, *The Asian Awakening* (Singapore: Christian Life Publishers, 1985).

¹⁴Andrew Gih, "Out of Confucianism and into God's Family," *Into God's Family*, Andrew Gih, ed., forward by J. Edwin Orr (revised edition; London, Edinburgh: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1955), 53-61, as well as the "Messages" published in the same volume, pps. 119-223; *idem*, *Bands of Soldiers for War!* Ed., J. Edwin Orr (London, Edinburgh: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1941); *idem*, "Launch Out into the Deep," *Tales of Revival Through China's Famous Bethel Evangelistic Bands and Further Messages* (London, Edinburgh: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1938); and *idem*, *Twice Born and Then? The Life Story and Message of Andrew Gih, Bethel Mission, Shanghai* (London, Edinburgh: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, n.d.).

¹⁵On Singh, see B. H. Streeter, *The Message of Sadhu Sundar Singh: A Study in Mysticism on Practical Religion* (New York: MacMillan, 1921).

¹⁶Sung Ho Kim, *History of the Korea Evangelical Holiness Church*, edited by the History Compilation Committee of the Korea Evangelical Holiness Church, translated by Chun-Hoi HEO and Hye-Kyung HEO (Seoul: Living Waters, 1998).

¹⁷Mark R. Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan: A Study of Indigenous Movements* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998).

Throughout Africa, “Holiness” of various traditions has permeated mission efforts of many denominations and has played a major role in revivals within the European and American related churches.¹⁸ In these cultural contexts, as well as in South America, Holiness evangelists and thinkers have been required to negotiate both the historical relationships and more subtle issues posed by the relationships between Holiness ideals and more local cultural structures.

To demonstrate the complexity of any analysis of the of transmission of Holiness theologies and practices into the global religious market-places, and to suggest the parameters within which such an analysis might be made, four cases have been chosen. Space does not allow for a full examination of any one case, although the case of Norway is given more attention because of the importance (from about 1880) of Norwegian missions as propagators of Holiness teachings and ethos. The case of Norway, to which are adjoined those of China, Russia, and Japan have been selected partly because of ongoing research projects and to demonstrate the historiographical complexities with which the scholar is faced.

The Case of Norway¹⁹

Methodism was, from its inception in Norway, Holiness Methodism. It grew in Norway in contexts heavily influenced by the Norwegian Pietist (especially the Haugian) traditions and self-consciously drew upon that tradition as an intellectual and spiritual resource. However, the Methodist Episcopal Church was not the only source of Holiness theology in Norway. Influences also came from the Free Methodists, the Salvation Army, the Swedish Holiness, Baptists, Lutherans, Lutheran Pietists, and independent evangelists who styled their theology and ministry on the American and British Holiness models. Only a few of the players in this theatre can be discussed here. Because of the context of the *Wesleyan Theological*

¹⁸Klaus Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions. From Hudson Taylor to Present Day Africa* (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 1994).

¹⁹It is important to note that there was never a struggle between the Holiness and Pentecostal movements in Scandinavia. Most Scandinavian Pentecostal leaders merely reinterpreted their experiences of Holiness “Baptism in the Holy Spirit” as Pentecostal “Baptism in the Holy Spirit.” Also, the distinction between “Wesleyan” and “Keswick” Holiness urged by F. B. Meyer after the Welsh Revival and accepted by most Americans during the decades following 1905 had no impact in Scandinavia. Meyer and other non-Wesleyan authors were often read as if they were Wesleyan; Wesley, Brengle, and others were often read as if they were Lutheran, Baptist, or Pentecostal.

Journal, the story here begins with the Methodists, although it might more properly begin with the Pietists and with the lay revivalist movement to which Hauge's name became attached or with the mission work of William Taylor and James Hudson Taylor.

Ole Peter Petersen (1822-1901). The founder of the Methodist tradition in Norway was an expatriate Norwegian who was converted and experienced sanctification in January, 1849, in the Holiness movement among the Methodists in the U.S.A. He was sent as an evangelist to Norwegian emigrants in Iowa for about three years (1851-1853). From Iowa he wrote to Bishop Beverly Waugh requesting appointment as a missionary to Norway.²⁰ Three months later Petersen was ordained deacon and elder in 1853, and in September was given his letter of appointment from Bishop Waugh.²¹ The Mission Board does not seem to have been involved in this appointment. Progress in evangelism was slow. He remained in Norway until 1859 and then returned to the U.S.A.²²

In addition to contemporary descriptions of his preaching, Petersen's Holiness persuasion is seen in his publications. He published his own volume on theology.²³ In this volume written near the end of his life, the Holiness influences are clear, as are his Haugian Pietist commitments. He retained a Haugian commitment to juridical salvation, but adds the Wesleyan understandings of "new birth" and assurance. He devoted different chapters to "entire sanctification" and "Christian Perfection." Like the

²⁰Beverly Waugh to Ole Peter Petersen, 13 April 1853. Methodist Archives, General Commission on Archives and History, Drew University, Madison NJ.

²¹Beverly Waugh to Ole Peter Petersen, 30 September 1853, Methodist Archives, General Commission on Archives and History, Drew University, Madison NJ.

²²On Petersen's life and ministry, see Carl Frederick Eltzholtz, *Livsbilleder af Pastor O. P. Petersen, Grundlægger af den Biskoppelige Methodistkirke i Norge og medgrundlægger af den Norsk-Dansk Methodisme i Amerika* (Chicago: Den Norske-Danske Boghandel's Forlag, 1903) and the interpretations of Johan Thorkildsen, *Den norske metodistkirkes historie* (Oslo: Norsk Forlagsselskab, 1926) and Arne Hassing, *Religion and Power: The Case of Methodism in Norway* (Lake Junaluska: The General Commission on Archives and History, United Methodist Church, 1980). On the American part of the Petersen's story, see Arlow W. Andersen, *The Salt of the Earth: History of Norwegian Danish Methodism in America* (Nashville: Norwegian Danish Methodist Historical Society, 1962), 22-40 et passim.

²³Ole Peter Petersen, *Betragtninger over bibelens hovedlærdomme* (introduction by Carl F. Eltzholtz; Chicago: Den Norske-Danske Boghandel's Forlag, 1900).

mid-nineteenth century Holiness movement, he saw “entire sanctification” as cleansing (juridical and personal) and “Christian Perfection” as the growth of the sanctified in Christian maturity. The Holiness influences are also seen in his published sermons, his treatise on baptism and in his premillennial eschatology.²⁴ He and other early leaders were influenced by the American Methodist Holiness tradition within the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Sivert V. Ulness and the Pentecost Bands. Another important source of Holiness teaching in Norway came through the Pentecost Bands of the Free Methodist Church. Again it was the story of an immigrant to the U.S.A. returning to Norway with a message appropriated in North America. Sivert V. Ulness immigrated to the U.S.A. in 1884 at the age of eighteen. He was converted in Michigan and joined his spiritual mentors in the Pentecost Bands of the Free Methodist Church. Ulness ministered in a Band and married one of his co-workers who was also a licensed minister of the Free Methodist Church.

Ulness and his wife were sent to Norway, at his request, as a “Pentecost Band” in 1890. They established a ministry in the small village of Sogndal and founded a chapel, “Zion.” The worship promoted used the loud “Pentecost Band” music, dancing, being “slain in the spirit” and other physical manifestations of the “baptism of the Holy Spirit” prevalent in North American radical Holiness circles. In 1891, they were forced to choose between leaving the Free Methodist Church and the Pentecost Bands. The Ulnesses became Free Methodist missionaries to Norway in 1892. The congregations in the small village and outstations remained small.²⁵

The most important contribution of Ulness to the spread of Holiness in Norway was the publication of the periodical *Ild-tungen* (1892-1900), later re-titled *Sandhed og Frihed*. This periodical regularly circulated about six thousand copies, an outreach that clearly crossed denominational boundaries. The pages of this periodical are replete with articles advocating sanctification or baptism in the Holy Spirit and urging a holi-

²⁴Ole Peter Petersen, *Aabenbaringens egentlige mening om det Tusinaarige Rige* (Chicago: Den Norske-Danse Boghandel's Forlag, n.d.); *idem*, *Daabslæren i et nøtteskal* (Chicago: Den Norske-Danse Boghandel's Forlag, n.d.) and *idem*, *Nogle tanke om Guds alvidenhed* (Chicago: Den Norske-Danse Boghandel's Forlag, n.d.).

²⁵David Bundy, article on Ulness forthcoming.

ness life-style. These are often borrowed and translated from North American radical Holiness writers. Among the writers translated were Vivian Dake,²⁶ B. T. Roberts,²⁷ Anna Abrams,²⁸ Phoebe Palmer,²⁹ E. E. Shelhammer,³⁰ Sarah Cooke,³¹ William Boardman,³² and William Taylor.³³ European Holiness advocates Otto Witt and Otto Stockmayer were also translated into Norwegian.³⁴ Ulness eventually withdrew from the Free Methodist Church over issues of mission and ecclesiology, under the influence of his wife and Erik Andersen.

Erik Andersen (1858-1938). Andersen was also an important Holiness advocate and later a Pentecostal mission activist. Andersen, a sailor, described a religious experience in 1879 as "baptism in the Holy Spirit."³⁵ This experience happened at some North American seaport. When he returned to Norway, he eventually joined the revival movement led by Fredrik Franson and preached in that context from 1883 to 1888. Andersen was one of the early preachers of Det Norske Misjonsforbund after its establishment in 1884.³⁶ He terminated his relationship with Det Norske

²⁶Vivian Dake, "En Syndag i Liverpool," *Ild-Tungen* 1,1 (Jan. 1892), 2. The third fascicle contained an announcement of Pentecost Band founder Dake's death on ship with William Taylor off Africa: "Pastor V. A. Dake," *Ild-Tungen* 1,3 (March 1892), 10.

²⁷B. T. Roberts, "Troens bøn," *Ild-Tungen* 1,5 (May 1892), 19; *idem*, "Personlig indflydelse," *Ild-Tungen* 2,1 (Jan. 1893), 3-4; *idem*, "Hellighed," *Ild-Tungen* 2,8 (Aug. 1893), 30; *idem*, "Vaag og vent!" *Ild-Tungen* 4,1 (Jan. 1895), 2.

²⁸Anna Abrams, "Hellig vandring," *Ild-Tungen* 1,9 (Sept. 1892), 26.

²⁹Phoebe Palmer, "Fortinselle," *Ild-Tungen* 1,12 (Dec. 1892), 47.

³⁰E. E. Shelhammer, "Laerer bibelns hellighed," *Ild-Tungen* 2,1 (Jan. 1893), 2.

³¹Sarah Cooke, "Br. Moody i et cirkustelt," *Ild-Tungen* 2,8 (Aug. 1893), 2. In this article she describes the meeting in which Moody prayed for and received the "Baptism of the Holy Spirit" or "sanctification." *Idem*, "Og døden er kun at gaa hjem," *Ild-Tungen* 3,1 (Jan. 1894), 2.

³²William Boardman, "Gaven," *Ild-Tungen* 6,9 (Sept. 1897), 70-71; *idem*, "Fortreffeligheden af Guds kraft," *Ild-Tungen* 6,10 (okt. 1897), 73-74.

³³William Taylor, "En martyr for Jesus," *Ild-Tungen* 2,9 (Sept. 1893), 34.

³⁴Otto Witt, "Min egen historie," *Ild-Tungen* 5,2 (Feb. 1896), 6 [discussion of Witt's experience of baptism of the Holy Spirit with minimal historical details]; Otto Stockmayer, "Er det forfeilet?" *Ild-Tungen* 8,1 (Jan. 1899), 1-2.

³⁵Asbjørn Froholt, *Erik Andersen Nordquelle, en biografi* (Moss: Eget Forlag, 1981), 14. Erik Andersen, as did many Scandinavians, changed his name. He made Nordquelle his surname.

³⁶Nils Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen*, 116-117; Asbjørn Froholt, *Erik Andersen Nordquelle, en biografi*, 60.

Misjonsforbund over issues of the authority of the organization. Under the influence of North American Holiness literature, and of the Swedish Lutheran Holiness advocate Otto Witt, he sought and received another religious experience in 1891.³⁷ Next he identified with the ministry of Ulness, and became a contributor to *Ild-tungen* in 1894.³⁸ From those contributions it is clear that he shared Ulness's theological, missional and ethical perspectives. Also during this period he read the work of A. J. Gordon, C. G. Finney and, especially William Boardman.³⁹ In the late 1890s he broke his relationship with the Ulnesses. In the earlier years of the Pentecostal revival, despite theological differences, Nordquelle cooperated with T. B. Barratt and then broke with him after 1912 when Barratt developed the concept of the "biblical congregation" that became the standard Pentecostal ecclesiology of Scandinavia. Andersen also published an influential Holiness and later Pentecostal periodical *Det Gode Budskap* that provided his base of Holiness influence. His associate Karl Olsrud also contributed numerous articles on holiness.⁴⁰

Thomas Ball Barratt (1862-1940).⁴¹ The most important proponent of Holiness was perhaps Thomas Ball Barratt, the son of expatriate British

³⁷Nils Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen*, 117; Asbjørn Froholt, *Erik Andersen Nordquelle, en biografi*, 30-61, *et passim*.

³⁸Andersen forwarded to Ulness a letter from China missionary Florence Young. See *Ild-Tungen* 3,8 (Aug. 1894), 31. He contributed a two-part essay arguing for holiness, Erik Andersen, "Brev til Jacob," *Ild-Tungen* 6,8 (Aug. 1897), 57-58, continued as, *Ild-Tungen* 6,9 (Sept. 1897), 68-69.

³⁹ Nils Bloch-Hoell, "The Impact in Norway of American Dissent," in *Contagious Conflict: The Impact of American Dissent on European Life*, ed. A.N.J. Hollander (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), 125.

⁴⁰ For example: K[arl] O[lsrud], "Af naade," *Det Gode Budskap* 1,5 (15 May 1904), 33-34; continued by *Det Gode Budskap* 1,8 (15 July 1904), 53-54; and, *Det Gode Budskap* 1,16 (November 1904), 85-86.

⁴¹ Thomas Ball Barratt, *When the Fire Fell and An Outline of My Life* (Oslo: Alfons Hansen & Sønner, 1927), *passim* [reprinted in *The Work of T. B. Barratt*, ed. D. W. Dayton (The Higher Christian Life, 4; New York, London: Garland, 1985)], and *idem*, *Erindringer* (ed. Solveig Barratt Lange; Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1941); Swedish translation: *idem*, *Självlbiografi* (trans. Samuel Gullberg; "Förord" av Lewi Pethrus; Stockholm: Förlaget Filadelfia, 1942) as well as Laura Barratt, *Minner. Utgitt i anledning Laura Barratts 80 års dag* (Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1946) and Solveig Barratt Lange, *Et Herrens sendebud* (Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1962); *idem*, "Barratt, Thomas Ball," *Kristen sang og musikk* 1(1968), 183-186, for Barratt's and his family's perspective. His partially collected works were published: Thomas Ball Barratt, *Minneutgave* (8 vols.; Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1956-1958). Works by Norwegian Pentecostal scholars include

mining engineers. He experienced sanctification in a Methodist Episcopal Church in Bergen, entered the ministry and quickly rose to become Presiding Elder of the Oslo District of the Methodist Episcopal Church and a prominent figure in Kristiania (Oslo) politics and social reform efforts. After being caught in a struggle between the Bishops and the Methodist Episcopal Mission Board, he experienced the Pentecostal revival in New York and became the progenitor of much of Pentecostalism in Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America. Holiness remained throughout his life a continuous theme of his writing. These writings reveal a strong attachment to the literature and theological traditions of the Wesleyan and Holiness traditions. He, as most Holiness adherents, did not see a significant distinction between Methodist and Holiness/Pentecostal teachings. His personal library, which remained intact until 1999 before it was divided between two scholars, one a Methodist, the other a Pentecostal,

Oddvar Nilsen, *Ut i all verden. Pinsevevnenes ytre misjon i 75 år* (Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1984); *idem*, . . . og Herren virket med. *Pinsebevegelsen gjennom 75 år* (Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1981). Lewi Pethrus, ed., *T. B. Barratt: Om hans liv och verk. En minnesbok* (Stockholm: Förlaget Filadelfia, 1940); Martin Ski, *T. B. Barratt — døpt i Ånd og Ild* (Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1979). Martin Ski, *Fram til unkristendommen. Pinsevekkelsen gjennom 50 år* (Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1956), I, *passim*; *idem*, “Barratt, Thomas Ball” *Norsk misjonsleksikon* 1(1965), cols. 141-142. For Methodist analyses see Johan Thorkildsen, *Den norske metodistkirkes historie* (Oslo: Norsk Forlagsselskab, 1926); Ingvar Haddal, *Vær fra vest. Fra Metodistkirken historie i Norge* (Oslo: Luther Forlag i samarbeid med Norsk Forlagsselskab, 1977). Haddal (p.105) dismisses Barratt as “impulsiv som alltid.” More positive was Arne Hassing, *Religion and Power. The Case of Methodism in Norway* (Lake Junaluska: General Commission on Archives and History, The United Methodist Church, 1980), as well as Tore Meistad, *Methodism as a Carrier of the Holiness Tradition in Norway* (Alta: Department of Religion, 1994). Meistad took over quite completely four unpublished essays the present author gave him for review, including “The Holiness Theology of T. B. Barratt,” “The Early Development of Norwegian Pentecostal Theology,” “A Curriculum Vitae of T. B. Barratt,” and “Trans-Atlantic Holiness in Norwegian Methodism.” The sources are acknowledged only in one instance, when he was unable to verify my source from a letter in the archives in Drew University, see Meistad, page p. 178 note 37. None of my references to sources found only in U.S.A. or Swedish libraries were included. An apology written just before his death was received shortly after his death. There is a conservative Lutheran analysis of Barratt and his ministry by Nils Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen. En undersøkelse av pinsebevegelsens tilblivelse, utvikling og særpreg med særlig henblikk på bevegelsens utforming i Norge* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1956), partially translated as, *idem*, *The Pentecostal Movement. Its Origin, Development, and Distinctive Character* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1964). Unfortunately, the section dealing with Barratt and the early development (1906-1946) of Pentecostalism in Norway (pp. 208-266) were not translated for publication in the English version.

was examined in 1988. It was comprised primarily of Holiness authors among the Methodists, but also more widely representative of English, American and Scandinavian theology. It contained most translations of Holiness texts into Norwegian, including the copies of Moody's and Wesley's sermons that he had first read aloud to a congregation when he was too shy to try to preach in Norwegian. Barratt's primary frustration with the Methodist Episcopal Church had to do with its reticence to engage in aggressive social ministry and evangelism.

Barratt's early perspective on Holiness is clear from his essays published in the Norwegian Methodist *Kristelig tidende*. His essay "Kristelig fuldkommenhed" was a passionate call for Methodist clergy to emphasize holiness in preaching. It was also a definitional article in which he defined holiness (also Baptism in the Holy Spirit, Christian Perfection or sanctification) in terms congruent with the position of the American Holiness movement. Christian perfection was for him a transformational experience and process for living that would result in power for fulsome Christian living and effectiveness in mission. He insisted that only when the Gospel is presented with this emphasis is the full value of the Gospel being communicated.⁴² He returned to the theme of holiness to provide a theoretical framework in support for ministries and concerns as varied as art, youth ministry, and temperance.⁴³ These commitments were also expressed through his poetry and hymns, such as three untitled pieces written for the 1897 Methodist Episcopal Kristiania District Conference and published in *Kristelig Tidende*.⁴⁴

⁴²T. B. Barratt, "Kristelig fulkommenhed," *Kristelig Tidende* 18, 33 (16 Aug. 1889), 258; 18, 34 (23 Aug. 1889), 266; 18, 35 (30 Aug. 1889), 275; and, 18, 37 (13 Sept.), 289-290.

⁴³T. B. Barratt, "De kristenes forhold til Kunsten," *Kristelig Tidende* 26, 50 (10 dec. 1897), 397; 26, 51 (17 Dec. 1897), 406; and, 26, 52 (24 Dec. 1897), 413-414; *idem*, "Læs ikke dette om Epworth-Ligaen med Ligeuldighed," *Kristelig Tidende* 19, 34 (22 Aug. 1890), 266; and, *idem*, "Love for Den norske Methodistkirkes Totalafholdsselskab," *Kristelig Tidende* 26, 20 (14 May 1887), 156-157.

⁴⁴T. B. Barratt, "Methodistkirkens Distriktkonferense for Kristiania distrikt," *Kristelig Tidende* 26, 20 (14 Mar. 1897), 160. See also other examples, such as T. B. Barratt, "Et rensset hjerte," *Kristelig Tidende* 19, 35 (29 Aug. 1890), 292, *idem*, "Kom, besværed sjæl," *Kristelig Tidende* 19, 25 (20 June 1890), 198, and, *idem*, "Fredssang," *Kristelig Tidende* 27, 11 (14 Mar. 1898), 85. Others appeared in various editions of the Norwegian Methodist hymnals and songbooks, without ascription to Barratt after his conversion to Pentecostalism.

Throughout his life, Barratt worked to combine both the ethical and humanitarian demands of the Holiness tradition with the personal salvific concerns. In this he was more closely allied to the radical edge of the tradition represented by his heroes William Taylor and the Booths. For that reason he worked on behalf of temperance, children's welfare, rights for dissenters, women's concerns, care of the elderly, the independence of Norway from Sweden, and he developed ministries of food, clothing, and shelter for the poor of Kristiania. He was also committed to crossing denominational boundaries to collaborate in ecumenical ministry and evangelism.

Influence of the Holiness Movements Among the Other Churches. The Holiness Movements in Norway were not limited to the Methodists. In Norway, as elsewhere in Europe, the Holiness impulses from the U.S.A. and Great Britain interacted with the local Pietist movements. In Norway, discussions of sanctification took place among the Haugian Pietists at least as early as the 1840s and 1850s.⁴⁵ Despite this commitment, the Pietists did not provide a popular experiential liturgy for sanctification or language to describe the religious experience, as did the 19th and early 20th-century evangelists. The Pietists also did not focus on transformed lives or on faith healing. However, the discussions among the Pietists did provide a context in which the revivalists could work and precedents to which they could appeal.

The influence was not always through direct personal evangelistic work or preaching. Efforts were made by Holiness adherents and publishers to provide a corpus of literature explaining and advocating Holiness in Wesleyan revivalistic, intellectual, and experiential categories. Numerous Wesleyan-Holiness revivalist authors were translated and published by a variety of presses throughout Norway. Among those translated (in addition to Wesley, the Taylors, and the Booths) were Hannah Whitall Smith,⁴⁶ William Boardman,⁴⁷ Asa Mahan,⁴⁸ Charles Grandison Finney,⁴⁹

⁴⁵H. Mustorp, *Haugianere i Østfold* (Oslo: Lutherstiftelsen Forlag, 1930), 311 *et passim*.

⁴⁶Hannah Whitall Smith, *Et lykkeligt liv og hemmeligheden derved* (Lau-rvik, M. Andersen, 1889; 6th edition 1909).

⁴⁷William Boardman, *Glæden i Jesus* (Kristiania: n.p. 1892).

⁴⁸Asa Mahan, *Femti aars vandring med Gud* (Kristiania: n.p. 1889).

⁴⁹Charles Grandison Finney, *Mannen som bad* (Kristiania: Tronsen, 1901); *idem*, *Aandelig Opvaagnen* (Kristiania: Martiniussens Forlag, 1915).

A. J. Gordon,⁵⁰ and Gipsy Smith.⁵¹ Swedish and Danish translations of Holiness writers circulated widely in Norway.

Music became an important medium for transmitting the theology and experience of the Holiness Movement. Anglo-Saxon Holiness hymnody found its way into the Lutheran and other churches of Norway through the publication of the widely circulated *Zions Harpe*.⁵² About 129,000 copies of this volume were sold and another hymnal, *Pilgrims Harpe* published in 1877, sold 40,000 copies.⁵³ These brought Holiness ideas into the popular spirituality of various religious communities.

Some Lutheran clergy, most famously the Swedish evangelist Otto Witt, worked throughout Norway advocating Holiness theology, experience, and mission.⁵⁴ The persuasiveness of this Holiness evangelism/mission can be gauged by the efforts of its opponents. Numerous publications in official Lutheran State Church organs from the early 1880s argued against the Wesleyan-Holiness doctrines of sanctification or baptism in the Holy Spirit. A Lutheran bishop, Eivind Berggrav, would later acknowledge that the teaching of the Holiness Movement ("American revivalistic propaganda") and the prevalence of Holiness teaching, both in Haugian piety and among the followers of the Swedish Holiness Methodist, had influenced Lutheran theologian Rosenius. Berggrav argued for a restitution of the doctrine of sanctification to the center of the piety and theology of the church, but without the emotionalism of the Haugian, Holiness and Pentecostal traditions.⁵⁵

⁵⁰A. J. Gordon, *Kraft og Seier til liv og tjenste* (Kristiania: Martiniussens Forlag, 1913).

⁵¹Gipsy Smith, *Fra sigøinerteltet til talerstolen. Prækenes samt hans biografi* (Kristiania: H. Martiniussens Forlag, 1919), 4th ed., 1926. Many other titles and biographies were published in Norwegian during the period 1925-1947 by Lutheran, Baptist, and Pentecostal presses. Smith long remained a favorite of Baptist and Pentecostal readers.

⁵²*Zions Harpe*, ed. Elevine Heede (Kristiania: Norsk Forlagsselskab, 1876).

⁵³Nils Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen*, 122; Nils Bloch-Hoell, "The Impact in Norway of American Dissent," in *Contagious Conflict: The Impact of American Dissent on European Life*, 222.

⁵⁴Nils Bloch-Hoell, *Pinsebevegelsen*, 117; Asbjørn Froholt, *Erik Andersen Nordquelle, en biografi*, 23-31.

⁵⁵Eivind Berggrav, *Helliggjørelse* (Oslo: Grøndahl & Søn's Forlag, 1934 [repr. Oslo: Forlaget Land og Kirke, 1961]), quote page 25, page 31 in the reprint. All of the chapters originally appeared as articles in the periodical publication *Kirke og Kultur* from the 1920s to the early 1930s.

Some Norwegian revivalists, influenced by experiences in the U.S.A. or Great Britain, adapted the theology, evangelistic/mission methods, and religious experiences learned there to the Norwegian context, but did not officially leave the State Church or the other Free Churches. The most important example was Albert Lunde. Lunde was converted and sanctified among Holiness believers in the U.S.A. and returned to Norway to do evangelistic work. He remained a Lutheran lay preacher, but his theology and preaching were understood by contemporaries to be outside the normal boundaries of the Lutheran Church and many clergy denied him the privilege of preaching in their churches and accused him of promoting the Methodist doctrine of Christian perfection or holiness.⁵⁶ Like his American Holiness mentors, he cooperated across denominational barriers and did not attempt to establish ecclesiastical structures using his converts. T. B. Barratt cooperated with him in the Kristiania revival of 1905-1906 and promoted Lunde in *Byposten*. He published Lunde's photo on the front cover of the paper and described Lunde's ministry in the Methodist Episcopal Church in Bergen.⁵⁷ In other fascicles of *Byposten*, Barratt provided a moment by moment account of a Lunde revival service, including a summary of and commentary on the sermon.⁵⁸ In another place, he acknowledged Lunde's theological debt to the Methodists, Salvation Army, and the Inner Mission.⁵⁹

⁵⁶Einar Molland, *Norges kirkehistorie i det 19. århundre* (Oslo: Glydendal Norsk Forlag, 1929), II, *passim*. On Lunde, see Martha Lunde, *Albert Lunde: Minner fra hans liv* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1939) and Kåre Mjølhus, *Albert Lunde: Mannen og forkynneren* (Oslo: n.p. 1981), as well as a volume of published sermons from his work in Kristiania: Albert Lunde, *Fra Calmeyergadens prædikestol* (Kristiania: Johannes Bjørnstad, 1913).

⁵⁷T. B. Barratt, "Albert Lunde," *Byposten* 2,6 (11 mars 1905), 1. This article celebrates the ministry of Lunde and Modalsli, emphasizing the acknowledge role of the Holy Spirit in their work. See also, *idem*, "Albert Lundes," *Byposten* 2,7 (25 March 1905), 25, and *idem*, "Fra det sidste store møde for mænd," *Byposten* 2,12 (6 May 1905), 50, and *idem*, "Vækkelsen i Kristiania," *Byposten* 2,11 (29 April 1905), 47, continued in *Byposten* 2,11 (29 April 1905), 46. Barratt clearly expected the Lunde revival to develop and to transform the city.

⁵⁸T. B. Barratt, "Albert Lundes prædiken," *Byposten* 2,8(1 April 1905), 29-32.

⁵⁹T. B. Barratt, "Da Albert Lunde kom fra Amerika og hans virksomhed i Stavanger," *Byposten* 2,13(20 May 1905), 58-59. See also, *idem*, "Pastor Laur. Larsens tale til mænd i Calmeyergds missionshus (samme aften som Lunde)," *Byposten* 2,13(20 maj 1905), 58.

A group extensively influenced by the Holiness Movement was Det Vestlandske Indremisjonsforbund.⁶⁰ This tradition has been little studied by those outside the tradition. It has remained essentially a Haugian/Rosenian Pietist tradition. However, Methodist influences are present in many stages of the early development. Since then, nearly every influx of Anglo-American revivalistic-Pietistic religion, from the Holiness movement to the Charismatic renewal, has had its impact. For example, the songbook *Sions sange* included a high percentage of songs from “English and American religious life,”⁶¹ these primarily from the Holiness hymn and gospel songwriters.

One of the prime leaders of Det Vestlandske Indremisjonsforbund, Andreas Lavik (1854-1918),⁶² a lay preacher, wrote about Holiness frequently in the organization’s periodical *Sambaandet*.⁶³ From these articles it is clear that his interest in holiness, clearly present before the Wales Revival, was heightened by that revival. The articulation of his theological concerns was Wesleyan/Holiness. Congruent with the genre of his essays, no sources are given, but he was clearly aware of the arguments for holiness put forward by Wesleyan revivalistic writers and appropriated that language. Whether he heard them from the Free Methodists, the Methodist Episcopal or Salvation writers, he had understood their arguments. He talked of the Holy Spirit as God cleansing the sinful nature of humans so that they will have power for mission and social justice. Conversion (traditionally understood as justification) was not the goal of human spirituality; it was merely the beginning and persons were required to seek the Baptism of the Holy Spirit as a key experience on the way to *theosis* or union with God.

⁶⁰See: Bernard Eide, *Med livets rett. Bergens Indremisjon gjennom 100 år* (Bergen: Lunde Forlag, 1963) and Johannes Kleppa og Paul Odland, *Ordets folk. Det Vestlandske Indremisjonsforbund, 1898-1998* (Straune: Sambåndet, 1998).

⁶¹Johannes Kleppa og Paul Odland, *Ordets folk. Det Vestlandske Indremisjonsforbund, 1898-1998* (Straune: Sambåndet, 1998), 75.

⁶²On Lavik, see Johannes Lavik, *Andreas Lavik, En biografisk skisse* (Bergen: Lunde Forlag 1919, repr. 1995) and the entry in *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon*.

⁶³Among his many articles on the subject: Andreas Lavik, “Bliv fylde af aanden,” *Sambaandet* 7,6 (11 Feb. 1905), 2; *idem*, “Aandens pinsevind,” *Sambaandet* 7,11 (18 March 1905), 2; *idem*, “Hanskal døbe med den Helligand,” *Sambaandet* 8, 38 (22 Sept. 1906), 1, continued, *Sambaandet* 8, 39 (29 Sept. 1906), 1, *Sambaandet* 8, 40 (6 Oct. 1906), 1, *Sambaandet* 8, 41 (13 Oct. 1906), 1; *idem*, “Ut bliv fuldt med den helligand?” *Sambaandet* 9, 12 (23 March 1907), 1-2.

Lavik was a close associate of T. B. Barratt who used at least two of his articles in *Byposten*. The one dealt directly with “baptism in the Holy Spirit” and urged the reader to accept that Spirit baptism as normal for the Christian life.⁶⁴ In another essay, Lavik expressly defended the Pentecostal revival as providing power for “a powerful spiritual life.”⁶⁵ In another piece printed in *Byposten*, Lavik defended the Pentecostal movement as a biblically sound tradition that could transform a Christian community and give its people power for witness and living, ending with the prayer that all might receive the “Pentecostal Spirit.” He argues that the new liturgies of the revival are not to be rejected and should be considered an antidote to the “dead formalism” of the other churches.⁶⁶ In another article, Lavik argued that he had always believed and promoted the doctrines taught within the Pentecostal revival.⁶⁷ While he did not establish an institutional identification with the Pentecostal revival, he never recanted his theological perspective that between 1905 and 1907 was clearly Holiness and Pentecostal.

Holiness Influence in Religious Periodicals. Holiness influence in Norway was also present through the religious periodicals, and not just the Methodist-related *Kristelig tidende* and Barratt’s *Byposten* or the *Ildtungen* of the Pentecost Bands or the Holiness Pietist *Sambaandet* mentioned above. Other periodicals functioned differently, but also reflected Holiness influence, transmitting the ideas in positive frameworks and warranting authors as reliable and important and events, especially revivals and revival meetings, as important and valid expressions of Christian spirituality. Importantly for later developments, these periodicals, such as the Lutheran *Norsk Missionstidende* and the independent revivalist Holiness, later Pentecostal, *Missionæren, kristeligt blad*, were focused on mission as well as advocating the holy life.

⁶⁴Andreas Lavik, “Han skal døbe eder med den helligaand,” *Byposten* 3,20 (6 Oct. 1906), 85. This article reprinted from *Sambaandet* is a stereotypical exposition of the Wesleyan/Holiness understanding of “baptism in the Holy Spirit.”

⁶⁵[Andreas Lavik], “Sambaandet,” *Byposten* 5,5 (23 Feb. 1907), 26. This is an editorial from *Sambaandet* reprinted in *Byposten*.

⁶⁶Andreas Lavik, “Den helligaand. Hans opgave overfor de troende,” *Byposten* 4,14 (29 June 1907), 68. This article was reprinted from *Sambaandet*.

⁶⁷Andreas Lavik, “Den apostolisk tro,” *Sambaandet* 9, 19 (11 May 1907), 1-2.

The periodicals developed extensive networks throughout Norway and the Norwegian diaspora (all of them circulated thousands of copies) and contributed to the intellectual and organizational structures of the Holiness movements and Holiness mission. In doing so they kept before readers for decades the writings and thought of the North American, British and, to a lesser extent, German Holiness leaders. This Holiness mission project in Norway laid the groundwork for the Pentecostal revival and for subsequent Pentecostal mission by demonstrating methods of mission and by establishing a theological and missiological language.

Norway and Holiness. The Holiness Movements in Norway are found today in a variety of small denominations, normally quite isolated from their North American and British co-religionists. Most of these, notably the Pentecostal churches, have had and maintain an extensive missionary presence around the world. The diversity of sources of Holiness thought and the complexity of ecclesial structures make any analysis of the influence of the traditions in Norway and in areas influenced by Norwegian missionaries difficult. However, in many countries of the world, any analysis of the Holiness (and Pentecostal) traditions that does not take this history into account misses crucial elements of the stories.

The Case of China

In China, the study of the Holiness missions, influences, and present reality has been complicated by being intertwined with the last three problematic centuries of China's relationships with the West. Because the context of the missionary period in China, the traditions documenting the work of about 100 Holiness and Pentecostal mission agencies from North America and Europe in China are largely oral. It can be expected, however, as archives in China become available to scholars, more Holiness-related material will be identified. The oral traditions are strong. For example, my interest in Holiness mission history in China was piqued in 1981. I visited a number of Three Self Movement congregations throughout China and, when I asked about the person most significant in the founding of the church, the person named turned out to be in all cases to be a Holiness or Pentecostal missionary.

In addition to the extensive oral sources still available for documenting their work, the missionaries have left an extensive paper record that documents the tradition. Little of that documentation is formulated in aca-

dem style reflection. It consists of letters and short articles published in periodicals and sometimes biographies and autobiographies. Much of that writing was crafted to reassure supporters or family. The biographies and autobiographies were written to provide an income for the missionary, support institutions or to encourage mission as vocation. There is remarkably little trace of their lives and careers to be found in government documents or in mainline sources such as the *Chinese Recorder*, although the surveys of missions and missionaries do mention some of the agencies and some of the more prominent men. Women associated either temporarily or permanently with the China Inland Mission were more often reported to information agencies.⁶⁸

Remarkably, few academic institutions outside North America and Europe were started by Holiness missionaries before World War II, and those that were established stayed focused on the primary goal of training preachers and Bible women for an area. Many were temporary. None were designed to teach American culture, technology, science and literature. Archives were not established. The most significant Holiness scholarly effort in China was Tientsien Biblical Seminary founded by the National Holiness Missionary Society.⁶⁹ Of all of the groups and denominations, to my knowledge, only the Pentecostal Information Center of the Pentecostal Missionary Union of the Swedish Filadelfia Churches has devoted resources to exhaustively identifying the documentation relevant to a study of their missionaries in China, including extensive oral history interviews with Chinese clergy and laity.⁷⁰ During the period 1880 to

⁶⁸The *Chinese Recorder* does not mention any of the women chosen for case studies. See the wonderful index by Kathleen L. Lodwick, *The Chinese Recorder Index: A Guide to Christian Missions in Asia, 1867-1941* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1986). Some of the women are mentioned in lists of missionaries in the *China Mission Year Book*.

⁶⁹William Walter Cary, *Story of the National Holiness Missionary Society* (Chicago: National Holiness Missionary Society, 1940).

⁷⁰Jan-Endy Johannesson, *Dokumentation av Svensk Pingstmission i Kina* (Forskningsrapporter i missionsvetenskap, missionshistoria och missionsantropologi, 3; Stockholm: MissionsInstitutet-PMU, 1992); *idem*, *Sådd i mittens rike. Dokumentation av Svensk Pingstmission i Kina, 1907-1951* (Dokumentation av Svensk Pingstmission, 1; Stockholm: MissionsInstitutet-PMU, 1988). Between 1907 and 1951, the Swedish Pentecostal Churches supported at least 137 missionaries, of whom at least 80 were women. Swedish Pentecostal women played crucial roles, as did the Chinese Bible Women with whom they made common cause. It has been decided not to discuss their story here, because of other cultural

1969, it can be tentatively asserted that more than half of the Holiness and Pentecostal missionaries in China were Scandinavian, and that more than 75% of these were women. Others came from Germany, Switzerland, and Australia. These Holiness and Pentecostal missionaries have been largely ignored in the historiography. While there is a significant corpus of fine studies of the roles of women missionaries from other traditions in China during the period, the vast majority of research on women missionaries in China focuses on the nineteenth century.⁷¹

issues. However, they formed a large and vital portion of the Holiness/Pentecostal missionary presence in China. Because of their mission theory, developed from that of William Taylor and T. B. Barratt, their congregational-indigenous model of mission proved attractive in China. They were arguing for the “three-selves” theory before it became the official Chinese response to the Western mission project. On the early development of Swedish Pentecostal mission theory, see David Bundy, “Swedish Pentecostal Mission Theory and Practice to 1930: Foundational Values in Conflict,” *Mission Studies* 14(1997), 147-174. The other Scandinavian Pentecostal numbers were smaller by comparison. Finnish Pentecostal missionaries worked in Manchuria from 1929 and more extensively in China after 1946. There were at least nineteen missionaries, of which fourteen were women. Another woman, Anna Kempe, worked in Tibet. On Finnish Pentecostal missions, see, Juhani Kuosmanen, “Helluntaiherätyksen lähetystön historia,” in *Kaikkeen Maailmaan, 1929-1989: 60 vuotta helluntaiseurakuntien lähetystyötä* (Vantaa: KV-Kirjat, 1989), 16-18, and Lauri K. Ahonen, *Suomen Helluntaiherätyksen historia* (Hämeenlinna: n.p., 1994), 219-248, *et passim*. Willy Rudolph, “China—en dør alm ble stengt,” *Til Jordans Ender. Norsk pinsemisjon gjennom 50 år redigert av Kåre Juul* (Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1960), 57-58, provides a list of 44 Norwegian Pentecostal missionaries to China, 1916-1951, of which at least 30 appear to have been women. See also Oddvar Nilsen, *Ut i all verden. Pinsevevnenes ytre misjon i 75 år* (Oslo: Filadelfiaforlaget, 1984).

⁷¹For example, Mary Raleigh Anderson, *A Cycle in the Celestial Kingdom: Protestant Mission Schools for Girls in South China (1827 to the Japanese Invasion)* (Mobile, AL: Heiter-Starke Printing, 1943); Estelle Freedman, “Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870-1930,” *Feminist Studies* 5(1979), 512-529; Rosemary R. Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in China and the Orient, 1881-1925* (Montreal, Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1992); Gael Graham, *Gender, Culture and Christianity: American Protestant Mission Schools in China, 1880-1930* (Asian Thought and Culture, 25; New York, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995); Patricia Hill, *The World Their Household: The American Women’s Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870-1930* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1985); Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1984). Only Dana Robert, *American Women in Mission*, 231-254, *et passim*, devotes significant time to Holiness and Pentecostal missionaries.

Another issue has to do with theological orientation and denomination. When one works with Holiness and Pentecostal history, the approach has to be different than for other denominational groupings. The kinds of assumptions and social realities that frame investigations of Presbyterians or Methodists generally do not apply. The diversity of theological expressions and commitments, as well as social location and organizational structure, varies among the thousands of “denominations” that form these traditions. Dana Robert has observed that “faith missions,” including Holiness and Pentecostal missionaries, attracted women who had experiences of class location and spirituality different from those typical of the other missionaries.⁷²

The analysis of Holiness mission in China is also complicated by the problem of identifying Holiness and Pentecostal missionaries. Both movements during the period 1880 to 1950 had adherents who went out under the aegis of different boards and societies. There were Presbyterians, Baptists, Anglicans, Methodists, Brethren, Lutherans, Moravians, Quakers, and Mennonites who were Holiness in their theology and spirituality when they went to China; there are also numerous instances of conversion to Holiness or Pentecostal spirituality after arrival at the “field” due to traveling Holiness and Pentecostal evangelists. Many served as independent missionaries with no relationships to boards or denominations.

Other societies that have not normally been considered (for various reasons) Holiness or Pentecostal, such as the Örebro Mission, the Tjsili Misjon, South Chihli Mission, China Inland Mission, Basel Mission, Deutsche Allianz-Mission, Kieler Mission, the American Scandinavian Mission, and the Liebenzeller Mission attracted almost exclusively people who were influenced in their mission commitment by Holiness and Pentecostal spirituality.⁷³ Holiness and Pentecostal mission agencies were sometimes very small, with a focus on one city or village. Chinese Christians directed others to Holiness and Pentecostal ministries, sometimes with collaboration from Holiness philanthropists or denominations in

⁷²Dana L. Robert, *American Women in Mission. A Social History of their Thought and Practice* (The Modern Missionary Period 1792-1992: An Appraisal, ed. Wilbert Shenk; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1996), 253-254.

⁷³On the German context, see Andreas Franz, *Mission ohne Grenzen: Hudson Taylor und die deutschsprachigen Glaubensmissionen* (Brunnen: Theologische Verlagsgemeinschaft [TVG], 1993).

North America, including Andrew Gih and John Sung who worked with a mission and then became independent itinerant Holiness evangelists. Scholars are still attempting to identify these organizations and document the lives of individuals. Tracking the career of an individual missionary can be fraught with historiographical dangers. For example, Free Methodist Clara Leffingwell became a missionary to China with the China Inland Mission (CIM) and then became the crucial figure in the establishment of the Free Methodist mission in China.⁷⁴ The documentation for her life as a CIM missionary would appear, apart from autobiographical information, to be limited to a few laconic comments in *China's Millions* and in the laconic CIM log of missionaries. As Dana Robert has observed, the denominational lines were often blurred during the early period, especially for evangelical women.⁷⁵ The Holiness and Pentecostal missionaries were not exceptions to this observation. More recently the situation has been complicated by the arrival of missionaries from the Chinese diaspora, Korea and Thailand.

The history of the "Holiness Movement" in China is complex and any significant analysis will need to examine resources in China, the U.S.A., Canada, Great Britain, Australia, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Germany, Russia, Switzerland, Korea, and Thailand.

The Case of Russia

The Holiness presence in Russia was at first blush the work of two men, Augustus William Waldegrave Lord Radstock (1833-1913)⁷⁶ and Dr. F. W. Baedeker (1823-1906).⁷⁷ The reality is much more complex, but the story of these two missionaries stands illustrate that complexity. Lord

⁷⁴Walter A. Sellew, *Clara Leffingwell, A Missionary* with an introduction by Wilson T Hogue (Chicago: Free Methodist Publishing House, 1907). Leffingwell describes (pp. 20-47) the strong presence of Wesleyan/Holiness theology in the China Inland Mission among both the leadership and the missionaries.

⁷⁵Dana L. Robert, *American Women in Mission*, 193, *et passim*.

⁷⁶Mrs. Edward Trotter, *Lord Radstock: An Interpretation and Record* (2nd ed. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1914). See, however, also Efraim Rang, *Lord Radstocks besök i Sverige 1878-1879* (Frideborg: Folkkalender Forlag, 1932); Lars Österlin, *Stockholmsväckelsen kring Lord Radstock: En kyrkohistorisk undersökning* (Stockholm: Diakoni Styrelsen, 1947), and especially T. Bergsten, "Till belysning av lord Radstocks verksamhet i Sverige," *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* (1947), 244-283, regarding the trustworthiness of Trotter's account.

⁷⁷Robert Sloan Latimer, *Dr. Baedeker and His Apostolic Work in Russia* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1908).

Radstock played a key role in the 1871-1875 European Holiness revivals. He facilitated the invitation of Mahan, Boardman, Robert Pearsall Smith, and Hannah Whitall Smith to England and, with Baedeker, intrigued to get Robert Pearsall Smith invited to the Emperor's palace at Potsdam, the homes of Dutch royalty, and into stadiums throughout Europe (under the aegis of the Evangelical Alliance) where Smith preached with great approbation to the masses. Baedeker served as Smith's translator and later established himself as a prominent Holiness evangelist.⁷⁸

Russia had long been a focus of Pietist mission, both to the emigrants from Germany and central Europe, but also to the fledgling non-Orthodox churches planted among the Russians. What made the missions of Lord Radstock different was that his presentation of possibilities of the Christian life appealed to the aristocracy and the peasants and was ostensibly intended to renew the Orthodox Church. Lord Radstock had met hundreds of Russian nobility and wealthy business persons in Paris, where he preached a simple "Holiness" version of Christianity and asked them to pray for their nation and church. Essential to his message were the pillars of instantaneous conversion, instantaneous forgiveness of sins, and instantaneous sanctification that resulted in power in spirituality and in social ministry.

Lord Radstock, still quite ignorant of the Russian language, was invited to St. Petersburg in 1874 where he spoke to the assembled in his struggling French. His hostess was Elizaveta Ivanovna Chertkova, a close associate of Tolstoy. The resultant religious communities stirred animosity among those who suspected their social concern to be closet socialism. The theological sophistication of Radstock was called into question. During his second visit, 1875-1876, his Russian improved, and the opposition increased. He was pilloried in a novel⁷⁹ and a volume apparently intended to defend him was normally read as an attack on his ministry and follow-

⁷⁸Paul Fleisch, *Die Geschichte der deutschen Gemeinschaftsbewegung bis zum Auftreten des Zungenredens* (1875-1907) (*Die Moderne Gemeinschaftsbewegung*, I; Leipzig: H. G. Wallman, 1912); Melvin E. Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century* (2nd ed. *Studies in Evangelicalism* 1; Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 1996); and, Dieter Lange, *Eine Bewegung bricht sich Bahn. Die deutschen Gemeinschaften im ausgehenden 19. und beginnenden 20. Jahrhundert und ihre Stellung zu Kirche, Theologie und Pfingstbewegung* (Giessen: Brunnen Verlag; Dillenburg: Gnadauer Verlag, 1979).

⁷⁹Vladimir P. Meshcherskij, *Lord-Apostol v bolshom Peterburgskom svietie* (2 vols.; St. Petersburg: Izd. Kn-va Mavrokiia Osipovicha Vol'fa, 1876).

ers.⁸⁰ The third visit was disrupted because comments made in England regarding the need for renewal in the Orthodox Church became known and he was forced to leave Russia in 1878. Baedeker continued his ministry, traveling to preach in prisons throughout Russia.

Leadership of the revival, which was known throughout Russia because of the controversy and numerous publications, fell to Vasil Alexandrovich Pashkov (1813-1902) and the tradition became known by his name. On the more indigenous Pashkovite revival led by Pashkov, there is an enormous bibliography as well as the archives of the Pashkov family at the University of Birmingham (England), with microfilm copies at Wheaton, Yale, and the Southern Baptist Historical Society. There is no adequate (or disinterested) analysis of Pashkov's theology and life. Wardin has provided a vital service to future research in establishing a bibliographic guide to Pashkovism and other Evangelical movements that influenced Russia.⁸¹ Like in Western Europe and the Americas, periodicals were of crucial importance in teaching and organizing the Russian movement. Titles like *Ruskii rabochii* (1883-1886) and *Beseda Vladikavkaz* (1891-1897) are major repositories of Pashkovite thinking.

The movement, by its rapid success, attracted the wrath of the Orthodox Church. Hundreds of thousands were martyred for their faith, exiled, or were forced to become silent. Many of the Holiness themes, values and associated religious experiences would make Pentecostalism and the Holiness Baptist traditions of Sweden and Norway attractive to Russians a few years later. For example, T. B. Barratt (mentioned above) published a religious paper entitled *Poveda Kresta* (1913-1915) and the Swedish Holiness/Pentecostal Baptists published *Soba* (1920-1934). Both of these had wide circulation and prepared the way for indigenous Russian Pentecostalism. Holiness books also circulated widely; some I have seen as typed translations, apparently from Finnish. This history needs a careful examination now that sources are available. The best works are

⁸⁰Nikolai S. Leskov, *Velikosvietskii raskol: Lord Redstock i ego posliedovateli. Ocherk sovremennago religioznago dvizheniya v petersburgskom obshchestve* (St. Petersburg: V. Tushnov, 1877).

⁸¹Albert W. Wardin, Jr., *Evangelical Sectarianism in the Russian Empire and the USSR. A Bibliographic Guide* (ATLA Bibliography Series, 36; Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1995).

those of Edmund Heier⁸² and A. L. Klibanov.⁸³ Both they and other extant analyses have missed major themes in the Paskovite tradition, thereby providing a less than adequate analysis of the theological perspectives of this Russian Holiness tradition. Scholars have therefore generally underestimated the significance of the Holiness theological issues as part of the framework for understanding the hostile reaction of the Russian Orthodox Church against the revival, and the subsequent repression of the tradition.

The Case of Japan

Wesleyan/Holiness and Pentecostal ideas were and are being spread in Japan by several distinct branches of these traditions. The first and most obvious sources are the missionaries with Wesleyan/Holiness commitments who went out under the various Methodist churches, missionaries related to the Wesleyan/Holiness daughter churches of American Methodism, the Salvation Army (from 1895), and the Seventh-Day Adventists (from 1896). The Methodist Episcopal and Wesleyan Methodist (British) Churches were early arrivals in Japan, as well as in other areas of the world.⁸⁴ There were also missionaries promoting both Holiness and Keswick Holiness perspectives within the context of the “main-line” U.S.A. and British mission agencies, especially the missions of the Presbyterian and Anglican Churches (primarily after 1900), both from North America and from Europe. Joining them were Holiness/Pentecostal missionaries/organizations from Sweden, Norway, Finland, and Switzerland. More recently there are missionaries/organizations from Brazil, Korea, the Philippines, and Thailand.

Other Wesleyan Holiness believers served as missionaries under the aegis of independent non-denominational Wesleyan/Holiness missions, such as the Japan Evangelistic Bands founded by Barclay F. Buxton and

⁸²Edmund Heier, *Religious Schism in the Russian Aristocracy 1860-1900: Radstockism and Pashkovism* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970).

⁸³A. L. Klibanov, *Istoriya religioznogo sektantstva v Rossii (60-e gody XIX v.-1917 g.)* (Akademia Hayk CCCP, Institut istorii; Moscow: “Nauka,” 1965).

⁸⁴A *Biographical Dictionary of Methodist Missionaries in Japan: 1873-1993* [in English and Japanese], ed. John W. Krummel (n.p.: Kyo Bun Kwan, 1996). This work limits itself to missionaries of groups associated with the World Methodist Council. Therefore, it documents Free Methodist and Wesleyans, but not the Salvation Army, World Gospel Mission, Oriental Missionary Society (OMS), the Church of the Nazarene, and others.

A. Paget Wilkes,⁸⁵ OMS,⁸⁶ and the Swedish Holiness Movement Mission.⁸⁷ From the beginnings of the Pentecostal revivals, missionaries from all over the world have been carrying the Pentecostal vision of Christianity to Japan, as well as other areas of the world. Among these were Pentecostal missionaries with Wesleyan/Holiness roots and beliefs from the U.S.A., Canada, Britain, Australia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, India, Brazil, Sri Lanka, Korea, and Thailand.⁸⁸ It is often difficult to determine the influence on Japan of any one facet of this cornucopia of mission efforts, but it is known that books by Salvation Army leader Gunpei Yamamuro were selling over one million copies before World War II.⁸⁹ Several of the earliest ordained women in Japan were also Wesleyan/Holiness and served from the mid-1930s as leaders in the Japan Evangelical Mission, Holiness Church, and the Japan Gospel Mission.⁹⁰

The recent publication by Mark Mullins has elucidated the complex parameters of the study of the Wesleyan/Holiness and Pentecostal traditions in Japan. He has forcefully demonstrated that the study of these tra-

⁸⁵See Eric Gosden, *Take Fire! James Cuthbertson of Japan*, intro. Paul S. Rees (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1960), and A. N. P. Wilkes, *His Glorious Power; or, the Story of the Japan Evangelistic Band* (London: Japan Evangelistic Band, 1933).

⁸⁶Robert D. Wood, *In These Immortal Hands: The Story of the Oriental Missionary Society. The First Fifty Years* (Greenwood: OMS International, 1983).

⁸⁷*Ett sekel i Herrens tjänst. En jubileumsbok om Helgelseförbundet, 1887-1987*, ed. Sven Kårbrant (Kumla: HF Förlag, 1987).

⁸⁸For a partial accounting of the Wesleyan/Holiness and Wesleyan/Pentecostal presence in Japan, see *Encyclopedia of World Christianity*, ed. David Barrett, et al. (2nd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). The situation has become even more complex since 1980 with the arrival of many more missionaries from Europe, Latin America, and Asia. Space does not allow reference to the histories and biographies relevant to this history. Older materials may be found in C. E. Jones, *A Guide for the Study of the Holiness Movement* (ATLA Bibliography Series, 1; Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1974).

⁸⁹On this remarkable theologian, see R. David Rightmire, *Salvationist Samurai: Gunpei Yamamuro and the Rise of the Salvation Army in Japan* (Pietist and Wesleyan Studies 8; Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 1997).

⁹⁰Fukada Yoshi was ordained in 1934 by the Japan Gospel Mission by Aida Kisuke after graduation from the Kyurei Gaikuin (Bible School). The Salvation Army contributed the largest number of women of any denomination to the United Church of Christ of Japan. On these issues, see, *Grace Abounding: A History of the Ordination of Women in Japan*, ed. Kikuko Yamamoto, English editor Barbara Dunn Mensendiek (n.p.: Society of Women Clergy for Theological Studies in Japan, 1999). There is a brief biography of Fukada Yoshi (105-1993), pps. 48-49.

ditions cannot be limited to the foreign mission dependent and/or the foreign mission founded institutions. The story must include the indigenous movements as well as groups established on the paradigms of North American or European models.⁹¹ Mullins analyzed thirteen indigenous churches. These groups were formed with a deeply and firmly held Wesleyan/Holiness and/or Pentecostal theology and spirituality, but with careful attention to Japanese cultural structures. They have always been completely independent of foreign mission organizations, although they took Holiness/Pentecostal theological paradigms from contacts with adherents. They have Japanese founders and have not solicited or received funds from foreign mission organizations. The indigenous denominations have remained small, probably because of issues of leadership, financial resources, and vision.⁹² Mullins has also identified the bibliography produced by each group and presented a short history of each church.⁹³

Important in the history of several of these movements was the Japan Evangelistic Band (JEB), mentioned above. It was founded under the leadership of Barclay Fowell Buxton (1860-1946) and Alphaeus Paget Wilkes (1871-1934). Buxton went as an independent missionary to Japan in 1880 with some support from the Church Missionary Society. Wilkes became his lay assistant in 1897. They and another missionary, Thomas Hogben, agreed to join efforts in 1903 at the Keswick Convention as the One by One Band of Japan, which became within the year the Japan Evangelistic Band (JEB)—in Japanese, *Kyoden Nihon Dendo Tai*. The theology and ethos of the JEB was indisputably “second blessing Holiness.”⁹⁴

The goal of the JEB was not to establish a denomination. Buxton worked hard to unite Holiness missionaries in Japan, but to little

⁹¹Mark R. Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan: A Study of Indigenous Movements* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998).

⁹²Mullins, 156-182.

⁹³Mullins, 201-216.

⁹⁴See, for example, *The Unsearchable Riches of Christ. An Abridged Report of the Japan Evangelistic Band Convention at The Hayes, Swanwick, August 1918* (Stockport: Edgeley Press, 1918) [sermons by B. F. Buxton, J. Drysdale, Mrs. Reader Harris, et alia]; *Love that Sanctifies: A Report of the Japan Evangelistic Band Convention at The Hayes, Stanwick, August 1921* (London: Japan Evangelistic Band, 1921) [sermons by B. F. Buxton, J. M. Pollock, H. Wood, Hubert W. Verner, Archie L. Dyer]; *The Transfigured Life; or, A Life of Power. Addresses Given at the Annual Convention of the Japan Evangelistic Band at “The Hayes,” Swanwick, June 1934* (London: Japan Evangelistic Band, 1934).

effect.⁹⁵ An ecumenical Holiness conference did not result in the development of fraternal relations because of the mission agencies in the U.S.A.⁹⁶ The mission drew missionaries from Great Britain, the U.S.A., Canada, South Africa and Australia as well as, primarily, Japan. Because of its indigenous leadership and theological language, it survived World War II, although its ministry at Kobe and its Bible School at Kansai were destroyed in the military bombing campaign of the U.S.A. These were rebuilt, but priceless archives were lost. In 1999, the British JEB became Christian Link and, while it retains connections to the Japan Evangelistic Band, the focus of its ministry is primarily the Japanese diaspora in Europe.

In addition to the more conventional missions of the Holiness denominations, therefore, analysis of the Holiness traditions in Japan will have to include data from around the world, as well as independent missions such as JEB and the independent indigenous churches analyzed by Mullins.

Concluding Reflections

The cases of Norway, Russia, China, and Japan have been chosen to highlight the historiographical problems faced by those who would study the “Holiness” traditions around the world. India, Australia, Korea, Tanzania, Mozambique, Congo, Nigeria, Ghana, France, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, and others could also have been chosen. The preliminary result of tracing the evolution of the Holiness traditions and revivals (non-institutionalized traditions) in these countries is a vast network of networks with interesting and diverse groups of persons at its centers. Some of these mentors of the worldwide Holiness movements are familiar in Holiness historiography, including William Taylor, James Hudson Taylor, William and Catharine Booth, Hannah and Robert Smith, T. B. Barratt, Andrew Murray, John Sung, Sadhu Sundar Singh, A. B. Simpson, and Fredrik Franson. Others must be seen in new ways. The Holiness networks have waxed and waned, and then flourished again in a variety of cultural contexts, under diverse leadership and with varying degrees of awareness of the other networks or of their own.

⁹⁵Japan Evangelistic Band: Minutes of the Council Meeting Held at London, January 26th 1911 [JEB Archives, Box 1 Book 2], 76.

⁹⁶Paget Wilkes, *A Miniature “Keswick” in Japan* (Occasional Paper. Second Series; Eltham Park: A. Dale Sheppard, 1907). It was organized by a committee composed of Kawake (Free Methodist), Mitani (JEB), Sasao (OMS), Takeda (JEB), and Wilkes (JEB). All were speakers at the Mini-Keswick. Several conventions were held with these and other Japanese speakers. The religious experience and theology presented is distinctly “second blessing Holiness” in the tradition of the Smiths, Mahan, Boardman, and others.

The problem of meta-theory is related to the phenomena of networks and of cultural contexts. American Holiness scholars have been keen to establish a meta-theory of Holiness to determine who is or is not Holiness. The debates within the Wesleyan Theological Society reflect this concern. As derivative of the then Christian Holiness Association, it was born of a particular American Holiness ecumenism and a search for common identity over against both the NCC and the NAE. In the WTS, “Centers” for normative Holiness have been proposed, including the different periods in the nineteenth century, Phoebe Palmer and especially John Wesley. None of these has yet proven viable and so the North American Holiness theologians have sought theoretical frameworks for their Holiness concerns in a variety of theologies, including Process, Barth and Neo-Orthodoxy, Bultmann, Structuralism, Fundamentalism, Reformed Evangelicalism, Calvinism (especially in the immigrant communities to North America), and Post-Modernism. Indeed, in the written theological analyses around the world, the voices grounding the Holiness revival in Wesley, Arminius, or the nineteenth-century American leaders (Palmer, Steele, the presidents of the evolving national associations or the founders of the denominations) appear to have been quite few. One searches through multitudes of pages of periodicals or other archival material for the occasional references to what Americans generally consider foundational Holiness figures. That does not mean that the themes, values and associated religious experiences of Wesley, the Pietists and the 19th Century Holiness movement are non-existent; it means that theology was learned through networks of persons rather than through academic structures or books. That does not mean that the learning was inaccurate; it does mean that it was opportunistic, inconsistent, local, and culturally specific.⁹⁷

If this analysis is correct, it means that the search for what the Holiness movements have in common needs to include detailed historical, sociological, and cultural analysis of these diverse and interwoven networks within and across cultural structures. For example, oral interviews

⁹⁷Research in the significance of Holiness faith evolving in North America in Methodist, Lutheran, Baptist, Restorationist (Stone-Campbell), Brethren, Mennonite, Quaker, and African-American traditions, *inter alia*, could be illuminating if not determinative for a larger analysis. Another desideratum would be careful detailed analyses of the development of Holiness thought and practice in the immigrant communities in which there are significant numbers of Holiness believers, as for example, from Korean, Japan, Brazil, Dominican Republic, Norway, Sweden, Germany, India, and Mozambique.

have suggested to me that to be in the Salvation Army in The Netherlands or in Norway is very different from being in the Army in London or in the U.S.A.⁹⁸ The uniform is the same, but the spiritualities, competitive sources of theological reflection, and the understandings of Holiness are quite different. The diversity is generally understood, but the unity is also recognized. A scholarly worldwide study of “unity and diversity” in the Salvation Army would make a distinct contribution to the understanding of the evolution of Holiness traditions in different cultures.

This analysis increases the task of Holiness ecumenism. The Christian Holiness Partnership and the Wesleyan Theological Society have little if anything officially to do with the Interdenominational Holiness Convention, and little or no contact with Holiness believers in the so-called Mainline or Evangelical churches. Ecumenical relations with the Holiness movements outside North America would require an even greater intellectual stretch. Theological verities of both the academy and the church leaders would have to work to understand the incarnation of Holiness in cultural and intellectual frameworks quite different from their own. Mission would also become more complicated. Local church leaders of the mission churches of various Holiness denominations around the world have spoken to me of their frustration. They are experiencing being tied closely to policy made by people who have large offices and desks in buildings in their countries built with North American funds, but with minimal understanding of the culture within which they live. They in turn must report to people who have even less understanding of the larger world. If these mission churches were allowed to meaningfully interact with their own cultural contexts and to control their own educational structures, they in turn might enrich the mother churches as well as the other Holiness churches present around the world.

The question of the “death of the Holiness movement” has been the subject of considerable discussion in scholarly and popular Holiness circles. From the perspective of isolated North American denominational or para-church perspectives, that may appear true. If, however, one looks at the diversity and vitality of Holiness networks around the world over the last two centuries, it would appear that the Holiness networks are alive and well! As well, it would appear, Holiness history, theology, and mission are more complicated than has generally been thought, and so very much more interesting!

⁹⁸Over a five-year period (1991-1996) interviews were undertaken with fifteen persons selected through participant observer encounters.

GILBERT W. BLINN AND THE ORIGINS OF THE METROPOLITAN CHURCH ASSOCIATION IN SOUTH AFRICA¹

by

William C. Kostlevy

As a movement suspicious of success and dedicated to the eradication of pride, the Wesleyan/Holiness movement has done its best to deny the obvious, its own remarkable role in the growth and globalization of Christianity in the twentieth century. What other movement would announce its own death coincident with worldwide membership statistics exceeding ten million?² Granted that many Wesleyan-related churches often seem directionless and befuddled, but rather than being a unique

¹This paper would have been impossible without material provided by Gilbert Blinn's daughter, Midge Blinn Chambers. I deeply appreciate her cooperation and hope I have treated Gilbert Blinn with the respect he deserves. On the Metropolitan Church Association, see William Kostlevy, "Nor Silver Nor Gold: The Burning Bush Movement and the Communitarian Holiness Vision" (Ph. D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1996).

²See the much-debated article by Keith Drury, "The Death of the Holiness Movement," *Holiness Digest* 8 (Winter 1994): 13-15. For an illustration of the befuddled thought of North American Wesleyans, see the January 2002 issue of *Holiness Today*. Quantification of the sanctified presents real challenges. As of the early 1980s, without counting any respectable Methodists or Quakers (both movements with significant perfectionist communities), David Barrett's figures place holiness membership over the 10 million mark. Given his overcounting of the Salvation Army, I suspect that it was another decade before this threshold was passed. If anything, my count may be on the conservative side. David Barrett, editor, *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Study of Churches and Religions in the Modern World, A.D. 1900-2000* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 793.

Wesleyan phenomenon, this seems to be a common experience of contemporary denominational Christianity on the North American continent. In fact, Americans and Canadians make up such a small percentage of worldwide holiness adherents as to render them of secondary significance to the future of the movement.

Regardless of its uncertain future, North American Wesleyans have played no small role in the movement's migration and transformation in Asian, African, Caribbean, and Latin American contexts. It is perhaps hardly surprising that the Holiness movement, a counter-cultural movement forged in soup kitchens, rescue missions, camp meetings, school-house revivals, and lower middle class churches would find a readier reception outside North America than it has among the post World War II suburbanite heirs of the Holiness movement. In part, the diversity and complexity of today's Holiness movement derive from its core reason for being, namely the duplication of a subjective religious experience. Entire sanctification served to facilitate the Movement's spread outside North America. The very ecclesiastical diversity of holiness missionaries who represented mainstream denominational churches, holiness denominations, and self-supporting faith missions undoubtedly served to spread the holiness message among different levels of society.

Although denominational archives provide rich resources for the study of mainstream and holiness denominational efforts, self-supporting or faith missionaries have left a far shorter documentary trail. Fortunately, in my research on the Metropolitan Church Association (MCA), I was introduced to a body of documents that tells the story of one such faith missionary, Gilbert W. Blinn, founder of the MCA's work in South Africa. In spite of the facts that Blinn's missionary career was cut short as a result of conflicts with MCA leaders and that the MCA work in South Africa has remained small, fewer than 1000 members today, Blinn's career typifies that of the faith missionary who, with little direct support or guidance, struggled to spread the holiness message in an alien environment.

Beginnings of the MCA

Hotel owner Edwin L. Harvey (1865-1926) and banker Marmaduke (Duke) M. Farson (1863-1929) founded the MCA, also known as the Burning Bush, in 1894. Initially a mission congregation of the Rock River Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the MCA emerged as an important center for the Holiness Movement in Chicago, attracting nearly

one thousand Sunday school pupils and two hundred adults each week by the time it separated from the MEC in 1899. The MCA's insistence that physical manifestations, especially jumping, were regular features of authentic worship resulted in the common practice of referring to MCA members as "jumpers." In the fall of 1900, Farson hired Quaker evangelist Seth C. Rees to assume direction of the Chicago ministry. In early March of that year a scheduled two-week evangelistic campaign initiated a revival that attracted front-page coverage in Chicago newspapers. Within three months, an estimated 2,200 people had experienced salvation as a direct result of the revival.

In May 1902, the MCA established a periodical, the *Burning Bush*, that became a religious expression of the "muckraking" journalism of the early twentieth century by adopting the features commonly associated with mass circulation periodicals. Employing a professional cartoonist, it used caricature and publication of private correspondence in a never-ending war against the wealthy, prominent evangelists, established denominations, and alleged holiness compromisers. The MCA attracted the adherence of several colorful religious figures such as Pillar of Fire founder Alma White, African-American preacher Susan Fogg, and legendary Church of the Nazarene evangelist Rueben A. (Bud) Robinson.

The most controversial feature of the MCA was its rejection of private property. Organizing intentional communities in Waukesha, Wisconsin, and Bullard, Texas, the MCA, with over one thousand residents, was one of the largest communal societies in American history. Experiencing a steady decline following World War I, the Burning Bush Movement gradually evolved into a conventional evangelical religious body. Having abandoned the remaining features of communalism, the MCA sold its Waukesha property in 1956. Today the MCA continues to publish the *Burning Bush* and operate a church in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Its continued vitality is as an indigenous international movement with over fifty thousand members in India and churches in South Africa, Swaziland, and Mexico.

Gilbert W. Blinn (1904-1958) was the son of textile worker James Curtis Blinn who had faithfully followed his supervisor F. M. Messenger from Connecticut to the MCA's community in Chicago where Gilbert Blinn was born. Gilbert's youth was spent in a series of Burning Bush missions and communities. In 1906, the Blinn family, along with most of

the MCA Chicago community, relocated to Waukesha, Wisconsin, where the MCA occupied a former resort hotel, the Fountain Spring House. In 1910, in part to relieve overcrowding at the Fountain Spring House, the Blinns were assigned to a small MCA enclave in Rosedale, New Mexico. Then in 1914 the Blinns moved to the community the MCA planted outside Bullard, Texas. Following the failure of the Bullard community in 1918, the Blinns returned to Waukesha where Gilbert graduated from grammar school in 1919, high school in 1921, and theological studies in 1925. During the 1920s Gilbert's parents served as self-supporting MCA missionaries in Van Lear, Kentucky, Tampa, Florida, and Houston, Texas.

Major Changes in the Movement

Unlike the days of the early Burning Bush Movement, the MCA entered the 1920s deeply in debt, under the leadership of an ailing and increasing nostalgic president, internally divided and experiencing the defections of key younger leaders to the Church of the Nazarene. Many of the movement's young people, as Blinn remembered later, were cynical and unconverted. Although admiration for E. L. Harvey never wavered, the young were naturally drawn to his charismatic successor W. S. Hitchcock. Assuming leadership in the fall of 1925, Hitchcock immediately embarked on an aggressive program of debt retirement and spiritual renewal. A former businessman and 1906 convert to the movement, Hitchcock had spent two decades in evangelistic work in West Virginia and the upper Midwest. An ardent millenarian who believed that it was waste of time to plant churches among North Americans who were over evangelized anyway, Hitchcock turned the focus of the movement's evangelistic endeavor outside of North America. Remarkably, for a movement that had once insisted that one must for sake all for Jesus, the MCA now argued that it was a sin for a individual to be in debt and living off the charity of God's people. In the spring of 1927, drawing from the twentieth chapter of Matthew, Hitchcock posed the rhetorical question, "why stand ye here all day idle?" Given such logic, it was hardly surprising that Hitchcock radically reduced the communal features of the movement's Waukesha headquarters. In the early years of the Great Depression, many who had given all their possessions to the MCA suddenly found themselves searching for employment. In effect, the Waukesha community had become a shell of its former self, consisting of a Bible school to train

workers and a printing operation that published calendars, songbooks, children's books, a far less controversial *Burning Bush*, and religious art.³

Closely linked to Hitchcock's reform agenda and his drive to consolidate power was a remarkable religious revival that swept through the MCA from 1926 to 1928. The revival was rooted in Hitchcock's conviction that the community's indebtedness was the result of spiritual lethargy that in turn required repentance. In the spring of 1926, Hitchcock began an aggressive evangelistic campaign aimed at members of the Waukesha community. "Show me a man who is careless in handling money," Hitchcock charged in 1927, "and I will show you a man who will be careless in his spiritual life."⁴

A skillful revival preacher, Hitchcock masterfully set the stage for an intense spiritual awakening. At the movement's 1927 camp meeting, buoyed by the movement's economic recovery, an attendance of over thirty-five hundred, and radical preaching focusing on the spiritual indolence of the church, Hitchcock urged his opponents to seek forgiveness. The climax came on the final Wednesday of the camp meeting when Hitchcock, in a powerful two-hour message on "joy," suggested that the leaders of the church whose spiritual indifference had led the movement into economic and spiritual paralysis should repent in the same manner as the biblical King David who had demonstrated deep remorse in seeking forgiveness and then great joy upon experiencing restoration to God. The response electrified the camp meeting as one trusted leader after another made spontaneous public confessions of spiritual failings. Responding to Hitchcock's contention that those who experienced forgiveness would, like David, give visible demonstration to such a glorious deliverance, respected leaders and teachers willingly made "fools" of themselves for Jesus. As Arthur L. Bray, later president of the Illinois Conference of the Wesleyan Church remembered, one leader, and not incidentally a Hitchcock rival, ran around the tent with a teapot on his head. The result, as Bray remembered, was the humiliation of Hitchcock's adversaries, and

³For a more detailed discussion of these events, see Kostlevy, "Nor Silver Nor Gold," 277-289, the *Discipline of the Metropolitan Church Association* (Waukesha, WI: Metropolitan Church Association, 1931), 14, 22, and Gilbert W. Blinn Journals, 13 March 1927, Gilbert W. Blinn Papers. These Papers will be deposited at the B. L. Fisher Library, Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, KY.

⁴The quotation is from Mrs. Charles Sammis, "Wednesday Worship," *Burning Bush* 1 September 1927, 8.

perhaps unintentionally the refocusing of movement's evangelism upon its own members.⁵

In January of 1928, the movement's children, awed by the spiritual power of the new leader, were swept by the second phase of the revival. Especially moved by Hitchcock's preaching were a popular twenty-year-old high school teacher and natural leader, Howard A. Bitzer, the founder's two nephews, Henry L. Harvey, Jr. and Edwin F. Harvey, and Gilbert Blinn. By the time of the 1928 camp meeting, virtually all of the high school students were confessing Christians. As a deeply thankful community member observed, "Our young people have yielded their lives to God and they look at the world as a field to gather some grain for the master." Intensely loyal to Bitzer as their teacher and to Hitchcock as the spiritual and temporal leader of the movement, the youth enthusiastically embraced rigorous discipline and long hours of work in the production and marketing of Burning Bush literature. Over seventy years later, the excitement of the revival lives in the testimonies of those who experienced salvation and sanctification in the summer of 1928. In turn, parents, grateful for the spiritual commitments of their children, were even more willing to follow the new leader.⁶

Hitchcock's rapid advancement of young leaders was, in part, a by-product of his attempt to consolidate power. As he consolidated power, Hitchcock turned to his loyalist followers who happened to be those converted during the revivals of 1926-1928. In particular, four young men emerged as leaders of the movement. Howard Bitzer (1907-1933), the founder's nephews, Edwin F. Harvey (1908-1984), Henry L. Harvey, Jr. (1912-1994), and the subject of this study, Gilbert W. Blinn (1904-1958). Each would serve MCA's missions outside North America. Howard Bitzer would die a missionary hero in India. Henry L. Harvey, Jr., would establish the church's most successful mission field in southern India. Edwin F. Harvey and his wife Lillian Johnson Harvey would head the MCA's work in the British Isles for four decades and found Harvey Christian Publica-

⁵On the 1927 camp meeting, see the September 1 and September 8 issues of the *Burning Bush*. On the revival, see Henry Harvey, *Howard A. Bitzer* (Siwait, Allahabad, India: Metropolitan Church Association, 1933), 180-218. I am especially indebted to the thoughtful comments of the late Henry L. Harvey, Jr., and the late Arthur L. Bray.

⁶Mrs. Edwin L. Harvey, "Thursday, Friday and Saturday of the Camp," *Burning Bush*, 23 August 1928, 9. Also I am indebted to interviews with Kenneth Kendall, Ruth Capsel Hobbs, Arthur L. Bray, and Lillian Harvey.

tions. Gilbert W. Blinn would establish the movement's work in South Africa.

The Ministry of Gilbert Blinn

As Blinn's journal makes clear, holiness radicalism was not intended for the slothful or faint of heart. Arising most days at 5:00 a.m. and often as early as 3:30, Blinn spent long hours in prayer, study, sermon preparation and reflection. In contrast to the parlor piety of such stalwarts of the nineteenth-century holiness revival as Phoebe Palmer and Hannah W. Smith, Blinn's experience was rooted in the radical "death route," "holiness or hell" emphasis of such holiness radicals as Vivian Dake, E. E. Shelhamer, and W. B. Godbey. "Death route" advocates believed that entire sanctification was gained after an intense struggle, and often lost. For holiness radicals such as Blinn, full salvation was fervently sought, frequently claimed, and only retained with great difficulty. The day after he claimed entire sanctification for a second time, he wrote, "I still need a firmer grip on God and still need to learn lessons in self-denial." A month later, Blinn alarmed by the MCA's seeming formalism, noted that he had spent eight hours in prayer. "The burden is heavy and it grows day by day. A Holy Ghost Revival is the only remedy," the young preacher noted in his journal.⁷

Like many Burning Bush evangelists, Blinn was a skilled musician who early demonstrated an ability to combine gospel music with passionate and innovative street preaching to gain an audience. Fittingly for a young man whose own mother had been jailed for unauthorized street preaching, Blinn rapidly mastered and gloried in confrontational evangelism. Not atypical was an April 1927 meeting Blinn convened across from

⁷Gilbert Blinn Journals, 1926-1928. The quotation is from October 24, 1927. On the "parlor piety" of Palmer, see Kathryn T. Long, "Consecrated Respectability: Phoebe Palmer and the Refinement of American Methodism," in Nathan O. Hatch and John H. Wigger, *Methodism and the Shaping of American Culture* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2001). On the "death route" teaching, see Wallace Thornton, Jr., *Radical Righteous: Personal Ethics and the Development of the Holiness Movement* (Salem, OH: Schmull Publishing Company, 1998), 95-102, and Robert Stanley Ingersol, *Burden of Dissent: Mary Lee Cagle and the Southern Holiness Movement* (Ph. D. diss., Duke University, 1989), 78-83. For an excellent illustration of radical holiness thought, see E. E. Shelhamer, *Popular and Radical Holiness Contrasted* (Atlanta: Repairer Press, 1906).

a Lutheran church about to begin an evening Lent service. "Our little meeting drew quite a crowd and caused the devil to be stirred," Blinn noted in his journal. "They tried by talking, threatening, etc., to stop us until one man grabbed me . . . and pushed me off the street. God was with us and a fine meeting at the mission followed." By the fall of 1927, Blinn was in charge of the MCA's Milwaukee mission.⁸

In typical Burning Bush fashion, Blinn and his young wife, Lois Coleman Blinn, whom he had married in June of 1927, had hardly settled into a routine in Milwaukee when they were dispatched to hold an extended evangelistic campaign in Akron, Colorado. In early March while still in the midst of the Colorado meetings, the Blinns received word that they were to return at once to Waukesha and begin preparations to assume direction of the MCA mission in the Gold Coast (now Ghana), West Africa. Amid the confessions of backsliding of many of the movement's veteran preachers, Gilbert and Lois were ordained to the ministry during the 1928 camp meeting. In October, Blinn preached his last sermon in the concluding service of a missionary convention convened to honor the movement's departing missionaries. "Some of you," Blinn concluded, "are content to go through this convention, cover yourself with a canopy of religion, sit with your feet on a hot water-bottle, and cry when the missionaries start out, and yet you do absolutely nothing for the passing world. The harvesters are few. Why stand idly by?"⁹

The twenty-four year old Blinn assumed direction of the church's African work at a crucial juncture in its history. The movement's first attempt to establish an African work had been in Abyssinia (Ethiopia), East Africa, in the fall of 1904. The death of missionary William J. Ewald a year later resulted in the abandonment of that mission. In 1910, a second African mission, this time in the Gold Coast, was initiated under the direction of Charles Fordham and his young wife Ella DeTurk Fordham who had been a member of the earlier East African group. In June of 1911, Ella Fordham died. Also in June 1911 a second missionary, Harry W. Norman, died only a few weeks after his arrival in Africa. In spite of

⁸Gilbert Blinn Journal, 14 April 1927. On the role of gospel music in the MCA, see William Kostlevy, "The Burning Bush Movement: A Wisconsin Utopian Religious Community," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 83 (summer 2000): 227-258.

⁹Gilbert W. Blinn, "Work Today! The Night Cometh," *Burning Bush*, 25 October 1928, 2-3, 14.

such setbacks, the Gold Coast mission experienced modest growth. Nevertheless, especially when compared with the Metropolitan Church Association's thriving mission in India, the African work was small, being limited to a Training Home with never more than eight students, and a small Sunday school.¹⁰

As a product of the Hitchcock initiated revival, Blinn immediately sought to duplicate the spirituality, theology, and structures of the Waukesha community in the African context. Each day began with a time devoted to spiritual renewal, "emphasizing confession for sin and repentance toward God and man." Finding that most students were unfamiliar with Burning Bush songs and theology, Blinn had more than fifty Burning Bush songs translated into the Fante language. Further, he initiated courses in doctrine using the MCA's basic doctrinal manual *Bible Lessons* as the primary text. Given the limited financial support from Waukesha, Blinn, again following North American precedent, whenever possible sent missionaries, native workers and even the school's students on the road selling books and subscriptions to the *Burning Bush*. In a fifteen-month period, Blinn reported that over one thousand books and over five hundred subscriptions had been sold.¹¹

It was perhaps only natural given the intensity of the young missionary, that some resisted the rigors of the new regime. "Many not knowing the full consequences of a holiness revival," Blinn observed, "were unprepared to meet the issues, and failed God. Others clung to the narrow way. It was a time of great heart-searching and sifting." The principal leader of the opposition to Blinn was veteran Burning Bush native convert Henry Anaman. Anaman, who was a graduate of the Bible School in Waukesha in the early 1920s, lived at the mission compound. Older than Blinn and committed to the less strenuous revivalism of late Harvey years, Anaman, at least as Blinn saw it, vigorously worked to undermine his reforms in the field while sending a steady stream of letters to Waukesha protesting the new leader's initiatives. Eventually Anaman was temporarily banished from the compound. Unfortunately for Blinn, he quickly returned and established a rival congregation near the MCA mission.¹²

¹⁰"Gone Home from Africa," *Burning Bush*, 7 December 1905, 2-3, and Gilbert W. Blinn, "Retrospect and Prospect in Africa," *Burning Bush*, 31 July 1930, 5-6.

¹¹Blinn, "Retrospect and Prospect in Africa," 5.

¹²*Ibid.* and Blinn Diaries, 1929-1930.

Blinn quickly concluded that, given the difficult climate, lack of roads into the interior, and the isolated location of the Gold Coast mission, it was an inadequate base of operations for the African Burning Bush movement. In March of 1930, leaving native convert T. H. Coleman to direct the Gold Coast work, the Blinns relocated to Cape Town, South Africa. Moving several times within the first year, Blinn eventual was able to secure a large twelve-room house, Glastonbury, in Kenilworth, Cape Colony.¹³

From the beginning Blinn sought to turn “Glastonbury” into the “African” equivalent of the Fountain Spring House. Similar to the Waukesha headquarters, Glastonbury housed the Metropolitan Training Institute (MTI) and served as the offices for the *African Burning Bush* that appeared in the fall of 1930. Published quarterly and sold door-to-door, its circulation reached almost 2000 in a year’s time. Blinn reported that 5,000 copies per issue were being printed in 1933 and 15,000 in 1935. Other publications followed, including a collection of the sermons of W. S. Hitchcock and an edition of the MCA’s own *Bible Lessons*. As the movement grew, a book room was established. Although limited financial support was received from North America until 1933 and four more missionaries were assigned to South Africa in the fall of 1931, the movement was primarily self-supporting. As in North America, the principle fundraising tool was the sale of Gospel Art calendars, the *Africa Burning Bush*, books, greeting cards, and various religious knickknacks. Among the more notable products was an Afrikaner edition of the Gospel Art calendar. By 1935, there were ten students in the Bible school and the movement was conducting tent meetings in various South African locations.

The theology of the African Burning Bush Movement bore a remarkable resemblance to that of the Hitchcock led revival of late 1920s. Special emphasis was given to demonstrative worship, the existence of a literal hell, the second coming of Jesus and confession for sin. In a biting 1934 article entitled “Mellow Christians,” Blinn observed, “to think that with the lapse of years the Holy Spirit becomes more timid, weak, sentimental and compromising is unfounded.” “Beware dear friends,” he concluded “that your mellowness in religious things is not the mellowness that immediately precedes the falling of a rotten apple.” A phrase that

¹³G. W. Blinn, *The M. T. I. Becomes Ours: A Chronicle of Faith and Prayer* (Kenilworth, Cape: Metropolitan Press, nd.), 1-3.

repeatedly resurfaces in Blinn's journal captures the intensity of the young missionary: "I love the battle."¹⁴

As one of W. S. Hitchcock's most loyal disciples, Blinn, who sought to duplicate the Waukesha revival of the 1920s and who was responsible for the publication of the first and only edition of his sermons, was deeply trouble by rumors that Hitchcock opposed the move to establish the South African headquarters. As early as January 1933, he noted in his journal, "it seems that Satan has tried hard to bring a cleavage between me and Brother Hitchcock." By July, the American body cut all financial support and was demanding detailed financial reports. It is clear that the very financial success of the African Burning Bush movement troubled Hitchcock. As the old businessman knew, financial security might be the gate to independence in other areas. Further, Blinn had encouraged the marriage of one of his associates, Clyde Wildhagen, in seeming violation of the new policy of discouraging marriage that was emanating from Waukesha. But most significantly, Blinn's decision to relocate to South Africa and focus attention upon Afrikaners troubled those in Waukesha who believed that a real African mission would focus its attention upon African natives, not white European immigrants. For his part, Blinn was convinced that the American church was far more willing to support its much less spiritual mission in India.

In September of 1935, Blinn was ordered to report to Waukesha, leaving his wife and two children in South Africa. On September 11, Gilbert Blinn submitted a letter of resignation. The Blinn family returned to America by way of India, arriving in Los Angeles in late December 1935. Purchasing a car, they drove across the country, visiting Rosedale, New Mexico, Bullard, Texas, and family in Kentucky and Indiana. Convinced that the car and cross-country trip was being financed with African Burning Bush funds, the Blinns were given a cool reception in Waukesha. As Blinn noted in his journal, "everything is totalitarianism, no one dares judge things for himself." In a September letter to his old associate Clyde Wildhagen, Blinn noted that the vital spirituality of the late 1920s seemed completely absent. "The church has lapsed," he concluded, "into a publishing house and canvassing force with worldliness, spiritual ease." In the

¹⁴See two articles by Blinn in particular, "The Place of Confession in the Gospel Plan," *Africa Burning Bush*, October-December 1932, 3-4, and "Mellow Christians," July-September 1934, 9-10.

spring of 1936, the Blinns joined a congregation with numerous other ex-Burning Bushers, the First Church of the Nazarene in Chicago.¹⁵

Hoping to return to Africa, Blinn served as pastor of several struggling Church of the Nazarene congregations. Meanwhile, J. G. Morrison, General Superintendent of Church of the Nazarene Mission Board, suggested that he return to South Africa, “with one foot in the business world.” Although Harry Messenger, president of the Messenger Publishing Company, seemed interested in having Blinn serve as his company’s South African representative, Blinn eventually rejected the offer. Unable to support his growing family, Blinn began working for the Foreman Printing Company while serving in the Nazarene ministry. In 1939, after attempting to found his own printing company, he accepted a position as manager of the Higley Publishing Company. In 1940, after encountering difficulties working for the company’s president, Robert Higley, he resigned. After several stints with independent ministries, including Arthur Bloomfield’s Traveling Bible Institute, Blinn accepted a position with the Carnegie Steel Corporation’s Gary Works and studied to become an accountant. Frustrated with the Church of the Nazarene’s refusal to find him a permanent ministerial post, Blinn joined the Crown Point (Indiana) Methodist Church. In 1950, after turning down an invitation to serve as pastor of the Cedar Lake (Indiana) Methodist Church, Blinn accepted the call to a smaller Methodist congregation in Leroy, Indiana. In 1958 Blinn died while vacationing near Spooner, Wisconsin. He was only 53 years old.¹⁶

From the beginning Blinn had sought to turn Glastonbury into the headquarters for a thriving African Burning Bush Movement. Although his successors continued to operate a limited Bible School, publish the *Africa Burning Bush*, and established a number of flourishing congregations, largely among the “colored” population, they were unable to create the dynamic Burning Bush Movement envisioned by Blinn. In the early 1940s, the work was extended into Swaziland. Today the MCA has fewer than 1000 members in South Africa and about 2000 members in Swaziland. Without doubt, given Blinn’s early South African success, interference from the North American church greatly hindered the MCA mission to Africa. In North America, the defection of Blinn and other gifted young leaders would greatly weaken the church. Ironically, the heaven of holiness radicalism was most welcomed where it was least understood, in the Methodist Church.

¹⁵Gilbert Blinn Journal, 1933-1936. Gilbert Blinn to Clyde Wildhagen, 1 September 1936, Gilbert Blinn Papers.

¹⁶From correspondence in the Gilbert Blinn Papers and the notes of his daughter Midge Chambers, also in the Gilbert Blinn papers.

NAZARENE ODYSSEY AND THE HINGES OF INTERNATIONALIZATION

by

Stan Ingersol

When the 25th General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene convened in June 2001, forty percent of the 995 registered voting delegates either spoke English as a second language or not at all. Since some delegates elected by districts in developing nations were unable to attend the assembly, this percentage—in a more perfect world—would have surpassed forty-five percent.¹

The Church of the Nazarene originated as a denominational expression of the North American holiness movement, but in 2002 it has an official presence in 143 world areas—an international denomination of 416 districts, of which only eighty-four are within the United States and Canada.² Over half of the denomination's members have been citizens of nations other than the U.S. and Canada since 1998, and Canadian and American representatives became a minority on the church's General Board in 2001. As long as present demographic trends continue, the percentage of Nazarenes who are residents of Asia, Africa, the Pacific, the Caribbean, and Latin America will increase steadily in the future. The number of Nazarenes in nations of the old Soviet bloc, where the church has recently established footholds, will also increase, further diversifying the denomination.

¹From statistical information provided to the writer by Shirley Marvin, Office of the General Secretary, Church of the Nazarene.

²Office of the General Secretary, "The Church at Work: General Statistics, September 30, 2001," *Holiness Today* (February 2001): 38-39.

These trends have had a definite impact on the church's General Assembly, where decisions binding on the denomination are made. Liberation theologians speak rightly of the need for a self-critical principle to be engaged in the work of theological reflection. Ironically, the Nazarenes, regarded as theologically conservative, have brought a self-critical principle into their highest governing body through the international structure of their church and the global diversity of their General Assembly. American mainline denominations struggle to ensure that many different voices are heard at their general meetings and often establish racial quotas to ensure this. Nazarenes, who have never adopted quotas, hold a quadrennial general meeting that may be the most racially diverse general meeting of any denomination that originated in North America. There, American assumptions regarding doctrine and governance are challenged by delegates with Asian, African, or Latin American perspectives—among others.

The Church of the Nazarene's evolution from an American church into an international one invites attention. The autonomous national church was long a staple of Protestantism, adopted first by Lutheran and Reformed churches, and later by Anglicans and Methodists. Believers' churches, such as Mennonites, Baptists, and Quakers, likewise follow this pattern. Protestants were not the first, of course. Eastern Orthodoxy has also been organized around denominations that represent spheres of national and cultural influence. But delegates to the Twentieth General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene rejected this path of development and embraced *internationalization*, a philosophy that envisioned the church as a global *ecclesia* of districts and congregations rather than a fellowship of autonomous national churches.³

What are the hinges on which this story turns? This paper examines two. *How* did a "mission to the world" become a Nazarene priority? And

³See the report of the first Commission on Internationalization, *Journal of the Twentieth General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene* (Kansas City: Nazarene Publishing House, 1980), 232-238. This first commission, authorized in 1976 by the Nineteenth General Assembly, was re-authorized by each subsequent General Assembly until the Twenty-Fourth General Assembly in 1997, when no commissions were authorized. This series of study commissions continued to evaluate and refine the principles and practice of internationalization, reporting to the General Board and to the General Assembly. Also see Jerald D. Johnson, *The International Experience* (Kansas City: Nazarene Publishing House, 1982) and Franklin Cook, *The International Dimension* (Kansas City: Nazarene Publishing House, 1984), esp. 48-64.

why was it possible for those who recommended internationalization in 1980, and the General Assembly that embraced it, to think outside the usual Protestant box?

I. A Mission to the World

A strong sense of “mission to the world” emerged early in Nazarene life, and this impulse must be viewed within the wider history of Protestant missions. Like the American holiness movement which spawned it, the Church of the Nazarene is a denomination rooted in the ethos of Protestant Pietism, a way of being Protestant that has a distinct and deep tradition of missions. One particular strain of Pietist missionary influence runs from the University of Halle into the Moravians, influences British and American Methodism, and is reflected in the witness of the various Wesleyan-Holiness churches. It is as if a code is genetically imprinted on churches that stand in dynamic relationship to historic Methodism. Beyond that, there are wider currents in British and American religion, such as the rise of dispensational premillennialism, that also foster the missionary impulse.

But the high priority that Nazarenes gave to a “mission to the world” by 1925 was facilitated also by institutional needs connected intimately to the denomination’s birth. The Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene (as it was known until 1919) was produced by a series of mergers between much smaller churches that were regional in nature. The first key merger occurred in 1907 when the Church of the Nazarene, whose churches were located predominantly along the West Coast, merged with the Association of Pentecostal Churches of America, a predominantly East Coast body. In 1908 the Holiness Church of Christ, based in the South, merged with them. On a gamut of theological issues, the merging churches shared a common set of basic convictions, but they differed in governance, leadership style, priorities, and emphasis.⁴ Each brought a publishing house to the united church and three separate church papers continued to be published through 1911, a situation that reinforced regionalism at the risk of undermining unity. Early leaders, particularly general superintendents P.

⁴The alignment of the merging churches on a variety of theological issues is analyzed in “Methodism and the Theological Identity of the Church of the Nazarene,” an unpublished paper given at a session of the Wesleyan Studies Section of the American Academy of Religion, San Francisco, 1997. A copy is in the collection in the Nazarene Archives.

F. Bresee and H. F. Reynolds, sought to rally the uniting bodies to a set of common priorities, seeking to integrate them and achieve what Timothy Smith later called “the inner reality of union.” As the new denomination began to subordinate regional priorities and establish common ones, the commitment to a “mission to the world” advanced steadily to the top.

Casting a Vision: The Critical Advocacy of H. F. Reynold. Hiram F. Reynolds’ leadership was closely connected to the development of a “mission to the world” orientation. Reynolds served as one of the church’s general superintendents from 1907 to 1932, becoming the senior general superintendent upon Bresee’s death in 1915. Reynolds was then 61 and his influence on Nazarene life, already considerable, emerged more forcefully.

Reynolds was born and raised near Chicago. His father’s early death led to the breakup of his family. By seven he had moved in with neighboring farmers who had no child of their own. His upbringing was largely devoid of religious influences. The first person to speak meaningfully about religion to him was a sister-in-law, a Methodist, with whom he became better acquainted after moving into Chicago in his late teens. But he never came under the church’s influence until his early 20s when he went to Vermont to visit his mother, who had relocated there many years before. Reynolds was converted in New England through Methodist influences, studied for the ministry at a Methodist seminary, and was ordained by Bishop John Hurst. He entered the ministry of the Vermont Conference in 1879, serving several charges before entering fulltime work as a revivalist. In 1895 he transferred his credentials to the Association of Pentecostal Churches of America and moved to Brooklyn, New York. At the First General Assembly of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene in 1907, the uniting bodies elected Bresee and Reynolds as the first two general superintendents of the new church.⁵ Reynolds shared Bresee’s Methodist background and the latter’s belief in the necessity of a general superintendency. He also shared Bresee’s understanding that general superintendency had to be limited in scope by functioning within a democratic system of church governance. As an evangelist, he had learned to

⁵The basic details of Reynolds’ life are found in Amy N. Hinshaw’s *In Labors Abundant: A Biography of H. F. Reynolds, D.D.* (Kansas City: Nazarene Publishing House, n.d. [ca. 1939]). Reynolds has not yet been the subject of a critical biography, though his influence on the Church of the Nazarene and in the history of Protestant missions certainly merits the attention.

rely on powers of persuasion. Like Bresee, he wore superintendency well and endeavored to model a leadership style that inspired the confidence of others.

Despite their similarities, Bresee and Reynolds had two different visions of what the Church of the Nazarene should be. Their visions meshed at certain points; both visions stressed the importance of evangelism, for instance. But their visions were not identical. Bresee believed that the Church of the Nazarene's primary purpose was to "Christianize Christianity," a term he employed frequently. He believed that the integrity of the Gospel was at stake in American culture and in wider Christendom. He shared H. C. Morrison's assessment that "there is a stiffness and coldness in [Methodism's] city churches that freeze out the common people and, worst of all, shuts out the Christ of the common people. The pastors of our city churches are not soul winners."⁶ Bresee's answer was direct: bypass establishment Methodism and take the Gospel back to the urban poor. Bresee's vision for the Church of the Nazarene centered almost entirely around "building up centers of holy fire" in America's great urban centers. He was not opposed to cross-cultural missions at all, but they were not his passion. At the time of the first merger in 1907, the Nazarenes on the West Coast, after over twelve years of Bresee's leadership, had taken no initiative to open a single field overseas. Their only mission work outside North America—the Hope School for Girls in Calcutta, India—was founded by two residents of India—an English woman and an Indian woman—who had sought an American sponsor and found it in Bresee.

Reynolds brought a very different vision to the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene. His was a vision of world evangelization. In 1897, the Association of Pentecostal Churches of America elected him to be their secretary of home and foreign missions, and the first group of five missionaries was sent to India later that year. Reynolds served continuously as the secretary of home and foreign missions until the merger of regional churches. He began conducting revivals in Canada in 1898 and organized two congregations in Nova Scotia in 1902. The missions in India were steadily reinforced with new personnel and the number of stations

⁶*Pentecostal Herald* (January 25, 1899). Quoted by Charles Edwin Jones in "The Holiness Complaint with Late-Victorian Methodism" in Russell E. Richey and Kenneth E. Rowe, eds., *Rethinking Methodist History: A Bicentennial Historical Consultation* (Nashville: Kingswood Books, 1985), 59.

expanded. In 1901 John Diaz, a Cape Verdean immigrant, was sent back to his native islands to open missions and churches there. Under Reynolds' leadership, the Association of Pentecostal Churches of America sent out 18 missionaries between 1897 and 1907. Thirteen were in active service in 1905, supported by fewer than 50 congregations in the United States and Canada. Reynolds brought to the united church his experience as a missions executive who could articulate a positive basis for world-wide missions and organize and motivate people for carrying out that purpose, including the raising of necessary funds.⁷

Others in the church shared Reynolds' vision of world-wide missions at the time of the 1907-1908 mergers. Leslie Gay, a layman, and Maye McReynolds, a clergywoman, were close associates of Bresee who shared this passion for missions. By 1920 other Bresee associates—including C. J. Kinne and Ada Glidden Bresee—emerged as leading figures in the missions movement within the Church of the Nazarene.⁸ In the South, the Holiness Church of Christ had missionaries in India and Mexico at the time of the mergers and was in the process of sending missionaries to Japan. These various forces were consolidated under Reynolds' leadership after the Second General Assembly in 1908.

The primary role of Reynolds in shaping Nazarene life from 1907 on sprang from dual roles that he held simultaneously for many years, those of general superintendent *and* general missionary secretary. He was an active general superintendent until 1932. He was also executive secretary of foreign missions from 1907-22 and 1925-27. Before the First General Assembly in 1907, Reynolds was limited to promoting his vision of worldwide missions among churches of the eastern seaboard. His canvass expanded greatly after the merger, which gave him contact with congregations in the West, Midwest, and South. More importantly, the united church had a system of governance different from what the eastern con-

⁷A useful table listing all missionaries connected with the Church of the Nazarene through 1930 and their fields of service can be found in *The Other Sheep* (November 1930): 30-31.

⁸Kinne was the founding manager of the Nazarene Publishing House in Kansas City. After returning to California, he lectured on missions in Nazarene churches on the west coast. He conceived of a hospital in Japan, organized the funds to build it, and managed the construction of Bresee Memorial Hospital in Tamingfu, China. His first wife died during the project, and Kinne subsequently married Sue Bresee, Phineas Bresee's spinster daughter. Ada Glidden Bresee was Phineas Bresee's daughter-in-law.

gregations had known before the merger. In the new order, Reynolds was responsible, as a general superintendent, to conduct district assemblies. In his capacity as general missionary secretary, he was now positioned to communicate his passion for cross-cultural missions at every district assembly that he conducted. From 1907 on, he urged Pentecostal Nazarenes at ever-larger district and general gatherings to rally to this cause.

Reynolds embarked on the first world tour of Nazarene missions in December 1913. The journey proved a vital step, reaping public relations benefits and establishing an important principle regarding the general superintendency. Reynolds left San Francisco accompanied by ten Nazarene missionaries headed for their assignments in Japan, China, and India. He spent nearly one month in Japan, visiting the mission work in Kyoto, contacting the mission superintendents of other denominations and groups, and surveying Japanese cities where no Nazarene work yet existed. The latter was important; he wanted to be better informed when corresponding in the future with missionaries and national leaders in Japan. He spent the next month in China following a similar pattern. His visit to India turned into something different and grittier. In Calcutta he discovered that a situation existed that required him to carefully consider the careers of a missionary couple and the native superintendent of the Hope School for Girls. This unexpected turn of affairs forced Reynolds to discard his itinerary and remain in India for nearly three months, much of it confined to Calcutta, where eventually he dismissed missionaries and national workers, received resignations from others, and reorganized the staff of the mission. He remained until L. S. Tracy could transfer from Western India some weeks later. The Calcutta experience was a critical moment for Reynolds, who was committed to careful missions policy ever afterward. He resumed the world tour that summer, reaching Swaziland in the second week of July, where he examined the work led by Harmon Schmelzenbach. He then passed through the Cape Verde Islands. Naval hostilities between England and Germany prevented Reynolds from making his scheduled visit to the Nazarene work there, but he made contact with civil officials. He reached Scotland, where he visited George Sharpe and the congregations of the Pentecostal Church of Scotland, encouraging the merger of that denomination with the Pentecostal

Nazarenes, which occurred the following year. Reynolds arrived in New York City over eight months after starting his journey.⁹

The worldwide mission tour was valuable on several levels. It added depth to Reynolds' own perceptions of missionary life. Amy Hinshaw, his biographer, summarized the salient points:

As a rule, officials holding high positions visit their church enterprises after they have become valuable assets to the denomination. But Dr. Reynolds toured the missions of the Church of the Nazarene in the pioneer days when they were weak and small. . . . Hotels and comfortable homes were not available. So [he viewed] pioneer missionary life at close range, with its sterner features in the foreground and conspicuously outlined . . . he adapted himself to the conditions which prevailed. He slept on the dirt floors in Chinese inns, and rode in "rickshaws" and springless carts, and second-rate trains, in gharries and tongas and covered wagons; he waded through snow-drifts in China, and traveled under the tropical sun in India in the hottest season of the year, and he penetrated even the malaria-infested "bushveldts" in Africa.¹⁰

The worldwide mission tour proved invaluable for promoting missions. Reynolds took one of the new Brownie cameras with him and generated hundreds of photographs, some of which were published in the church's monthly missions magazine, *The Other Sheep*.¹¹ Likewise, he generated a steady stream of travel commentary for the weekly church paper. Soon after his return to America he published *World-Wide Missions* (1915), a book illustrated with his photographs. The tour also established the principle that the role of the general superintendent in the Church of the Nazarene was to be *general* in a manner broad enough that it engaged the missions and churches outside the United States and Canada.

⁹The details are found in H. F. Reynolds, *World-Wide Missions* (Kansas City: Publishing House of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, 1915), except for those concerning the firing of missionaries and workers in Calcutta. Those are documented in Timothy White's "Hiram F. Reynolds: Prime Mover of the Nazarene Mission Education System" (University of Kansas, PhD. Dissertation, 1996).

¹⁰Hinshaw, *In Labors Abundant*, 259-260.

¹¹The H. F. Reynolds Collection in the Nazarene Archives contains over 2000 photographs, many of which Reynolds received from others, but many others of which he took. Nearly 1000 of his negatives are preserved. The quality of the pictures he took varies widely.

Reynolds became convinced that the church's highest officials should not rely simply on reports from the field. He became a staunch advocate of regular visitation of the churches and missions in other nations by the members of the Board of General Superintendents, and he set the example repeatedly. In 1916 he visited Cuba and Central America. In 1919 he returned to Japan and China. In 1921 he returned to the British Isles, South Africa, and India, and visited the Middle East, where there were now churches and missions in Syria and Palestine. Reynolds made his third trip to Japan and China in 1922, presiding at the Japan District's first district assembly, at which pastor J. I. Nagamatsu was elected district superintendent. In 1927 he visited the Caribbean and organized the Trinidad and Barbados Districts. In 1927 he planned a second worldwide tour since none of his colleagues seemed inclined to duplicate his original worldwide tour. His brethren on the Board of General Superintendents were convinced it would kill the 74-year old man. Reynolds relented only when the 1928 General Assembly determined that general superintendents John Goodwin and R. T. Williams would conduct a worldwide tour together, which they did in 1929-30. Neither enjoyed the experience, and Williams intentionally avoided overseas travel after that. But Reynolds had made his point: if general superintendency was not local or regional in character, neither could it be allowed by default to simply be national in scope; to be *general* superintendency, it had to be international in character.¹² That point was not lost on Goodwin, who carried his share of international visitations, nor on their other colleague, J. B. Chapman, who was elected a general superintendent in 1928 and began making international trips three years later.¹³

During the years that Reynolds was executive secretary of the General Board of Foreign Missions, it became the most impressive denomina-

¹²J. B. Chapman, *A History of the Church of the Nazarene* (Kansas City: Nazarene Publishing House, 1926), 142-143. In a classic understatement, Chapman noted that "it would be difficult to give any adequate account of the many and varied activities of Dr. Reynolds since he entered the General Superintendency." The Reynolds Collection in the Nazarene Archives bears out that truth. It contains over 25,000 pieces of correspondence, very little of it addressed to Reynolds' home or office. His correspondents had to follow his published itinerary in the church paper and send mail to him in transit. He traveled with a portable typewriter and banged out replies.

¹³J. B. Chapman's *30,000 Miles of Missionary Travel* (Kansas City: Nazarene Publishing House, n.d. [ca. 1931]) recounts his trip to Central and South America, the British West Indies, Africa, and Great Britain.

tional agency established by action of the General Assembly, attracting the lion's share of monies given voluntarily to general interests. Reynolds' ability to communicate his missionary vision and inspire others to share it is ample testimony to his dogged determination and persuasive powers during the years of his greatest effectiveness. Cross-cultural missions became the denomination's most important priority and functioned as an integrating concept within the church. Bresee fashioned the church's basic mechanisms of governance, but Reynolds laid the foundations of a missions program that resulted in the Church of the Nazarene entering the 21st century as a global denomination. When Reynolds died in 1938, Chapman's funeral oration hailed him appropriately as "the original missionary" of the Nazarene movement.¹⁴

Women's Voluntary Societies. The creation of two general auxiliaries, one for youth and one for women, also played key roles in unifying the church. Each strengthened the sinews binding the Pentecostal Nazarenes into one people. But the network of lay and clergy women that formed the Woman's Missionary Societies also came to play an important role in promoting missions and raising it to a denominational priority. By 1930 a majority of Nazarene congregations had local mission societies, and they existed not only in the West but in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East.

The rise of the Woman's Missionary Society is a theme in two different chapters of Nazarene history: missions history and the story of women and religion. Only single women had "careers" in late 19th and early 20th century America; married women did not. But a growing number of married women who were part of the growing middle class gained a degree of leisure time due to the increased availability of canned foods and manufactured clothing, and the spread of labor-saving devices. They filled this time by forming voluntary societies. Some societies were literary and cultural in nature. But as social historian Anne Firor Scott noted, many women were convinced "that if their families needed them less, the Lord had work for them to do," and they created voluntary societies with religious purposes.

John P. McDowell has demonstrated how the woman's home mission movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, not only raised

¹⁴J. B. Chapman, "Excerpts From the Memorial Sermon for Dr. Reynolds." Typescript, J. B. Chapman Collection, Nazarene Archives, Kansas City, Missouri.

money for home evangelism but became a leading agent of socially-minded Christianity, spearheading an anti-lynching campaign and working for social improvements for Southern blacks.¹⁵ Women's voluntary societies expanded in nearly all Protestant denominations. In the case of the Nazarenes, however, the rise of the Woman's Missionary Society was different from its analogues in other denominations, for it was distinctly a partnership between lay women and clergy women. This is exemplified in the leadership roles assumed from 1915 on by Rev. Susan Fitkin of Brooklyn, New York, a former evangelist, and Ada Glidden Bresee, a lay woman active in the affairs of the Southern California District.

The Eastern parent body, where Reynolds headed the missions program, took the lead in developing the Woman's Missionary Society. Stella Reynolds, his wife, and Susan Fitkin, a former Quaker evangelist, organized a series of congregation-based societies beginning in 1898. The rudiments of a general system of societies were in place at the time of the 1907 merger, but were scrapped at the merger. The local societies among the eastern congregations remained, and some of their members became persistent advocates of the need for other churches to organize local societies and for creating a more complex auxiliary that included district and general organizations as well. The Fourth General Assembly (1915) authorized the leaders of the movement to create a constitution for a general WMS, and the Fifth General Assembly (1919) approved the plan. Fitkin served as general WMS president from 1915 to 1948. The stated purposes were to promote the missions within the church through advocacy, education, and fundraising. Until 1932, the funds raised by the mission societies were channeled directly into missions and nothing else.¹⁶

The spread of local chapters in the early 1920s met resistance from some clergy, who viewed the local society and its female leaders as threats to their own leadership within the congregation. This attitude slowly changed over time. For one thing, the societies proved helpful to the church program. But pastors soon recognized another undeniable fact:

¹⁵Anne Firor Scott, "The 'New Woman' in the New South," in *Making the Invisible Woman Visible* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 198. And John Patrick McDowell, *The Social Gospel in the South: The Woman's Home Mission Movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1886-1939* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982).

¹⁶Fitkin's autobiography is *Grace Much More Abounding* (Kansas City: Nazarene Publishing House, n.d.). Also see Basil Miller's *Susan N. Fitkin: For God and Missions* (Kansas City: Nazarene Publishing House, n. d. [ca. 1948]).

the sharply increasing number of women who joined and participated in the societies. The growth of the societies was evidence of two things: women sought affinity with one another, and the missions movement in the Church of the Nazarene was growing in strength with each passing year. In 1920 only a little more than eight percent of Nazarenes belonged to a woman's missionary society. By 1930, the first year that a majority of Nazarene congregations had a local chapter, that percentage had risen to nearly twenty-seven percent. By 1935, eight-five percent of congregations had a society and thirty-two percent of all Nazarenes belonged to one.¹⁷

Missions and the Millennium. The reprioritizing of Nazarene life around cross-cultural missions was assisted by premillennialism's growth within the denomination. The roots of the Protestant missionary enterprise of the 19th century largely lay in postmillennialism, not premillennialism. But the premillennial movement that spread through American churches after 1875 brought added passion for missions.¹⁸ There is no better evidence than the rise of the Pentecostals, whose intense premillennial anticipations stirred equally strong missionary enthusiasms.

Harold Raser has written a useful survey of millennial perspectives within the larger American holiness movement, but no detailed study has been published on the growth of premillennialism among Nazarenes.¹⁹ The denomination officially supported no particular millennial theory, but articles and letters in the *Herald of Holiness* give ample evidence that premillennialism was becoming the dominant eschatological perspective of evangelists, pastors, and lay people. B. F. Haynes, C. W. Ruth, J. B. Chapman, and E. P. Ellyson were among the early leaders who shared this view. In 1915, the church absorbed J. O. McClurkan's Pentecostal Mission, which brought in a mission-minded group of churches and workers in the southeastern United States and new mission fields in Cuba,

¹⁷These percentages were calculated from statistical tables IX and X in the General Secretary's Report to the Twenty-third General Assembly. See *Journal of the Twenty-third General Assembly* (Kansas City: Nazarene Publishing House, 1993), 274-279.

¹⁸See Timothy P. Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism, 1875-1982* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Academie Books [Zondervan]: 1983), 65-81.

¹⁹Harold Raser, "Views on Last Things in the American Holiness Movement," in H. Ray Dunning, ed., *The Second Coming: A Wesleyan Approach to the Doctrine of Last Things* (Kansas City: Beacon Hill Press of Kansas City, 1995), 161-185.

Guatemala, and India. Many of McClurkan's followers shared his earnest conviction that this was "the eleventh hour" before Christ's return; therefore missions was the urgent issue of the day. As premillennialism gained adherents within the Church of the Nazarene, it intensified the priority given to cross-cultural missions.²⁰

Consequences of the Priority of Missions. The reprioritizing of Nazarene life around world evangelization soon touched every aspect of the church's life. It spurred the development of the church's General Board and general budget in 1923, and it transformed the primary means through which Nazarenes carried out social ministry.

Nazarenes from their earliest years had embraced social work as integral to ministry in Christ's name. Their original patterns of social ministry centered on the maintenance and support of orphanages and homes for unwed mothers. But as missions emerged as a dominant priority for the denomination, the compassionate impulse was rechanneled overseas, where it centered ever more on medical ministries. From the 1920s through the 1960s, Nazarenes built, on average, one new hospital a decade, beginning in the 1920s with hospitals in Swaziland and China, then in India and later Papua New Guinea. The Samaritan Hospital, established in Nampa, Idaho, served the overseas medical network by training nurses to serve in mission settings. Each hospital overseas was both a surgical facility and the hub of a more extended network of clinics and mobile "field work" teams who reached out into areas that were remote.²¹

The gradual institutionalization of the compassionate impulse around medical ministries overseas and away from orphanages or homes for unwed mothers at home reflected a fundamental fact: the growing focus on cross-cultural missions was changing denominational priorities and reshaping the inner life of the Church of the Nazarene. By 1950 the Church of the Nazarene's rules, seasonal revivals, and passion for missions were the three elements that defined much of what it was and did.

²⁰J. O. McClurkan, "The Eleventh Hour Laborers," *Chosen Vessels* (Salem, Ohio: Allegheny Wesleyan Methodist Connection, 1978 [reprint]), 191-199; Mildred Wynkoop, *The Trevecca Story* (Nashville: Trevecca Press, 1976), 32-38; and William J. Strickland and H. Ray Dunning, *J. O. McClurkan: His Life, His Theology, and Selections from His Writings* (Nashville: Trevecca Press, 1998), 91-93.

²¹For many more details and more analysis, see Stan Ingersol, "Ministering to Body as Well as Spirit: The Transformation of Nazarene Social Ministry, 1925-1970," paper presented to the Nazarene Compassionate Ministries Conference, Colorado Springs, 1998. Copy available at cost from the Nazarene Archives.

II. Internationalization's Hinge

The Church of the Nazarene's growth around the world was slow but not always steady until after World War II. Serious financial setbacks that began in the mid-1920s diminished the church's ability to put wings under its dreams. In the late 20s, the policy of "retrenchment" resulted in mission stations closing and furloughed missionaries forced out of service because the church could not continue supporting them in the field. The situation improved some in the 1930s, but significant change waited until a rising tide of prosperity began during World War II. The church treasury benefited greatly from this, and the stage was set for rapid missionary expansion in the post-war era.

Indigenous holiness churches in Australia and Italy united with the Nazarenes in the late 1940s, providing their first foothold on the only inhabited continents where they had lacked a presence. The church began mission work in the Philippines, a key field, and reorganized work in Korea and Japan that had been undermined by the war. A new field was entered almost every other year. In the 1950s and 1960s, two conservative groups in the United States broke off from the Church of the Nazarene and started new denominations, convinced that the Nazarenes had somehow lost their way. Ironically, the greatest period of mission expansion in Nazarene history came after these groups left, not before, in the last quarter of the 20th century, as the number of world areas in which the church ministered doubled and the number of Nazarenes nearly tripled. The bulk of that growth was the direct outgrowth of missions.

The forms of ministry also changed. The traditional global ministries—evangelism, education, and medicine—were joined by new ministries of famine and disaster relief, child sponsorship, and economic development coordinated through Nazarene Compassionate Ministries. Thousands of ordinary American, Canadian, and British Nazarenes went to the very mission fields they had long supported to engage in construction projects by joining Work and Witness Teams. Nazarenes in Voluntary Service has placed hundreds of others overseas in short-term mission assignments of two years or so. Perhaps nothing illustrates the international character of the church better than this fact: a growing number of missionaries appointed by the General Board of the Church of the Nazarene are citizens of non-Western nations.²²

²²The most recent history of Nazarene missions, which touches most of these points, is J. Fred Parker's *Mission to the World: A History of Missions in the Church of the Nazarene Through 1985* (Kansas City: Nazarene Publishing House, 1988).

The Global Nazarene Theology Conference held in April 2002 in Guatemala City was another major symbol of internationalization in Nazarene life. The more recent Nazarene theology conferences have included representative voices from outside North America, but the 2002 conference was far different: it brought together 300 theological educators, pastors, and church administrators at a location outside American soil. Half of those in attendance were neither American nor Canadian, and academic papers and leadership assignments were distributed in ways that elicited the broadest possible participation.²³

The path to internationalization is a main theme in Nazarene history. But why was it possible for Nazarenes to remain one international body instead of breaking into autonomous national churches? Why did the course of Nazarene history run into a channel so different from that of older Protestant denominations? The answer turns very simply on this: the distinction between hierarchically structured churches and democratically structured ones. The Roman Catholic Church, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and The Church of Christ, Scientist chose to be international churches and had the ability to do so at early points in their history because they are hierarchically structured. But democratically structured churches had no such option until recently, for democratic governance requires church representatives to assemble regularly for legislative deliberation and action. Nearly all Protestant churches have embodied some type of democratic governance. Until the 20th century, the modes of transportation have made it difficult, if not impossible, for a church to be both democratic in spirit and international in scope.

Timing, they say, is everything. The Church of the Nazarene originated as a democratic form of Methodism and would have shared the same constraints as older Protestant churches except that it originated in the 20th century and benefited from that century's technological advances. The transportation and communications revolutions of the 20th century altered mental horizons and changed the basic calculus of the situation by the time Nazarenes needed to confront the issues involving its churches throughout the world. When the 1976 General Assembly appointed a commission to study the denomination's future development, modern communications had made it possible for church leaders on oppo-

²³All papers of the Global Nazarene Theology Conference are posted at the following web site: <http://wesley.nnu.edu/2002-GNTC/>

site sides of the world to maintain routine contact. The modern airline industry, which developed quickly after World War II, made it possible to regularly assemble delegates from around the world for General Assembly, General Board, and even routine committee assignments. When Nazarenes pondered the denomination's future shape in the 1970s, the most significant factor that facilitated internationalization was not an ideal embedded within the report of the Commission on the International Church but something wholly outside it—technological change. The technological revolutions of the 20th century allowed the Church of the Nazarene to choose a brand new path while retaining its basic character as a form of democratic Methodism. Modern technology was the external hinge upon which the internationalization of the Church of the Nazarene swung.

This raises a final question: if new methods of transportation and communications are what changed the Nazarenes, then are they truly unique in their development into an international denomination with a democratic constitution, or are they merely riding the crest of the wave of the future? There is evidence that the latter is the case.

The United Methodist Church embraced a new pattern of denominational development in its 1996 General Conference. The new approach is called “globalization” (an unfortunate term with connotations too closely related to notions of the West's economic hegemony). The assumptions that United Methodists adopted resemble closely those that Nazarenes embraced in 1980. United Methodist “central conferences” located outside the United States may still choose national autonomy, but this course is no longer inevitable as a matter of policy or necessity. If African and Asian conferences remain within the United Methodist Church, this will have a major impact on United Methodism's future, since church members in the developing world tend to be evangelicals with a vibrant faith and traditional views of sexual morality. Moreover, four of the five United Methodist jurisdictions in the U.S. have a negative growth rate (the South-eastern Jurisdiction is the exception), while United Methodists in Africa, Asia, and Russia are producing a positive growth rate. Still, with 8.2 million United Methodists in the U.S. and only one million outside, it will be many decades before Americans become a minority within the United Methodist denomination. But United Methodism's turn toward “globalization” suggests that the social and technological revolutions of the 20th century are having an influence upon at least one major American denom-

ination and is changing the way it will position itself in the world in the future. Will other denominations follow suit? And what about the young denominations that have originated in the past half-century? Will their missionary enthusiasms lead some to become international denominations, or will their particular forms of governance (often congregational in form) prohibit such a development?

The first century of the Nazarene experience, at least, is now clear. Emerging as an early 20th-century denomination from the landscape of scattered holiness denominations, the Nazarenes, like the Wesleyan Church, became a major ingathering church of the Wesleyan-holiness revival. Early in their history, Nazarenes committed their resources to world evangelization and evolved in less than a century into an international denomination of many peoples and languages. At the beginning, they came from many groups to become one. When they went out into the world, they again became many, but within the compass of a single international church.

A PERFECT CHURCH: TOWARD A WESLEYAN MISSIONAL ECCLESIOLOGY

by

Stephen W. Rankin

John Wesley insisted that the doctrine of Christian perfection encapsulated Methodism's "grand *depositum*," the reason for which Methodists were "chiefly raised up."¹ In the part of the Wesleyan family that I know the best, the United Methodist Church, the doctrine has fallen out of use almost entirely in terms of shaping congregational life. The same may be true of other members of the Wesleyan family. "Perfection" has had a long and, at times, rather troubled history. Yet, if we once more stand alongside Wesley and look at Christian life, as he did, through the lens of Christian perfection, there is power to transform the church's life and ministry.

I will argue in this paper, therefore, that Christian perfection, as descriptive of the whole church, should indispensably shape the church's identity and mission. This perspective stands not in opposition to individual soteriology, but certainly in distinction from it. To put the thesis in the form of a question, on what terms and for what end could we recognize a church perfected in love? This question, of course, assumes that such a church is conceivable and one easily recognizes the contentiousness of such an assumption. I wish to show that, by considering the doctrine of Christian perfection in light of its implications for the church, we find

¹Letter to Robert Carr Brackenbury in Thomas Jackson, ed., *The Works of John Wesley* (reprint from 1872 edition: Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1978), 13:9.

proper ground for a sustainable Wesleyan missiology. We find both power and direction. To overlook or ignore the ecclesiological implications of this doctrine is to drain energy from mission.

Before proceeding to the main question, a definition of “mission” is in order. For the purposes of this paper, “mission” is understood as the church’s Spirit-enabled engagement in ministries that rescue people from the power of darkness (both individual and systemic) and transfer them into the kingdom of God’s beloved Son.² It goes beyond what is easily construed as a fairly typical notion of evangelism, leading individual persons to Christ, to the transformation of communities and social structures. A truly Wesleyan assessment of mission thus always and insistently looks at the practical effect of the church’s ministries, people converted to God through Christ and becoming holy in their temperament and activity. While God is restoring the image of God in the redeemed community, God works through that community to reclaim the lost. In other words, Christian growth toward perfection necessarily involves Christian mission. To the extent that a church moves toward perfection, it becomes increasingly a manifestation of God’s mission in the world. A perfected church is pervasively missional.

Importance of the Corporate Dimension

The corporate dimension of perfection that I wish to highlight does arise in Scripture. Ephesians 4:13, for example, states, “. . . until all of us come to the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, to maturity, to the measure of the full stature of Christ” (New Revised Standard Version). The “to maturity” of this verse renders the Greek *eis andra teleion* (literally “to a mature [or perfect] man”) as the English seeks to avoid gender exclusiveness. We find in this text the collective sense of maturity or perfection that provides impetus for the focus of this paper. The Pauline writer clearly had in mind some qualities of perfection or maturity that should characterize the whole church in Ephesus. The whole church is called somehow to reflect the “full stature of Christ.” The “unity of faith” and the “knowledge of the Son of God” suggest that the church as a body reveals Christ in a way that transcends the impact of individual Christian witness. The nature of Christian relationships or, rather, the kind of community they manifest provides the key for understanding what keeps the church on track and effective in its mission.

²See Colossians 1:13.

What appears in Scripture can be shown in history. One reason the doctrine of Christian perfection maintains a strong hold on scholarly interest is that emphasis on holiness within the Wesleyan tradition has shown itself effective in making positive social changes. Douglas Strong, for example, has recounted how people in the State of New York, inspired by the doctrine of entire sanctification, adopted an “evangelical perfectionism” and worked to reform church and society in the 1840s and 1850s.³ This vision was by no means limited to Methodist groups, but certainly was indebted to them. John Wigger, noting the attention that scholars have given to British Methodism’s social influence, states of the American situation, “The holiness ethos fostered by Methodism was more powerful than any abstract theological innovation of the time,” giving shape to American evangelicalism in the nineteenth century.⁴ An article by Kathryn Long on Phoebe Palmer’s ministry shows how Palmer’s description of holiness helped to form middle-class values in the middle of the nineteenth century.⁵ Sarah Sloan Kreutziger likewise has studied how Wesley’s legacy of social holiness sparked and guided the Methodist settlement movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁶

³Douglas M. Strong, *Perfectionist Politics: Abolitionism and the Religious Tensions*. Religion and Politics Series (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1999).

⁴John H. Wigger, *Taking Heaven by Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 7. Wigger’s chapter on “The Social Principle” (80-103) is particularly illuminating in this regard.

⁵Kathryn T. Long, “Consecrated Respectability: Phoebe Palmer and the Refinement of American Methodism,” in Nathan O. Hatch and John Wigger, eds., *Methodism and the Shaping of American Culture* (Nashville: Kingswood Books), 281-307.

⁶Sarah Sloan Kreutziger, “Wesley’s Legacy of Social Holiness: The Methodist Settlement Movement and American Social Reform,” in Russell E. Richey, Dennis M. Campbell, and William B. Lawrence, eds., *Connectionalism: Ecclesiology, Mission and Identity*, volume 1 of United Methodism and American Culture series (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1997), 137-175. Much of this recent interest in American Methodism’s social impact, as John Wigger has noted, results from Nathan Hatch’s observation that Methodism had been largely overlooked in American religious historiography. See his “The Puzzle of American Methodism,” first published in *Church History* 63 #2 (June 1994) and reprinted in Nathan O. Hatch and John H. Wigger, ed., *Methodism and the Shaping of American Culture* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2001). The recent work goes well with an earlier generation of scholarship on the same theme, works such as Timothy Smith’s ground-breaking *Revivalism and Social Reform* and Charles Ferguson’s *Organizing to Beat the Devil*.

Remembering the doctrine's impact in history continues to spur scholarly interest in the present. Can the doctrine of holiness still guide and instruct the church's ministry in the twenty-first century? This question has been answered by some scholars in the affirmative, especially in terms of social ethics applied to particular issues like poverty. For example, M. Douglas Meeks has worked on the connection between sanctification and stewardship with regard to economic life.⁷ *The Portion of the Poor*⁸ edited by Meeks provides several exemplary chapters, but one deserves special mention. Rebecca Chopp's contribution suggests a way of viewing sanctifying grace within a feminist perspective that gives the doctrine both a contemporary and corporate application.⁹ Miguez Bonino, in another work, has done a similar thing by connecting sanctification and liberation.¹⁰ A collection of essays edited by Richard Heitzenrater on Methodism and the poor adds to the body of literature.¹¹ Other issues, such as Methodism and politics or Methodism and slavery, have received recent interest.¹² These works join with earlier notable contributions such as Donald Dayton's *Discovering an Evangelical Heritage*¹³ and Leon Hynson's *To Reform the Nation*.¹⁴

⁷M. Douglas Meeks, "Sanctification and Economy: A Wesleyan Perspective on Stewardship," in Randy L. Maddox, ed., *Rethinking Wesley's Theology for Contemporary Methodism* (Nashville: Kingswood Books), 83-98.

⁸M. Douglas Meeks, ed., *The Portion of the Poor: Good News to the Poor in the Wesleyan Tradition* (Nashville: Kingswood Books, 1995).

⁹Rebecca S. Chopp, "Anointed to Preach: Speaking of Sin in the Midst of Grace," in Meeks, ed., *The Portion of the Poor*, 110-111.

¹⁰José Miguez Bonino, "Sanctification and Liberation," *Asbury Theological Journal* 50-51, nos. 1 and 2 (Fall 1995, Spring 1996), 141-150.

¹¹Richard P. Heitzenrater, ed., *The Poor and the People Called Methodists* (Nashville: Kingswood Books, 2002). See especially S. T. Kimbrough, "Perfection Revisited: Charles Wesley's Theology of 'Gospel Poverty' and 'Perfect Poverty,'" 101-120.

¹²See Ronald H. Stone, *John Wesley's Life and Ethics* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2001); Theodore Weber, *Politics and the Order of Salvation* (Nashville: Kingswood Books, 2001).

¹³For a sense of the chronological span of Dayton's contribution, see "The Holiness Churches: A Significant Ethical Tradition," *Christian Century* 92 (February 26, 1975), 197-201, as well as his chapter in Meeks, ed., *The Portion of the Poor* entitled, "Good News to the Poor: The Methodist Experience After Wesley." One also could consult his *Discovering an Evangelical Heritage*.

¹⁴Leon Hynson, *To Reform the Nation: Theological Foundations of Wesley's Ethics* (Grand Rapids: Francis Asbury Press [Zondervan], 1984).

This attempt to develop and employ a social holiness ethic is paralleled by descriptions following a more traditional approach in terms of individual soteriology. In this trajectory, one finds W. E. Sangster's *The Path to Perfection*¹⁵ and Harald Lindström's *Wesley and Sanctification*,¹⁶ or the broader and systematic descriptions of Mildred Bangs Wynkoop,¹⁷ J. Kenneth Grider,¹⁸ H. Ray Dunning,¹⁹ Barry L. Callen,²⁰ Randy L. Maddox,²¹ Kenneth J. Collins²² and Theodore Runyon.²³ A survey of the volumes of the *Wesleyan Theological Journal* turns up more than twenty articles expressly on the topic of Christian perfection, some by the aforementioned authors and most focused on how to understand personal holiness.

Scholarly discussions of Christian perfection tend to swing around either personal or social ethics and here we can see how and where persons interested in evangelism go one way and those interested in social justice go another. This limitation inhibits our seeing the doctrine's motivational power for mission in general. Fragmentation, sometimes even opposition, occurs within the body of Christ between personal evangelism and social justice. The present study will argue that Christian perfection so affects relationships within the Christian community as to make that community unique in its ability to fulfill God's redemptive purposes. In fact, the relationships themselves, both within the Body of Christ and as that Body relates to the world, demonstrate the redemptive power of God in Christ. If thinking about Christian perfection tended to focus on these

¹⁵W. E. Sangster, *The Path to Perfection: An Examination and Restatement of John Wesley's Doctrine of Christian Perfection* (London: The Epworth Press, 1954).

¹⁶Harald Gustaf Lindström, *Wesley and Sanctification*, 1946.

¹⁷Mildred Bangs Wynkoop, *A Theology of Love: The Dynamic of Wesleyanism* (Kansas City: Beacon Hill Press, 1972).

¹⁸J. Kenneth Grider, *A Wesleyan-Holiness Theology* (Kansas City: Beacon Hill Press, 1994).

¹⁹H. Ray Dunning, *Grace, Faith and Holiness: A Wesleyan Systematic Theology* (Kansas City: Beacon Hill Press, 1988).

²⁰Barry L. Callen, *God as Loving Grace: The Biblically Revealed Nature and Work of God* (Nappanee, Ind: Evangel Publishing House, 1996).

²¹Randy L. Maddox, *Responsible Grace: John Wesley's Practical Theology* (Nashville: Kingswood Books, 1994).

²²Kenneth J. Collins, *The Scripture Way of Salvation* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1997).

²³Theodore Runyon, *The New Creation: John Wesley's Theology Today* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998).

relationships, it would be clear why this doctrine must be considered as central to mission.

We start with a brief recounting of the doctrine, drawing out inferences, then move to consider how certain characteristics “elevate” to the corporate or ecclesial level, such that Christians in community “working out their own salvation” manifest a powerful witness beyond their collected individual testimonies. This quality emerges particularly in Wesley’s understanding of the Kingdom of God as expressed in his discourses on the Sermon on the Mount. The next step will catalog some of Wesley’s explicit comments about the church and compare these ideas with his teaching on the Kingdom. Wesley will challenge us to think again of the connection between the Kingdom and the church, especially in view of Christian perfection. Finally, we will consider what this discovery means for understanding mission from a Wesleyan perspective.

The Doctrine of Christian Perfection Summarized

The Wesleyan *via salutis* follows a path well known to students of Wesley. Beginning with prevenient grace, God draws a person by awakening a desire for God and then giving that person insight into the meaning and importance of God’s action.²⁴ One begins to understand the significance of Christ’s work and desires to receive the spiritual benefits from it. God satisfies that desire by giving the person faith and through faith he or she receives the gift of Christ’s atonement and is justified. Faith itself is a divine work (*elenchos*) that, as Wesley notes, “implies both a supernatural *evidence* of God and of the things of God, a kind of spiritual *light* exhibited to the soul, and a supernatural *sight* or perception thereof.”²⁵

In conjunction with justification comes the new birth, an ontological change wrought by God’s Spirit that brings (as in justification) a change of mind, a new understanding and a new set of desires. These new qualities of mind and heart demonstrate the new being in Christ. God, in regenerating the new believer, changes (as Wesley says) the “earthly, sensual,

²⁴“The Scripture Way of Salvation,” in *The Works of John Wesley* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1986), 3:158, hereafter referred to as *WJW*. Wesley refers to John 1:9, in which the Word is the “true light which enlightens everyone.”

²⁵*Ibid.*, 160.

devilish” mind into “the mind which was in Christ”²⁶—and the sanctification of the new believer begins. The new birth is attested to by the witness of the Spirit, which gives the believer confidence that he or she has been made a child of God. From the new mind come new desires, which, in turn, are shaped by godly practices (i.e., prayer, Scripture reading, corporate worship, attending upon the ordinances of God, Christian fellowship, ministry to others). As the new desires are exercised and reinforced through the disciplines, they become more firmly integrated into the spiritual make-up of the believer as religious affections.²⁷ A person experiencing and nurturing these affections can expectantly hope to be made perfect in love (full or entire sanctification). In every new birth, therefore, Christian perfection is latent, because love for God is born in every new believer with birth by the Spirit.

The religious affections thus can be summed up in the quality of love. Love, in order to be love, must have an object. The only way to show love is in relationship to the other. The affections, which are being developed through responsive, obedient growth in grace, have an inherently relational quality and show how love fulfills the whole of God’s law since God’s law is a description of God’s will. As love for God grows, so does love for neighbor, because God’s own Spirit instills this love in the believer. Since neighbor love is a reflection of God’s image in the believer, and since full restoration of the image of God is the goal of Christian perfection, love necessarily motivates one toward service, because it reflects God’s own relational nature as well as God’s determination to reclaim what has been lost.

To experience Christian perfection therefore means at least two things. First, it involves a particular kind of relationship with others, one that reflects the very nature of a loving God. By God’s design this “peculiar” relationship arises within the community that shares the mind of Christ, that is, the church.²⁸ According to Wesley, every believer has the

²⁶Ibid. See also Wesley’s reference to the fleshly mind (*phronema sarkos*) in “On Sin in Believers,” *WJW*, 1:314-334. In other sermons Wesley uses Philippians 2:5 explicitly with regard to Christian perfection and, of course, regeneration marks the beginning of sanctification, so even here they are linked.

²⁷See Gregory S. Clapper, *John Wesley on Religious Affections: His Views on Experience and Emotion and their Role in the Christian Life and Theology*, Pietist and Wesleyan Studies #1 (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1989).

²⁸One is reminded of Jesus’ words to his disciples in John 13:35, “By this everyone will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another.”

hope of being made perfect in love, because this experience is latent in every new birth. Christian perfection represents, in this sense, the “telos” for all people comprising the church, therefore the whole church.²⁹ By implication, then, Christian perfection must remain a significant part of the description of the church, even if not everyone within the fellowship can, at the same time, give testimony to having received it. The doctrine, properly communicated, provides critical motivational force. Just as conversion to new life in Christ serves as an attractive testimony to those not yet in Christ, so, for people within the church, Christian perfection serves as an attractive testimony of what is promised to (and can be expected by) all believers.³⁰

Second, since love for neighbor represents an essential quality of Christian perfection, and since this love reflects the heart of God, Christian perfection must play a crucial role in mission. In a Wesleyan soteriology, if a believer is not growing in grace (i.e., moving toward perfection), he or she is slipping backward, running the risk of sinning away one’s salvation. On the other hand, the closer one draws to Christ and the more one loves God, the closer one is drawn to the neighbor and the more one feels the compassion of Christ for the lost and lonely, the estranged and afflicted. As with Paul, the love of Christ constrains the believer to beseech people to be reconciled to God (2 Corinthians 5:14, 20). Christian perfection and ministry go hand in hand. In a sense, then, to let go of the emphasis on Christian perfection puts the church in the risky position of losing its proper motivation for mission.³¹

²⁹One hint of this corporate view of perfection is found in Hebrews 11:39-40: “Yet all these, though they were commended for their faith, did not receive [in this earthly dimension] what was promised, since God had provided something better so that they would not, apart from us, be made perfect.”

³⁰If we can put behind us some of the negative stereotypes of Christian perfection, the legalism and self-righteousness or excessive concern over one’s spiritual state, and focus instead on love for God and neighbor as the primary descriptor for Christian perfection, we can see once again the value and motivation for maintaining a strong place for teaching Christian perfection within the church.

³¹I do not intend to imply that one cannot do ministry without Christian perfection. But, without Christian perfection, other motivations (e.g., obedience to the Great Commission) may assume but not necessarily sustain the essential quality of love in our ministry, may even overtake and undermine ministry in the long run.

Wesley's Discourse Eight on the Sermon on the Mount shows how Christian perfection impels toward ministry. Let us follow Wesley's developing argument here. He first explains that purity of intention flows from right affections. Referring to Matthew 6:22, he states: "The eye is the intention: what the eye is to the body, the intention is to the soul. As one guides all the motions of the body, so does the other those of the soul."³² He goes on to say that holiness is the "light" that is in the eye of the person with singular intention toward God.³³ Here Wesley alludes to one of his favorite verses for talking about Christian perfection, that of having the mind that was in Christ (Philippians 2:5). When one evinces purity of intention with the eye fixed on Jesus, one is "filled with the mind that was in him,"³⁴ giving a person the disposition that Christ himself had.

The religious affections that develop under the guidance of godly practices (both individual and communal), so essential for Christian perfection, also provide the crucial ground for the love of neighbor that impels people toward ministry. The grace-imparted quality of having the mind of Christ moves one, in imitation of Christ, toward a ministry of reconciliation. Wesley continues: "And as long as it [the eye] is steadily fixed thereon, on God in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, we are more and more filled with the love of God and man . . . with all fruits of holiness."³⁵ Those fruits are shown in practical ways through acts of service that make visible the Kingdom of God in the world. The link, therefore, between the rightly ordered affections within each believer and the active attempts to help persons become reconciled to God is explicit: ministry follows from inward renewal. As renewal in the image of God necessarily means a new quality of relationship among believers in Christ, it also means that we are constrained to become active in the world in the ministry of reconciliation, implying as well a new set of relationships with people outside the pale of the church.

As we have noted, Wesley regularly alluded to the mind of Christ (Philippians 2:5) or to the heart renewed according to the image of God (Ephesians 4:21-24) as a way of describing Christian perfection. It is interesting to note how he applies these Scripture concepts both to the

³²WJW, 1:613

³³Ibid., 614,615.

³⁴Ibid., 614.

³⁵Ibid.

individual Christian life and to the church.³⁶ “The mind that was in Christ” refers to an attitude of lowliness, meekness, and submission to God’s will. “Heart” refers to the whole self, encompassing mind, emotions, and will. For example, in “A Plain Account of Christian Perfection,” as Wesley discusses what it means to love God and neighbor, he writes: “It is love governing the heart and life, running through all our tempers, words and actions.”³⁷ “Heart” here refers to inward dispositions while “life” points toward outward behaviors, the public and visible activities that flow from the heart. A few paragraphs later, he clearly makes this point: “Scripture perfection is pure love filling the heart, and governing all the words and actions.”³⁸

In the sermon “On Perfection,” Wesley exegetes Ephesians 4:21-24, which gives the command to put off the old self and put on the new, one that is being renewed in the image of God. He concludes: “[The Apostle] leaves no room to doubt but God will thus ‘renew’ us ‘in the spirit of our mind,’ and ‘create us anew’ in the ‘image of God,’ wherein we were at first created.”³⁹ Wesley’s idea of renewal in the image of God has affinity with recent scholarship dealing with the triune nature of God, which offers suggestive insights for the present argument regarding a corporate understanding of Christian perfection. Colin Gunton, for example, has shown the importance of explicitly reclaiming the contribution of the Cappadocian fathers in thinking that the “being of God is the persons in relation to each other.”⁴⁰ This idea stands in contrast to Augustine’s view that the three persons of the Trinity are posterior to the unity of the god-head, a position Gunton criticizes as an incipient modalism.⁴¹ God is thus a community of persons sharing the same nature. Without pushing the

³⁶In addition to “A Plain Account of Christian Perfection,” the phrase “the mind of Christ” or some close variation appears in “Scriptural Christianity,” “The Scripture Way of Salvation,” “Circumcision of the Heart,” “On Perfection” (therein used in both an individual and corporate sense), “On Zeal,” “Of the Church,” “The General Spread of the Gospel,” Discourses 4, 6, and 9 on the Sermon on the Mount, and “The Principles of a Methodist.”

³⁷Thomas Jackson, ed., *The Works of John Wesley*, 14 vols. (reprint; Baker Book House, 1986), 11:397.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 401.

³⁹“On Perfection,” *WJW*, 3:77.

⁴⁰Colin Gunton, *The Promise of Trinitarian Theology* (Edinburgh, T & T Clark, 1991), 74.

⁴¹*Ibid.*

analogy too far, it does seem to support the argument proffered in the present study that we need to consider the relational aspect of the image of God that is being renewed through the sanctifying process of the Spirit. In this light Christian perfection must have a social or communal component that ties believers together, an idea reinforced by the way Wesley refers to such characteristics as the mind of Christ.

Returning to Wesley's description of the renewal of the image of God, one notices the first person plural of the explanatory comment (of Ephesians 4:21-24) joined with a singular noun used as a collective: ". . . God will thus renew *us* in the spirit of our *mind*" (emphasis added). Even though Wesley uses the singular "mind," he is clearly thinking about a collective, not just individual Christians being renewed in the image of God. If one thinks of this statement in terms of individual soteriology only, then the conventional picture of the believer taking on the character of Christ emerges. But Wesley's point is coupled with his description of the "new man" in Christ, the one being renewed in the image of God. The "new man" suggests a unity and integration in the Body of Christ that implies something more than the sum of individual parts. It might be analogous to a basketball team that works so well together they seem almost to share the same thoughts as they go through their various moves on the court. "The new man," considered in a collective sense, shows something necessary about the nature of relationships within the church. The "new man" loves God and neighbor, thus making visible in tangible behavior the mind that was in Christ. As an individual believer is renewed in the image of God and becomes a new person, so the church, having the mind of Christ and being renewed in the image of God, becomes the new community.

In the same sermon, Wesley makes reference to the priesthood as a demonstration of holiness: "To the same effect, Saint Peter says, 'Ye are a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ.'"⁴² Just prior to this comment, Wesley had spoken of Romans 12:1, associating the presentation of Christians to God as a "spiritual sacrifice" with the Petrine idea of a spiritual priesthood. We see here a very significant clue for developing a corporate application of Christian perfection. The priesthood obviously is corporate. In the Romans text, believers are priests because they present themselves (like priests officiat-

⁴²"On Perfection," *WJW*, 3:76.

ing at the altar) as living sacrifices. They are holy because God is at work in them to restore the image of God, to create a new being (Wesley's "new man"). Our picture broadens from earlier descriptions of perfection in terms of the individual's affections and behaviors to the group's corporate attitude and identity. Furthermore, it necessarily and inherently involves ministry. This collective "new man" demonstrates the character of Christ (i.e., the mind of Christ) and reaches out in ministry to the whole world.

Wesley thus applies key descriptions of Christian perfection both to individual Christians and to the group. This fact suggests that the individual and collective dimensions necessarily depend on each other and fit with the idea that the image of God in humans is best described in relational terms. One could not, of course, have a sanctified group without individual members moving toward full salvation. It is admittedly harder to think about a group demonstrating "perfect love," of having singularity of intention. Or is it? Other such descriptions can be found in Wesley's writings to demonstrate that he clearly had in mind something bigger than individual people merely traveling in the same direction. To be sure, they are individual persons and they are headed in the same direction, but together they form something critically necessary. They are a priesthood, a people who have a certain mission to accomplish, one necessarily (essentially) shaped by the fact that they are moving toward perfection and can expect to be made perfect in this lifetime.⁴³

Christian Perfection "Elevated" —the Kingdom of God

We now attempt to describe in a preliminary way how the individual qualities "elevate" to the corporate level. Christ-likeness involves not only working out one's own salvation, but relating to others in a redemptive way, for each other and for the world. We step here toward ecclesiology. In this vein H. Ray Dunning offers a helpful observation:

We have seen how the social character of human existence is indigenous to the creature made in the image of God. We have argued that the very structure of humanness as determined by the Word of God is co-humanity. It logically follows that the work of salvation would create community as an implementation of this created essence.⁴⁴

⁴³Such a focus on the collective is illustrated, for example, by Wesley's "Rules for the United Societies" and his "Advice to the People Called Methodist," in which his goal for the people called Methodist is full salvation.

⁴⁴Dunning, *Grace, Faith and Holiness*, 506.

The creation of such a community will be guided by the principles set forth in such places as we find in the Sermon on the Mount and its description of the Kingdom of God. To Wesley's explanations of that Sermon we now turn.

Considering the sermons to which we have alluded so far, one sees emerging a set of biblical texts and concepts that help to demonstrate the inherent link in Wesley's thinking between the individual experience of salvation in the life of the believer and the corporate expression of salvation in and through the church. To anticipate: the Kingdom of God is made visible by believers in Christ joined in community to love God and neighbor and to fulfill God's whole law. We discover that a number of key Bible texts used for Christian perfection appear in Wesley's exposition on the Kingdom.

Wesley consistently demonstrated a critical posture toward "solitary religion." For example, in Discourse Four of the Sermon on the Mount, he states that Christianity "is essentially a social religion, and that to turn it into a solitary one is to destroy it." Furthermore, Christianity "cannot subsist at all without society, without living and conversing with other men." He then illustrates his point by explaining that the virtue of meekness can only truly be shown in the context of human relationship.⁴⁵ One sees here the connection between individual characteristics and corporate relationships. Since human beings are created for relationship and since Christian perfection entails the restoration of the image of God in human beings, it makes sense that Christians moving toward full salvation would move closer to each other, and from this a community governed by God and showing the character qualities of God would be formed. Christians' love for each other manifests the Kingdom of God to the world.

When Wesley discusses "righteousness" in the Kingdom (Matthew 6:33), he describes it in classic Christian perfection terms. Righteousness is "that holiness of heart, that renewal of the soul in all its desires, tempers, and affections, 'which is of God.'"⁴⁶ From desires transformed by the grace of God through the atoning work of Christ and the application of that work by the Holy Spirit in regeneration, one's desires and affections are changed into desires for God's kingdom and righteousness. This

⁴⁵WJW, 1:533-534. One could infer from Wesley's statement here that Christian perfection is impossible in an individual sense. It requires the community.

⁴⁶Ibid., 644.

is an important move, for it shows the point at which individual dispositions “elevate” or coalesce into something transcending individuality. The next step in this sermon is crucial. When Wesley talks about the “all things being added” of verse 33, the reader’s mind conventionally runs to one’s own basic needs. This is true for Wesley as well, but with one significant difference—it aims at the advancement of the kingdom: “‘And all these things’ shall be added unto you: all things needful for the body; *such as measure of all as God sees most for the advancement of his kingdom*,”⁴⁷ (emphasis added). In Discourse Eight Wesley states that Christians should think of their treasures on earth solely in terms of the Kingdom of God. Everything that God gives Christians should be thought of in terms of how to advance the Kingdom.⁴⁸

We can now put together two ideas in order to exemplify this process toward communal perfection. Singularity of purpose is ordered by godly affections that flow from the change of heart worked in the believer’s life through the Spirit’s work of regeneration and sanctification. Wesley then applies the notion of singularity of purpose to fulfilling the characteristics and commands of the Kingdom of God. The holy tempers and affections of individual persons “elevate” to the corporate or communal level, because all believers thus under the shaping power of the Spirit share the mind of Christ and are being renewed in the image of God. They are being joined together in a particular kind of community that demonstrates the saving purposes of God in the world. In other words, they are living out the principles of God’s kingdom. A Christian’s intentions and purposes are thus to be aimed at making visible the characteristics of God’s kingdom. The only way to give full vent to these new and God-given and grace-enhanced intentions happens in and through a particular kind of community, one that reaches beyond its boundaries to offer God’s reconciling love to the world. Therefore, the individual qualities that Wesley associated with Christian perfection, while rooted in the individual Christian life, necessarily find full expression in the collective as the distinguishing marks of the Kingdom of God.

We proceed, then, with a search of specific comments from Wesley on the church to show the linkage with all that has gone before. This is part of the challenge because Wesley so easily moves back and forth

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid., 612-631.

between addressing something like religious affections and then the corporate impact of the Christian witness as they give evidence of these virtues.

Communal Perfection, the Kingdom, and the Church

Wesley's "first written summary,"⁴⁹ "Of the Church,"⁵⁰ did not occur until 1785 and likely was in part a response to criticism he received for ordaining Methodist preachers for America. He describes the church both as "a company of believers" and as the whole Body of Christ around the world. There he emphasizes qualities of the church that match well with his summaries of Christian perfection. Again he uses Philippians 2:5 as his orienting concept: "We are called to walk, first, 'with all lowliness;' to have the mind in us which was also in Christ Jesus; not to think of ourselves more highly than we ought to think, to be little, and poor, and mean, and vile in our own eyes."⁵¹

The church is made visible, therefore, in the real world where and when Christians together demonstrate the mind of Christ. This does not imply, of course, that all Christians must be of the same opinion. It does imply that we will be committed to the same end, the realization of the Kingdom of God in this world (humbled, certainly, by a recognition of the tenacity of sin and evil). The mind of Christ must involve the desire to do God's will and the determination to see that will effected in daily life and, for the church to be the church in its fullness, these affections must be expressed communally.

The "mind that was in Christ" is key to making the church holy. Thinking about the four classic marks of the church (one, holy, catholic, and apostolic), Wesley declares flatly that we must think of the church as holy because holy she is. In other words, the church is holy not merely by virtue of position or relationship, but also by virtue of the renewing power of God's Spirit at work in her members, making her actually holy. The church demonstrates holiness because God is in fact making her holy. Thus Wesley states, "The church is called 'holy' because it is holy; because every member thereof is holy, though in different degrees, as he

⁴⁹So Albert Outler describes the sermon in his introductory notes. See *WJW*, 3:45.

⁵⁰The text for this sermon is Ephesians 4:1-6, with the series of "ones," i.e., "one Lord, one faith, one baptism. . . ."

⁵¹*WJW*, 3:53.

that called them is holy.”⁵² He does not, at this point, explain in what manner we are to understand how the holiness of the church is expressed, but rather turns to the mission of the Kingdom summarized in Matthew 5:14: “‘Ye are the light of the world!’ Ye are ‘a city set upon a hill, and cannot be hid. O let your light shine before men!’”⁵³

We thus find in the sermon “On Perfection” a hint of the kind of corporate manifestation of Christian perfection that is inherent to a description of the church as holy. In this sermon Wesley states again that Christian perfection can be summed up in the word “love.”⁵⁴ Characteristically stringing Bible verses together, he refers to 1 Peter 1:15, re-stating the notion of holiness—“universal holiness—inward and outward righteousness—holiness of life arising from holiness of heart.”⁵⁵ In making this summation, he concludes: “When what was then devoted [at baptism] is actually presented to God, then is the man of God perfect.”⁵⁶ Wesley then moves to an explicitly corporate expression of holiness. Jumping from the idea of presenting our bodies as a living sacrifice according to Romans 12:1, he goes to 1 Peter 2:5: “To the same effect St. Peter says, ‘Ye are a royal priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ.’”⁵⁷ In Wesley’s characteristic way he runs from scriptural text to scriptural text, pulling together ideas that he wants to include in explaining Christian perfection. One finds it very interesting that he sees fit to include a corporate metaphor—the spiritual priesthood. One could infer, then, that Christian perfection is not fully demonstrated until it typifies the way the Body of Christ exists and functions in the world.

These excerpts from Wesley’s sermons show how easily he moves back and forth from an individual scope for the doctrine of Christian perfection to a corporate or collective one. An inner logic thus exists in Wesley’s thought that necessarily ties individual Christian perfection to the wider group, a logic that leaves the doctrine unfinished unless one expressly connects it to the church and considers how Christian perfection provides vision for the nature and behavior of the whole group.

⁵²WJW, 3:55-56.

⁵³*Ibid.*, 56-57.

⁵⁴Outler comments that one can find “more than half a hundred summations” of this doctrine in Wesley’s writings. See WJW, 3:74, footnote 19.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 3:75.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 76.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

The corporate view of perfection suggested in this paper comes also from Wesley's sermon on schism. He writes: "It is the nature of love to unite us together,"⁵⁸ suggesting again that as Christians respond to God's love they are drawn together into a community penetrated by God's love. Conversely, loss of love is the root of schism, "[which] brings forth evil fruit; it is naturally productive of the most mischievous consequences. It opens a door to all unkind tempers, both in ourselves and others."⁵⁹ Schism effectively represents the loss of perfection because it means loss of community. It is the *via salutis* going backwards. Wesley spells out the consequences in this sermon—prejudice and prejudicial comments about others, lying and slandering, Christians losing their faith. Worst of all, these unholy tempers hinder the presentation of the Gospel, i.e., the mission of the church. Wesley laments:

And what a grievous stumbling block must these things be to those who are without! To those strangers to religion! Who have neither the form nor the power of godliness! How will they triumph over these once eminent Christians! How boldly ask, 'What are they better than us?' How will they harden their hearts more and more against the truth, and bless themselves in their wickedness! From which possibly the example of the Christians might have reclaimed them, had they continued unblameable in their behavior. Such is the complicated mischief which persons separating from a church or society do, not only to themselves, but to that whole society, and to the world in general.⁶⁰

Again we see the connection between individual affections and their corporate characteristics and effects. The train runs both ways. If, in response to God's love, we take on the mind of Christ in lowliness and patience, loving God and neighbor, the quality of our relationships with fellow members of the Body of Christ demonstrates God's loving purposes for the world. Mission happens—people are redemptively drawn into the community and the world's problems are effectively addressed. If, on the other hand, Christians' loss of love (springing from unholy affections and tempers) fractures the Body, the work of mission is

⁵⁸"On Schism," *WJW*, 3:64.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 65.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 66.

undone. In fact, we become effective witnesses against the Gospel; we are working at cross purposes with Christ.

Even though this section ends with a somewhat negative description of the church, it does point out how the nature of relationships within the Body of Christ have an effect on the ministries of the church. I state here something obvious to anyone connected to the church. What is not always so clear is that, for Christians in the Wesleyan tradition, growth in grace and the expectation of full salvation in this lifetime must be applied to the whole church, not just to a select group of super saints within the Body. It challenges us to focus on the nature of relationships within the church and reminds us that our relationships either demonstrate our appropriation of and participation in God's Kingdom or our opposition to it. To the extent that we manifest the Kingdom summarized in such familiar phrases as love for God and neighbor, being renewed in the image of God and having the mind of Christ, the church becomes a powerful tool for the revelation of God's saving purposes in the world.

Implications for Missiology

To return to a positive description of the corporate and missional implications of Christian perfection, possibly one of the most explicit can be found in Discourse Four of the Sermon on the Mount. It starts with classic Wesleyan language regarding holiness: "The beauty of holiness, of that inward man of the heart which is renewed after the image of God, cannot but strike every eye which God hath opened—every enlightened understanding."⁶¹ Here we see a familiar collection of ideas. Wesley is concerned to make clear that "holiness" captures a set of characteristics that by nature motivate believers to reach out to others in need of holiness. The "beauty of holiness" effectively shows the qualities of the Kingdom of God to one who, by prevenient grace, has had his/her eyes opened and is ready to hear and see the gospel. Christianity, then, is characterized by much more than cultivating inward virtues within individual Christian lives. Wesley simultaneously thinks in terms of individual virtues in *corporate* and *missional* terms. This important point comes home in the example Wesley gives:

There is no disposition, for instance, which is more essential to Christianity than meekness. Now although this, as it implies

⁶¹WJW, 1:531.

resignation to God, or patience in pain and sickness, may subsist in a desert, in a hermit's cell, in total solitude; yet as it implies (which it no less necessarily does) mildness, gentleness, and long-suffering, it cannot possibly have a being, it has no place under heaven, without an intercourse with other men.⁶²

In other words, the attitude of meekness “demonstrated” in solitude is not meekness at all. It does not exist apart from relationship and interaction with other people. Furthermore, meekness is one of the qualities that shows to the world the very nature of the church. Christians are the salt of the earth and light of the world. So, Wesley envisions a particular kind of social interaction. The Christian will demonstrate meekness to people quite taken up by the world (i.e., those living in darkness) and they will see the “beauty of holiness” at work. God the Spirit will work preventively in the “worldling” to stir up desires for godliness and draw him/her to the source of that holiness. As the entire sermon makes clear, the whole reason for Christianity as a religion is *missional*. Individual virtues serve this larger good and can only be shown *in community*.

Wesley carries this missional, other-directed theme throughout the sermon. It is so pervasive that we include, as succinctly as possible, the whole range of relevant comments:

- “Salt, by nature, seasons all that it touches.”
- “It is the divine savour which is in you to spread to whatsoever you touch . . . that whatever grace you have received of God may through you be communicated to others.”
- “So long as religion abides in our hearts, it is impossible to conceal it.”
- “Your holiness makes you as conspicuous as the sun in the midst of heaven.”
- “Ye may not flee from men, and while ye are among them it is impossible to hide your lowliness and meekness and those other dispositions whereby ye aspire to be perfect, as your Father in heaven is perfect. Love cannot be hid any more than light; and least of all when it shines forth in action, when ye exercise yourselves in the labour of love, in beneficence of every kind.”

⁶²Ibid., 534.

- “[It is God’s design that] every Christian should be in an open point of view; that he may give light to all around. . . .”⁶³

The “light shining” is love—for God and for neighbor, a classic description of Christian perfection and here shown to be an essential component of the church and its mission.

The communal impact of Wesley’s descriptions of both Christian perfection and the characteristics of the Kingdom of God can be seen in the experiences many people had in attending class meetings. They became the place of many conversions. Here one finds empirical demonstration of how the group dynamic has more impact than individual expressions of Christian perfection. In these class meeting experiences, one sees, even if only at times in fleeting ways, people acting together in community to show singularity of purpose and intent—to love God and neighbor and to be wholly devoted to God. For example, William Watters, an early American Methodist preacher, told of one class meeting in which all in the group felt the presence of God in a particularly strong way: “We were so filled with the love of God . . . that we lay prostrate at his footstool.” At a subsequent meeting, another strong manifestation occurred: “For an hour and a half we all continued constant in prayer and supplication to be saved from sin.”⁶⁴ Such descriptions often catch our attention because of the dramatic and sometimes extreme and bizarre manifestations. Looking at Watters’ observation nonetheless reveals the underlying focus and intent. Here we see, in the reference to the love of God and the desire to be free from all sin, the classic Wesleyan aim of Christian perfection. Communal experiences in class meetings became the primary venue in which person’s lives were dramatically changed, both in terms of initial conversions and for full cleansing from all sin.⁶⁵

A number of scriptures have surfaced during the course of this study that provide conceptual orientation for Wesley’s thoughts regarding Christian perfection, the Kingdom of God, and the church’s mission. Since God’s commands have been transformed into promises in the Gospel dispensation, they become descriptions of the community that is formed around them. Therefore, all the scripture injunctions to be perfect as God in heaven in perfect, to love God and neighbor, to have the mind of Christ

⁶³Ibid., 537, 539, 540.

⁶⁴Wigger, *Taking Heaven by Storm*, 85-86.

⁶⁵Ibid., 88.

in lowliness and humility, and to demonstrate our being Christian by our love for one another, all become not merely theoretically possible but fully expected. They are the criteria by which the church is to be judged. Moreover, when the church makes these holy affections visible in real, day-to-day life, it naturally participates in God's mission to reclaim and restore the whole world.

If I have made a valid claim for a church collectively going on to perfection, what does this have to do with mission? Stephen Green asks a similar question in reference to the Church of the Nazarene:

What does holy living mean in relation to the church as community, and as its mission? If it has to do only with personal piety, then holy living cannot be the mission of the Church. This type of private holiness would be totally self-serving and could not be included in an understanding of the mission of the people of God. So what must "through holy living" mean? *It has to mean something that happens within the community of faith that expresses the tangibility of the kingdom of God for the world* [emphasis added]. This Kingdom is nothing less than a society in which "perfect love" is experienced and expressed.⁶⁶

Given what we have seen in looking at a portion of the Wesley corpus, and in agreement with Green's insight, I have argued that Christian perfection is more than just the description of a mature Christian. It also describes a mature church. Christian perfection is corporate (relational), therefore missional. As people are renewed in the image of God, the relational aspect of that image is renewed as well. Renewal in God's image means a new mind with new affections. Pre-eminently it means love. Love motivates for mission. This grace-filled affection, more than obedience to the Great Commission or a prophetic call to work for justice, as crucial as these challenges are for the church's ministry, effectively and in a sustained way compels the church toward mission.

One direction that future work might take, in order to consider the implications of this "ecclesial perfection," would be to consider vows of church membership. The United Methodist vows, for example, are understandably grounded in ecumenical awareness. Might we find a way to help people remember that, in becoming a member of the Body of Christ,

⁶⁶H. Ray Dunning, ed., *A Community of Faith* (Kansas City: Beacon Hill Press, 1997), 49.

they are joining a “peculiar people,” a “kingdom of priests and a holy nation?” Might the vows need to make a commitment to God’s mission more explicit, pledging, for example, all our resources in service to God’s kingdom? Might they do so by asking new church members if they expect to be made perfect in this lifetime and helping them (in a prior membership class) to understand the implications of such a pledge for church membership?⁶⁷ There is nothing presently in these vows, other than the question regarding loyalty to the United Methodist Church in upholding and underwriting its ministries, that are distinctively Methodist.⁶⁸

Admittedly, a programmatic step of this sort would have stiff ramifications. This paper represents no desire on the part of the author to introduce unattainable behavioral standards or new legalisms, nor to re-inflate some sort of party spirit. In spite of legitimate concerns about being realistic and avoiding the sort of perfectionism sometimes associated with Christian perfection, one cannot shake the fact that this doctrine played such a prominent role in Wesley’s theology. His thinking is filled with confident assertions that this doctrine applies first to the Methodist movement and quite possibly to the whole church. As we do, mission as the practical, tangible, and transformative demonstration of love for neighbor never loses its steam.

⁶⁷Ordinands in the United Methodist Church are still asked the questions, “Are you going on to perfection?” and “Do you expect to be made perfect in love in this lifetime?”

⁶⁸Methodists might need to re-consider Wesley’s Rules for the United Societies and the Rules for Select Societies as fodder for thinking about church membership.

ETHICAL DIALOGUE: TRINITARIAN EXTERNALITY AS A PATTERN FOR EVANGELISM AND MISSIONS

by

Eric R. Severson

Just over five hundred years ago one of the more terrible edicts in Christian history was delivered by the Spanish monarchy. It was a message to the Jewish people of Spain, and a few years later to the Jews in Portugal: leave, convert to Christianity, or die. What Christian does not cringe at the very thought of this method of evangelism and missions? Today the use of violence to coerce non-Christians into embracing Christianity appears to us utterly absurd, unreasonable and unethical. Christians widely denounce the practices of the Inquisition and the attempts to use violence for the purpose of conversion in any political, social, or religious setting.

John Wesley in Georgia

Within the Wesleyan tradition we can take some comfort in our theological distance from the people who have historically committed the Nazi-like crime of using violent force for religious conversion. John Wesley, a missionary himself in his expedition to Georgia, clearly headed for Georgia with no intent of using violence to win the souls of the Native Americans living in and around Savannah. Perhaps led astray by the romanticist concept of the “noble savage,”¹ Wesley was disappointed in

¹The romanticist philosophical ideas of Rousseau were popular in Wesley’s day, claiming that “men in a state of nature do not know good and evil.” Rousseau believed that the further humankind advanced from the primitive state the further it moved away from the pure “justice” of human beginnings. See Ernest Baker, Sir; John Locke; David Hume; Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract: Essays by Locke, Hume and Rousseau* (London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 195-196.

his interactions with these people and with their unwillingness to admit that they were both “heathen” and in need of the salvation that Wesley sought to bring them. His lack of success as a missionary has been attributed to many factors,² but Wesley makes several statements about these “heathen” people later in his life that provide remarkable insight into the puzzling failure of his mission to Native Americans.

In his essay on original sin, Wesley makes extended reference to “heathen” people all over the world, and his comments on the “heathen” in America reveal the perspective that Wesley brought with him to Georgia and maintained for the rest of his life.³ He says, “If they do not worship the devil appearing in person . . . certainly they worship the most vile and contemptible idols . . . their whole worship is at once the highest affront to the divine, and disgrace to the human nature.”⁴ Wesley clearly did not approach the Native American people with an interest in two-way discourse or enlightening conversation. He had established that they were “all (I could never find exception) gluttons, drunkards, thieves, dissemblers, liars,”⁵ and therefore there was nothing to be learned from such people. Clearly, Wesley had a rather contemptible opinion of the Native American “heathen.” He had gone to *teach* the “other,” not to be *taught*. He went to *encompass* the “other” with his version of the gospel for the sake of saving the soul of the “other.”⁶

While Wesley was well-meaning in his missionary endeavor, his failures are probably best attributed to his inability to truly *converse* with the

²Chief among them is the fact that his missionary endeavor preceded his Aldersgate experience.

³John Wesley, *The Works of John Wesley*, Vol. 9, 239 ff. This essay on “Original Sin” was written around 1756, long after Wesley’s “Aldersgate Experience.”

⁴*Ibid.*, 241-242. Wesley speaks here of the “Indians” of the “northern provinces.”

⁵*Ibid.*, 242. Wesley speaks here of the “Indians” in the “southern provinces.”

⁶He states in this essay that he “never knew a Heathen yet who was not slave to some gross vice or other. Bad as nominal Christians are, I cannot yet place them on a level with the Heathens; not even the mild, courteous, conversable Heathens who border on Georgia.” From his perspective in England Wesley proceeds to describe the miserable inadequacies of the heathen lifestyle worldwide. Of the sciences they “know as much as their four-footed brethren,” elsewhere calling them “accomplished animals.” The heathen world of Africa, Wesley contests, lacks justice and morality and the American heathen are scarcely better. Their huts are less adequate than “English dog kennels,” their clothing is inadequate, and they “have not the least conception of any part of philosophy.”

Native Americans. One wise Native American said to Wesley: “[Your God] will not teach us while our hearts are not white.”⁷ Puzzled by this closed attitude toward God’s Word, Wesley soon concluded that he had no obligation to continue his missionary attempts until “a door is opened to the Heathens.”⁸

Since these shortcomings in the life of Wesley are far overshadowed by the magnitude of his positive impact on Christianity, including missions and evangelism, this introduction is not intended to darken our opinion of Wesley.⁹ Nevertheless, Wesley’s choice to objectify, judge, categorize, and label the “other” survives within Wesleyan circles as more than just vestiges of a dying myth.¹⁰ The violation of the “other” in evangelism and missions is alive and well today. Though not with sword and bullet, missionaries and evangelists frequently take another sort of weapon into the battle for “souls.” Coercive, objectifying, de-facing speech is equally effective as a weapon for the conquest of the “other.” The process of correcting this problem is more significant than a simple shift in terminology. These questions pertain to the way the evangelist and missionary approach the “other” and the ethical treatment of the “other” within the encounter.¹¹ The way the “self” approaches the “other” is a theological and ethical category, perhaps the supreme theological and ethical category, and an area in which even Wesley can be improved.

We will first turn to the implications of God as Trinity on missions and evangelism. Based on the ethics of God’s relatedness toward creation, we will critique the use of totalitarian discourse in outreach and evangel-

⁷John Wesley, *The Works of John Wesley*, Vol. 9, 239ff.

⁸John Wesley, *The Works of John Wesley*, Vol. 1, 59. He did not depart Georgia *solely* because of his lack of success with the Native Americans. His twelve-count indictment for defamation of character and sad story of unfulfilled love certainly contributed to his exit from Georgia. Nevertheless, Wesley does make these statements.

⁹This paper as a whole could be seen as a conversation with Wesley’s doctrine of prevenient grace, which forces us to look at the “other” in a radically different light.

¹⁰As Jürgen Moltmann discusses in *Experiences in Theology*, “the myth of unclaimed property” continues to have damaging effects on human societies today. Unclaimed property, whether people, places or things, “belongs to whoever takes possession of it.” Jürgen Moltmann, *Experiences in Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000), 222.

¹¹By evangelists and missionaries I mean “evangelistic Christians and missionary Christians,” not just professionals.

ism. Finally, it will be suggested that true respect for the “other,” respect for one’s own narrative, and respect for the eschatological potential of the encounter demand that we reexamine the way we view missions and evangelism.

Evangelism, Missions, and the Doctrine of the Trinity

When Karl Rahner wrote that “the immanent Trinity is the economic Trinity, the economic Trinity is the immanent Trinity”¹² he could not have realized how many different ways his words would be interpreted. What “Rahner’s Rule” has accomplished is a heightened awareness of the necessity of preserving the unity between God’s being and God’s economy. The understanding of the Trinity that is operative here is based on the ecstatic outward movement of God toward creation.¹³ Whereas the Trinity frequently has been perceived as a static unity from which God then chooses to initiate contact with the world, many have suggested recently that God’s existence is *Being for the other*; that God’s movement toward creation as Trinity is not a secondary property of a static Triune existence, but the very essence of what we mean by Trinity. What we discover in the economy of God reveals God truly.¹⁴ Therefore, the doctrine of the Trinity is not first about God’s static, stationary being, but instead about the Father’s active, self-extending missions of Spirit and Son.¹⁵

¹²Karl Rahner, *The Trinity* (New York: Seabury Press, 1974), 11.

¹³This has been the contention of my 2000 and 2001 contributions to the Wesley Theological Society meetings, so I will not dwell on this point extensively here.

¹⁴For this reason it is unwise to hypothesize about an “internal” nature of God apart from the activity of God within the revelatory narrative. The very act of revealing is an economic movement, preventing us from speaking of God outside of God’s economy. The attributes of God *not* knowable from God’s economy should be attributed to the category of “divine mystery.”

¹⁵Moltmann claims that Unitarian models for God validate dominion and domination, whereas Trinitarian theology emphasizes community and communion. Jürgen Moltmann, *The Trinity and the Kingdom of God* (London: SCM Press, 1981). Hendrikus Berkoef says it concisely: “Spirit-Son-Father. These three names in their togetherness point to a movement of the one God, not a static community of three persons. *The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1964). Geoffrey Lampe states, “The ‘Spirit of God’ is to be understood, not as referring to a divine hypostasis distinct from God the Father and God the Son or Word, but as indicating God himself as active towards and in his human creation . . . his personal outreach.” *God as Spirit* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1977), 11. Both quotations found in Michael Lodahl, *Shekinah Spirit: Divine Presence in Jewish and Christian Religion* (New York: Paulist Press, 1992).

The doctrine of the Trinity describes the ecstatic movement of God for the sake of the world. The Father sends Son and Spirit for the purposes of reconciliation, relationship, and communion.¹⁶ The importance of this argument to the current topic is the *primacy* of missionality in the life of God. The missional undertaking of God for the sake of the world does not occur at a secondary level within the life of God.¹⁷ God does not first exist as a static unity, and then enter into relationship and missions as an afterthought. The statements “God is” and “God comes” occur simultaneously and refer to the same reality.¹⁸

Clearly our perspective on missions, reconciliation, outreach and communion can be patterned after no better example than God. For this reason the Trinity represents our first example of missions, the first place we should turn for our paradigms of evangelism and missions. If the movement into mission is central to the nature of God, it can be no less central within the nature of the Christian and the nature of the church. The act of moving ecstatically toward the “other” is therefore neither an optional nor secondary movement for the church. Previous models of the Trinity gave primacy to God’s static being and made God’s coming secondary. This doctrine leads to churches that believe that they must first “get things figured out on the home-front,” then proceed to the tasks of missions and evangelism. But this practice robs missions and evangelism of the primacy they deserve in the church based on the primacy they receive in the very nature of God. Ecstatic movement for the sake of com-

¹⁶These categories, reconciliation, communion, *koinonia*, etc., are often established as primary through various philosophical or religious standpoints. What is important here is that the Trinity is our essential confession of the New Testament faith, not a doctrine produced to support democracy, liberation theology, process theology, narrative theology or any other particular theological or political perspective.

¹⁷This would mean, as Ted Peters has asserted, that *temporality* exists within the divine life, that God cannot be spoken of apart from the temporal dimension of God, specifically the temporality of the incarnation and God’s spiritual presence in the world. *God as Trinity* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1993). This also means that God does not exist unmoved and stationary beyond the temporal flux (as the “Unmoved Mover” of Hellenism). God as Trinity is *God immersed* in relationship with creation.

¹⁸This means that God would have approached creation for the sake of communion regardless of the Fall. Even without the sinful turn of humanity away from God, God would still come for the purpose of communion with God’s creatures.

munion with the “other” should be the primary mode of operation for God’s church, since it is the *modus operandi* of God.¹⁹

But we can do better than simply establish that God’s ecstatic movement requires the church to be similarly extroverted. Our goal here is not to simply establish that missions and evangelism are of vital importance but to establish *how* missions and evangelism can occur without violation of the “other.” The doctrine of the Trinity does more than simply remind us that reconciliation and communion are of primary importance. The doctrine of the Trinity is more importantly the ultimate illustration of how the “self” should relate to the “other.” The doctrine of the Trinity is therefore the foundation for ethics, and our first resource in discovering how we should approach the “other” with the hope of extending God’s gracious coming into the life of the “other.” The doctrine of the Trinity is the key to missional encounter with the “other.”

The ethics of the Triune God are nowhere better illustrated than in the incarnation, life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. It is in the movement of God toward humanity, God’s “other,” that God establishes with ultimate clarity God’s method of relatedness, God’s “approach” to the “other.” The incarnation is first of all God’s choice to *go*, to be present in the midst of the very suffering and sinfulness of the world. In the incarnation, God does not force Godself violently upon humanity, but dwells with humanity as loving presence. In the ministry of Jesus we also find an absence of verbal and emotional violence.²⁰ Jesus preaches and teaches with the deepest respect for the “other,” particularly the “other” that religious society had left most disenfranchised.²¹ The trial and execution of Jesus is the most profound example of the encounter between God and

¹⁹This charge to the church is confirmed by the Great Commission and illustrated throughout Acts and the Epistles. It would be very helpful to this thesis to explore several passages that exhibit the self-extending movement of God for the sake of the “other.”

²⁰Jesus does not demand compliance or repentance, nor does Jesus use emotionally or psychologically manipulative language to convince people to embrace his message. Jesus speaks with passionate persuasion, not manipulative coercion. Again, this statement warrants significant evidence from Scripture, but the constraints of this paper do not allow for this.

²¹Joel Green claims that the table habits of Jesus reveal the methodology of his call for repentance. “In welcoming such persons as these social and religious outcasts to the table, Jesus is only giving expression to the expansive grace of God.” Joel Green, “To Turn from Darkness to Light,” *Conversion in the Wesleyan Tradition* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2001), 110-111.

God's "other." Rather than react with violence, verbal or physical, Jesus chose vulnerability and even death. At the risk of over-generalization, it can be said that the coming of God in Jesus Christ is a persuasive rather than coercive divine movement. God comes in Christ with the gentle offer of reconciliation and communion, never demanding compliance. Instead, God lives faithfully, lovingly and redemptively in the presence of the "other."

The example of God's Spirit is equally powerful. The Spirit/Shekinah of God appears in both New and Old Testaments as divine *empathy*, the compassionate presence of God amid the suffering of humanity.²² In God's Spirit, God remains present with the church, guiding but not controlling the movements of the church. God as Spirit converses with us and meets us in worship, always gently persuading us toward better relationships with God and each other. The Spirit of God is consistently present, consistently conversant, and empathetically loving.

In short, God comes to *discourse* with humanity, entering into conversation with humanity for the sake of the "other."²³ The nature of that discourse in Jesus Christ carries with it a deep respect for the otherness of the "other." The Trinity illustrates the way we should relate to one another, therefore providing the foundation of ethics.

Western Totalitarian Discourse

Particularly in Western society, this form of "Trinitarian" discourse is both foreign and illogical. Western discourse focuses on the conquest of the "other," the assimilation of the "other," and the death of all things different for the sake of the "same." Typical Western dialogue bears little resemblance to God's dialogical choice in dealing with creation. Emmanuel Levinas delivers a remarkably similar critique of Western philosophy and Western discourse. According to Levinas, the "Greek" way

²²For an excellent discussion of Shekinah as God's persuasive, empathetic presence, see Michael Lodahl, *Shekinah Spirit: Divine Presence in Jewish and Christian Religion* (New York: Paulist Press, 1992), 51ff.

²³And, in some sense, God enters conversation for God's own sake. God creates and comes out of God's desire for communion. This intentionally implies that God depends on God's relationship to the "other" in the process of God's own becoming. Both Pannenberg and Moltmann see the doctrine of the Trinity as God's open invitation to take part in the eschatological becoming of God. The "completeness" of God therefore only occurs in the ultimate consummation of God's Kingdom.

of thinking makes discourse a totalitarian enterprise. He characterizes such conversation as doing violence to the “other” by “reducing the Other to the Same.”²⁴ Discourse is therefore an attempt to subdue, encompass and neutralize the “other.”²⁵ When entering into discourse, Levinas claims that Western thought attempts to converse in a non-allergic²⁶ fashion, preventing the “other” from having any ultimate impact on the conversant. Without necessarily embracing the entirety of Levinas alternative,²⁷ his assessment of the damage done by this “violent” form of dialogue is not difficult to affirm.²⁸

In this Western, non-allergic form of dialogue, the “other” is classified, contained and labeled by the “same” even as the encounter begins. The encounter will never be a true discovery of newness or even a discovery of the “other;” regardless of the outcome of the encounter, the veracity of the “same” will be presumed and confirmed. The encounter is robbed of its potential for creativity, newness, and genuine dialogue. The “other” is therefore approached violently and oppressively. The goal of the “same” is to conquer, neutralize, encompass and assimilate the “other.” For Levinas, this reduction of the “other” to the “same” is actually impossible. The “other” eludes my grasp, never being encompassed or totalized by my grasp of the “other’s” reality: “I cannot make him mine, nor reduce him to my cognition of him.”²⁹ The event of discourse is

²⁴Kevin Vanhoozer, ed., *The Trinity in a Pluralistic Age* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 1997), 44. Vanhoozer’s ideas and terminology in this article stimulated much of the discussion in this paper.

²⁵Emmanuel Levinas, *Totality and Infinity* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1961), 43.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 51. Non-allergic is Levinas’ clever term to describe dialogue that refuses to be impacted by the “other.”

²⁷Reasons to be cautious with some of Levinas’ conclusions abound. For instance, he is so concerned with the “other” in his philosophy that he has been accused of a “supremacy of the other.” As a Jewish philosopher, Levinas is highly critical of Christian theology, and dismissive of theology in general. Perhaps these facts make his contribution to Christianity even more significant.

²⁸Karl Rahner’s “anonymous Christian” blunder is a grand example of totalizing dialogue. Though Rahner was attempting to make a statement about God’s grace, by labeling people of other religions “anonymous Christians” he was totally neutralizing all dialogue. Lucas Lamadrid, “Anonymous or Analogous Christians? Rahner and von Balthasar on Naming the Non-Christian,” *Modern Theology*, Vol. 11 (July 1995), 363-384.

²⁹Levinas, 194ff.

therefore a potentially violent, stripping event, where the “other” is objectified in the encounter. This is the same totalitarian attitude toward truth that led to the Inquisition. Whether or not such totalitarian thinking eventuates in *physical* violence, the “other” may be violently overcome in the dialogical process.

Our method of *apologetics*, the ultimate form of Western discourse, deserves careful attention if we hope to prevent evangelism and missional endeavors from committing this sort of violence against the “other.” We must take a close look at the well-traveled road of Western apologetics, carved out by Justin Martyr and deepened to a trench by many centuries of Western apologetical thought. The problems created by this particular approach to the “other” are many, but we will focus here on two particular shortcomings of approaching the “other” in traditional apologetical fashion. The first shortcoming is the untold violence this approach does to the “other;” the second is the untold violation of the very message that is pushed in totalitarian fashion.

That the “other” becomes victimized by Western totalitarian dialogue is unmistakable. John Wesley went to Georgia with the wholehearted intent to save “souls,” but the result of his mission was deep confusion on the part of the Native Americans he encountered. Wesley discovered that his method of missions and evangelism was met with reluctance and resistance on the part of the “heathens.” Because the Native Americans would not embrace his message at face value, he concluded that they were heathens whose worship was “the highest disgrace to the divine.”³⁰ Wesley’s goal in traversing the Atlantic to be a missionary was clearly to *convert* rather than to truly converse with the Native Americans. He had no intention of “being called into question by the ‘other’” he faced in America.³¹ Though Wesley, noble of heart, never intended an unethical affront to these Native Americans, he did approach them with a totalitarian mindset. The people he encountered were *labeled* (heathens) and thereby neutralized. They were stripped of their right to truly converse by the totalitarian approach of the missionary. The encounter, for Wesley, was entirely non-allergic. Concluding that the Native Americans had closed the door to dialogue, he left Georgia.

John Wesley serves as an excellent example because of his well-aimed intentions in his missionary endeavors. Like the Triune God he

³⁰John Wesley, *The Works of John Wesley*, Vol. 9, 242.

³¹Levinas, 43

served, he chose to *go* rather than stay in England. But he did not approach the people of America with the openness, vulnerability, and respect with which the Triune God approaches creation. Consequently, his missionary attempts were unsuccessful at best, confusing and misleading at worst. Well-intentioned evangelists and missionaries frequently repeat Wesley's mistakes. We approach missions and evangelism with grand intentions and noble willingness to sacrifice comfort for the sake of the Christ, but we bring to these endeavors the same Western mindset that characterizes our typical discourse. This mindset can force havoc and confusion on the very "other" whom we wish to help.

The second problem is that the goal of apologetics is always to *convince* the "other" to accept one's own position. In this process the message being offered is almost always streamlined, stripped of all things illogical, mysterious or difficult. The message that has the best chance of acceptance in this type of encounter is the simplest and least offensive. The palpability of the message is tantamount, for an impalpable product is unlikely to sell. The Christian message has often been reduced to the most acceptable and least offensive message possible, scarce in peculiarities and distinctiveness.³² The God presented in these conversations is dissociated from the irony of the manger, the agony of the cross, and the mystery of the Trinity.³³

Among the first doctrines avoided is the doctrine of the Trinity, which at times rings of polytheism and at other times sounds like pure foolishness. The Trinity, which ought to celebrate the rich reality of God's manner of relating to creation, becomes a cumbersome and unwanted doctrine. The relegation of the doctrine of the Trinity to this level deprives Christianity of its most unique contribution to world religions.³⁴ Christianity is also robbed of the great example that the Trinity presents for relationships in general, as well as for evangelism and missions. The doctrine of God's persuasive, Triune love ought to be the standard for human rela-

³²Leslie Newbigin claims that this God of apologetical discourse is "not the God who encounters us in the Bible, and certainly not the Blessed Trinity." "The Trinity as Public Truth," *The Trinity in a Pluralistic Age* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 1997), 4.

³³*Ibid.* In the process of reducing Christianity to its least offensive version, the message of Christ is obviously severely compromised.

³⁴This statement is only true if one places the cross at the heart of the Trinity (as Moltmann calls for in *The Trinity and the Kingdom of God*) and accepts that the Trinity is an expression of the sacrificial coming of Father in Son and Spirit.

tionships and outreach; but when “God as Trinity” is left out of our theology of missions and evangelism the result is a dangerous step away from the essential mystery of Triune grace.³⁵

Even well-meaning evangelists and missionaries with a firm commitment to the Christian message are very much in danger of continuing a dark history of Christian totalitarian discourse. This form of evangelism and missions, even when effective, is unethical and does not reflect the way of the Triune God. This form of dialogue stands in complete contrast to the way God as Trinity chooses dialogue with creation. The Triune self-communication of God approaches creation with utmost respect for the otherness of the creatures and for the moment where God and God’s “other” converse.³⁶

Too much of Christian history has been written by those who have used the gospel to encompass and totalize the “other.” The price we pay for this checkered history is significant. We will now explore how a renewed respect for the “other” and a symmetrical respect for one’s own narrative can breathe new life into missions and evangelism, and how this movement is essential for Christianity to remain truly eschatological.

Emmanuel Levinas and the Face of the Other

When Levinas levels his stimulating critique of Western dialogue, he does so on the basis of a profound respect for the “face of the ‘other.’ ” This “face,” for Levinas, represents that which can never be conquered or overcome in the process of dialogue.³⁷ The “face of the ‘other’ ” represents an essential difference between the self and the “other” which can never be fully dissolved. Levinas calls this indomitability of the “face” the “transcendence of the other.”³⁸ The key for Levinas is the encounter of language, where the worlds of “same” and “other” converse with openness to the Infinite. Totalitarian discourse is closed off to the Infinite. The

³⁵The form of Christianity that missionaries, evangelists and apologicians often find the most “presentable” for quick conversion is a simple, monadic God, perhaps a nearly “unitarian” form of Christianity that shies away from mystery and irrationality. Newbigin, 8.

³⁶For this reason, *creatio ex nihilo* is essential to Christianity. God cannot respect the otherness of a creature who is not truly “other” than Godself. *Creatio ex nihilo* is important because it insures the otherness of God and the otherness of God’s creatures. Levinas, 63.

³⁷Levinas, 194ff.

³⁸Levinas, 48. The concept of transcendence permeates *Totality and Infinity*.

“same” enters into such discourse with all the answers and no true openness to the ultimate mystery of the “other’s” otherness. Totalitarian discourse aims to overcome “otherness” with “sameness.” Levinas claims that the loss of the transcendence of the “other” is also the loss of the transcendence of the one who is Wholly Other. When we enter into totalitarian dialogue we not only violate the “other,” but in the process nullify the great possibility of being opened to the Infinite within the encounter.

In totalitarian discourse “truth” is possessed by the “same” and presented to the “other” without respect for the face of the “other.” But if we are Trinitarian Christians, we must hold that truth and ethics are bound up in the Triune social relationship of God to creation.³⁹ The only ethical way of approaching the “other” is a face-to-face approach, where the “other” is approached with great respect because of the transcendence of the “other” and the possibility of encountering the Infinite within the discourse. This openness to the “face of the ‘other’ ” has reciprocal vulnerability. We enter into to such a linguistic exchange in an act of vulnerable generosity, truly “giving” ourselves to the “other.” We simultaneously receive the generosity of the “other,” and in this non-coercive encounter both parties are inevitably changed.⁴⁰

It is vital that we note that Levinas’ description of the ethical relationship bears remarkable similarity to the ethics of God’s approach to creation. The Trinity, which places God’s relationality at the heart of God’s nature, is the story of God’s non-coercive approach to creation. God approaches the creature in Spirit and Son as loving, empathetic presence. In the Christ of the cross God beckons humanity toward a better future, but this “beckoning” occurs with deep respect for the “otherness” of God’s creatures. Forcefulness is absent from God’s Triune approach. So committed was Jesus to the “face of the ‘other’ ” that he died with the epitome of *other-centeredness* on his lips: “*Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.*”⁴¹ Jesus looked into the “faces” of his executors

³⁹I am using here the *terminology* of Levinas, though as a Jewish philosopher he would not agree with the Trinitarian application. Levinas, 72.

⁴⁰Jürgen Moltmann claims that in true dialogue “there can be no valid evasion of difficult questions by recourse to a higher authority not open to critical inspection by others.” Jürgen Moltmann, “Is ÔPluralistic Theology’ Useful for the Dialogue of World Religions,” in Gavin D’Costa, ed., *The Myth of Christian Uniqueness Reconsidered: The Myth of a Pluralistic Theory of Religions* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1990), 153.

⁴¹Luke 23:34.

and maintained a deep respect for their otherness even as they crucified him. Jesus does not label them, does not condemn them, does not judge them, but simply longs for them to embrace the Infinite that is available in the brief moments of their relationship with him. In a society that labeled and condemned the sick, the orphaned and the sinful, Jesus refused to label and judge. Instead, he lived “face-to-face” with such people, bringing the reality of the Infinite to their totalized and de-faced existence.⁴² The life and ministry of Jesus and the overall life of the Trinity are a self-giving life that communicates through the generous act of self-extension.

Our use of the Jewish philosopher Levinas will have its limitations for our Trinitarian theology, but the deep and profound respect for the “other” called for by Levinas bears remarkable similarity to the methodology of the Triune God. Although it would be useful to linger at this point to confirm and defend this contention, we must move to answer questions that this thesis will inevitably raise. How can one remain Christian if the encounter with the non-Christian “other” will certainly change me? How can one hope to bring the gospel of Jesus Christ to non-Christians with such profound caution in respect to the otherness of the “other?” Should the Christian church be content to peacefully co-exist with the “others” represented by various religions and even atheism? In order for this *Trinity-inspired*⁴³ respect for the “other” to have any practical import for missions and evangelism it must first address these important questions.

At Home with Oneself

True dialogue, undertaken as self-giving respect for the “other,” will inevitably call into question one’s own message. Kevin Vanhoozer claims that in such dialogue we “must be prepared to put our most cherished beliefs at stake.”⁴⁴ Should a Christian risk such dialogue? Before discussing *how* this sort of dialogue should be used in inter-religious conver-

⁴²I use the phrase “de-faced” because of the profound loss of identity that comes from totalitarian dialogue. The totalized are only apparently “de-faced,” since it is ultimately impossible to de-face the “other” (according to Levinas, 197). The “face” of the other will always elude my grasp. I can nevertheless de-face my neighbor by approaching in linguistic (or literal) violence.

⁴³This emphasis is important, since I believe this theology is first of all inspired by the doctrine of the Trinity, not by the philosophy of Levinas, Paul Ricoeur, or Jacques Derrida, all champions of the “face” of the other in their philosophy and ethics.

⁴⁴Vanhoozer, 46.

sation (as well as missions and evangelism) we must first establish the tantamount importance of being “at home with oneself.”⁴⁵ Dialogue is only possible when both parties approach the encounter with enough stability that they can participate in the self-giving process. If we again appeal to the example of God as Trinity, the giving of the Son and Spirit come as sacrificial self-giving from the love of the Father, who profoundly represents God *at home with Godself*. In the economy of God’s self-giving, Spirit and Son proceed from the Father, entering into the temporal world for the sake of communion. The missions of Son and Spirit are only possible because they indeed have an origin, a place that Son and Spirit are *from*.

Similarly, we cannot enter into healthy dialogue if we do not speak *from* somewhere. The least helpful partner in dialogue is a partner with no origin whatsoever, a person without a foundation *from* which dialogue can occur. It is vital that the Christian entering into dialogue with one who is “other” do so with an adequate foundation. This is not merely to prevent the Christian from being swept away by whatever is presented by the “other,” but also because a sense of *from-ness* is essential for real dialogue to occur.⁴⁶ In the case of missions and evangelism this means that one must enter into dialogue as one solidly founded in the narrative one lives.⁴⁷ This does not mean that we should enter into dialogue without doubts or uncertainties, but that we must realize that Christianity is *narrative*. Narrative articulates how an individual identity is manifested within the whole of history.⁴⁸ Christianity is not a loose collection of isolated beliefs, but a *story*, the story of the Father’s *Triune* self-giving of Son and Spirit.

In *Resident Aliens* Stanley Hauerwas and William Willimon call Christians to live in a Christian “colony,” a place *from* which Christians

⁴⁵Levinas, 110.

⁴⁶Even if one enters into dialogue without knowledge of a subject or opinion on a matter, that person can still speak *from* this open state. Being “at home with oneself” in this case would be an ability to weigh and consider the presentation of the “other” in light of one’s foundational narrative.

⁴⁷The traditional style of apology is dangerous because it requires that one solicit the “other” with only the most rational and comprehensible aspects of one’s message. If our goal is true encounter and *conversation* with the “other,” and not just *conversion* of the other, we dare not present the “other” with a Christianity devoid of its mysteries and irrationalities.

⁴⁸Paul Ricour, *Oneself as Another* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 143.

can encounter culture and society with a solid foundation.⁴⁹ They call for the church to be deeply ingrained in its own story.⁵⁰ Christians should see themselves as aliens in this world, separate and “other” than the world. The thesis of their argument is that the church should “be the church rather than transform the world.”⁵¹ Hauerwas and Willimon present an excellent example of being *at home with oneself*. They are aware that Christianity cannot hope to be effective in its encounter with culture if Christianity tries to impact culture from the inside-out. They realize that Christianity must begin its conversation with culture from a solid foundation in its own story. True dialogue with the world requires that Christians enter into dialogue *from* the narrative-formed community.

The efforts of Hauerwas and Willimon should be applauded. Before the Barthian tradition called the church back to revelation the church had spiraled far away from being *at home with itself*. The liberal theological tradition initiated by Schleiermacher, and pursued by many theologians over the last two centuries, leaves Christianity with no foundation *from* which to dialogue. Christianity can be distilled of particularity until it reveals only a few key, “universal” truths.⁵² These “universal” truths do not create the Christian community, and they do not call for the church to be “separate” from the world. We must wholeheartedly agree with Hauerwas and Willimon that the church must be *separate* (transcendent) from the world in order to be effective in the world. The church has nothing to say unless it is *at home with itself*. So the first order of business is indeed *being the church*, but the process of being God’s church is a relational, world-encountering process. Hauerwas and Willimon have correctly called the church to be *at home with itself*, but the community they propose is a close-minded community, a people of *totality*.⁵³

⁴⁹Stanley Hauerwas and William Willimon, *Resident Aliens* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1989).

⁵⁰Hauerwas and Willimon contend that Christianity is deteriorating because of its integration into society.

⁵¹Hauerwas and Willimon, *Resident Aliens*, 38.

⁵²George Lindbeck claims that love loses all meaning apart from a specific context. The context of Christian “love” (often the kernel of truth extracted by liberal theology) is the Christian narrative of the Father’s empathetic love expressed in the coming of Son and Spirit.

⁵³Even when the church encounters the world (Hauerwas and Willimon certainly encourage missions and evangelism), the world is encountered as “enemy” in the war to save Christianity.

The problem with the theology behind *Resident Aliens*⁵⁴ is that in their overwhelming desire to ensure that Christianity is at home with itself, Hauerwas and Willimon have defined the church *against* the “other” of the world, labeling the world the church’s “enemy.”⁵⁵ The culture around Christianity becomes the categorized “enemy” with which Christianity dare not participate in vulnerable dialogue for fear of corruption. In the end, Hauerwas and Willimon desire a one-sided dialogue with the “other,” a dialogue that *offers* a story and a way of life, but declines the presentation of the “other” (one who is external to the narrative) without consideration. The encounter is stripped of its ability to convey the Infinite, and God’s ability to speak through the church’s encounter with the “other” is muffled by the church’s own categorizations. In a sense, this form of Christianity is a little *too* at home with itself, and therefore sealed off to the real possibility of God’s presence in the encounter with the “other.” The church must do more than *be*; it must *dialogue* as a church profoundly “at home with itself.”

Dialogue and the God of the Future

If we are to approach the “other” with deep respect for the presence of God within the encounter, we must approach the human “other” with both respect and openness. With such a tentative, non-aggressive approach to the “other,” should we dare to even suggest that Christianity has something to offer? The very narrative with which we are to be *at home* calls for a people who move “breathlessly”⁵⁶ outward (as the Father moves outward in Son and Spirit). The call to extend the gospel of Jesus Christ to the world is as unmistakable as any emphasis in Scripture. How can we be so committed to evangelism and missions and still maintain such respect for the transcendence of the “other”? This can only occur because the Christian narrative *beckons* the Christian to both “consider

⁵⁴Hauerwas has since published several ecclesiological works that reflect at least a moderate adjustment of the particular aspects of the theology of *Resident Aliens* that I critique here. My critique is specific to *Resident Aliens* and *Where Resident Aliens Live* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996).

⁵⁵In *Where Resident Aliens Live* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996), 34, Hauerwas and Willimon recommend that we learn “to recognize our enemies before we try to love them.”

⁵⁶Hauerwas and Willimon, *Resident Aliens*, 52.

others better than yourself”⁵⁷ and “go unto all the world.”⁵⁸ We can shirk neither the Triune methodology of relating nor the command that we must *go* and relate. The answer can only be *ethical dialogue*, encounter with the “other” that offers the narrative of Christ without transgressing the face of the “other.”

In *ethical dialogue* my obligation is to offer my narrative passionately and personally. The subject matter of the dialogue is more than facts or ideas; it is the very story *from* which we come. It is the reason we can enter into dialogue. At the same time, we listen carefully to the “other,” allowing the face of the “other” to call us into question. The act of dialoging is an act of leaning toward the unknown, the Infinite, the future. In the dialogical encounter it is expected that the voice of God is audible, and through that encounter God can enhance God’s church. When the “other” is truly heard we are forced to reconceptualize and rearticulate *our narrative* in order to participate in genuine dialogue.⁵⁹ In a sense, we are called endlessly to mold, shape, and reshape the vocabulary of our message in order to adequately and ethically address the one who is “other.”

At first it sounds offensive to suggest that the Christian message be constantly rearticulated in new forms and new vocabulary. But the example of God as *Trinity* reminds us that God does not hesitate to change God’s approach, rearticulate the divine message, and even become *incarnate* for the sake of the “other.” The Christ event, central to God’s Triune existence and the Christian narrative, is a story of relentless *dialogue* and *encounter* for the sake of the “other.” The alternative of simply *being the church*, satisfied with the internal vocabulary of the community, is a tempting and noble alternative. But this way of being the “church” is not faithful to the Christian narrative, which is a narrative of self-giving, self-affecting, vulnerable dialogue with the “other.” It is therefore un-Christian to evade self-risking dialogue, for the God of Jesus Christ constantly initiates such dialogue, and does so with unmistakable care for the otherness of the “other.” God as Trinity is decidedly extroverted, oriented toward the “other” in faithful dialogue.

⁵⁷Philippians 2:3b. This language and whole “kenotic hymn” in Philippians 2 sound remarkably similar to the treatment of the “other” called for by Levinas.

⁵⁸Matthew 28:19.

⁵⁹John Cobb, “The Religions,” in Peter C. Hodgson and Robert H. King, eds., *Christian Theology: An Introduction to Its Traditions and Tasks* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 371.

Jesus initiates dialogue with humanity for the sake of initiating God's coming Kingdom. The coming of God in Christ is an eschatological event, an event that does not present salvation as a totality but as an unfolding reality. Clearly in this broken and shattered world the Kingdom of God is not yet consummated. Hence the coming of God, though initiated, is an open and future reality. Is God finished with the process of guiding God's church into this future? Are the applications and ramifications of Christianity exhausted? If not, then how does the church hear God's voice calling it into the future? Certainly the church should continue the process of finding its identity through dialogue within the community-forming narrative of Christ. But this narrative is alive because it continues to *dialogue* and *encounter* the "other" who is foreign to the narrative. If we are "aliens," then we must be *conversing* aliens, conversing with cultures, religions, and philosophies that challenge us and call us into question. Dialogue is both *commitment* to one's narrative and *wager* of the same.⁶⁰

Openness to the Infinite in the "other" is openness to the infinite (un-totalized) future that God calls us toward. Totalitarian dialogue with those who are "other" to Christianity mires the church in the present, refuses the voice of God calling the church to the future, and causes untold damage to the one who is totalized in dialogue. We should therefore enter into vulnerable, respectful dialogue for our own sake, for the sake of the "other," for the sake of the future, and in emulation of the Triune God.

Missions and Evangelism

What is coercive language? How is the "other" commonly transgressed in the process of missions and evangelism? Coercive language speaks to the "other" without respect to her or his otherness. Coercive language seeks to encompass and neutralize the "other," to assimilate the "other" within the encounter. Common forms of coercive dialogue include emotional manipulation, de-facing categorization, judgmental condescension, and many more.⁶¹ Jonathan Edwards, for instance, used language dripping with fearful imagery and hellish horrors to coerce his

⁶⁰Vanhoozer, 46.

⁶¹Each of these transgressions (and many more) warrants extensive treatment that is impractical here.

listeners into a state of guilty frenzy, thus manipulating the emotions of the “other.”⁶² Coercive language, often laden with fear and guilt, is unethical language. It stunts the gentle and persuasive work of God’s Spirit and attempts to rush the moment of “conversion.” In this sense, the use of fear and guilt vandalize the work of God in the life of the “other.”⁶³ Lord forgive our many transgressions!

In order to encourage such deep respect for the “other” in missions and evangelism, an adjustment in vocabulary is necessary, though this problem is much deeper than terminological. The concept of “conversion” heads the list among terms ripe for revision. The idea that we evangelize for the purpose of “converting” the “other” to our narrative is itself a violent and totalitarian approach to outreach. The “converting” moment belongs not to the evangelist or missionary but to God. As Christians we ought to seek dialogue and conversation with the “other;” vibrantly, passionately, and persuasively living the reality of our narrative in the presence of the “other.” We should then trust the process of “conversion” to the Spirit of God.

⁶²The fear of hell, a frequent tool of totalitarian evangelism and missions, is often introduced to the encounter with little respect for the emotional state of the “other.” This “power play offense” of the totalitarian Christian often taints and sours the Christian message with overtones of fear and self-loathing. Rather than truly hearing the Christian narrative, the “other” is labeled as “hell-bound” and emotionally distraught by the encounter. Is this the way the Triune God encounters the “other?”

Edwards writes, “The God that holds you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider, or some loathsome insect over the fire, abhors you, and is dreadfully provoked: his wrath towards you burns like fire; he looks upon you as worthy of nothing else, but to be cast into the fire; he is of purer eyes than to bear to have you in his sight; you are ten thousand times more abominable in his eyes, than the most hateful venomous serpent is in ours.” Jonathan Edwards, *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God* (Albany, OR: Sage Software, 1995), 12.

This does not mean that “hell” and “death” are not proper topics for discourse. But we should be exceedingly careful about *introducing* these fears for the sake of conversion. We should handle topics that have the potential of being emotionally coercive with the utmost care. This is the Golden Rule applied to inter-religious dialogue and evangelism.

⁶³This is ultimately an affront to God’s prevenient grace. The totalitarian speaker who uses forceful language to create a “need” for God’s intervention overlooks the fact that prevenient grace is already at work in the life of the “other.” We show the Spirit of God little respect when we attempt to coercively force the “other” to feel that need. For an excellent treatment of the use of the “fear of death” in Wesley, see Kenneth Collins, “John Wesley and the Fear of Death as a Standard of Conversion,” *Conversion in the Wesleyan Tradition* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2001), 56ff.

Levinas uses the term “caress” to describe the ethical encounter between the “same” and the “other.”⁶⁴ A facial caress is an invitation to vulnerable intimacy. To caress the face of the “other” is to instantly become vulnerable.⁶⁵ The caress occurs in deep respect for the otherness of the “other.” The caresser cares deeply about the encounter, perhaps cannot live without it. The caresser is passionate about the message to be conveyed, deeply grounded in a narrative that makes the caressing moment possible. The caresser approaches the encounter with expectation, looking keenly into the face of the “other” for a reaction, listening empathetically to the narrative from which the “other” rejects or embraces the caress. The caressing encounter harkens to the future and invites the Infinite future into existence. It cares too deeply about the “face” of the other to act forcefully and cares too deeply about the potential within the caressing encounter to rush the response of the “other.”

Again, such a mentality and methodology for Christian evangelism and missions appears absurd and unreasonable until one remembers the “caress” of a child born in a manger, the gentle, non-invasive, non-evasive presence of God. It will be argued that such a non-invasive form of evangelism and missions will have little effect on a culture accustomed to piercing totalitarian discourse. But should this be the measure by which we judge our methodology? Instead, we should boldly live as the Triune God lives, gladly entering into sacrificial relationships, boldly presenting the Christ narrative that gives us life, listening openly and expectantly to the voice of the “other,” and ultimately listening openly and expectantly for the voice of God.

⁶⁴Levinas, 259.

⁶⁵This gentle, unthreatening form of dialogue seems perhaps too innocent and childlike. But Jesus himself describes the Kingdom of God in childish terms. “Unless you turn and become like children, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven. Whoever humbles himself like this child, he is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven.” Matthew 18:1-4. The child is a supreme example of openness and responsiveness to the “caress” of the “other.”

THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH IN ACTS: INCLUSIVE OR EXCLUSIVE?

by

Thomas E. Phillips

Over the past few years I have tried to integrate my professional life as a scholar of Luke-Acts with my confessional life as a Wesleyan theologian. I have become increasingly convinced that the primary task of biblical scholars and theologians is to read grace into the complex and ambiguous affairs of human existence. Human life is inherently marked by complexity and ambiguity. Very few matters are characterized by the kind of clarity and simplicity that makes a single and coherent interpretation possible. Unfortunately, as the significance of a matter increases, not only does its potential for complexity and ambiguity often increase proportionally, but so also does the likelihood that we will want to ignore that complexity and ambiguity. My work as a Wesleyan Lukan scholar has taught me that one's appreciation for the proportional relationship between significance on the one hand and complexity and ambiguity on the other hand is the true test of one's intellectual and theological integrity. One striking example of such proportionality between significance and ambiguity can be found in an examination of the mission of the church as portrayed in Acts. We now engage in such an examination.

The Inclusive Mission of the Church in Acts

Within popular Lukan scholarship, appeals to the "inclusive" or "universal" character of Luke and Acts have almost become a mainstay. As an example of this trend, this paper will examine Naymond Keathley's

recent book, *The Church's Mission to the Gentiles*.¹ I have chosen this volume both because it is representative of a much broader stream of scholarship and because Keathley, a professor of New Testament at Baylor University, is a respected New Testament scholar.

After briefly introducing the normal range of background issues typically associated with the critical study of Acts, Keathley divides the book into three sections entitled "Prelude to the Gentile Mission" (Acts 1:1-6:7), "Transition to the Gentile Mission" (Acts 6:8-15:35), and "Triumph of Gentile Christianity" (Acts 15:36-28:31).² He then proceeds with a sequential reading of Acts. In his analysis of Acts 1:1-6:7, Keathley notes that all of the earliest Christians were "types of Jewish Christians,"³ but then suggests that the dispute between the Hellenists (Greek speaking believers) and the Hebrews (Aramaic speaking believers) in Acts 6:1-7 "is somewhat transitional. It sets the stage for the next part of the story, the expansion of the Christianity beyond Judaism, by introducing us to two of the main characters in that development. . . . Stephen and Philip."⁴ The history of the earliest (Jewish) Christian community in Jerusalem is, therefore, treated largely as mere "prelude," which is preparatory for the subsequent "development" of the church.

In his analysis of the second section of Acts (6:8-15:35), Keathley celebrates as the church begins to experience "the full realization of Jesus' commission" and undergoes a "significant type of transition: from a totally Jewish church to one that *includes* Gentiles."⁵ Having thus introduced the theme of inclusion into his reading, Keathley quickly expands his treatment of this inclusion theme both negatively and positively in his analysis of Stephen's speech (Acts 7:2-53). Keathley explains that Stephen's speech regarded the temple as "a symbol of Jewish exclusiv-

¹Naymond H. Keathley, *The Church's Mission to the Gentiles: Acts of the Apostles, Epistles of Paul* (Macon: Smyth & Helwys, 1999).

²Scholarly analyses of the structure of Acts often proceed along lines very similar to the outline provided by Keathley. For a more sophisticated and nuanced analysis of the structure of Acts, see William H. Malas, "The Literary Structure of Acts: A Narratological Investigation into Its Arrangement, Plot, and Primary Themes" (Ph.D. diss., Union Theological Seminary and Presbyterian School of Christian Education, 2001).

³Keathley, *Mission*, 22-23.

⁴Keathley, *Mission*, 23-24.

⁵Keathley, *Mission*, 25, emphasis added.

ity”—and clearly exclusivity is a negative trait in Keathley’s view.⁶ In his reading, Stephen is a key transitional figure in Acts. He explains:

The witness of Stephen marked the first departure from narrow Jewish *exclusivity* within Christianity. He was the first in the church to realize, or at least to verbalize, the *universal implications* of the gospel: just as God cannot be confined to one place [i.e., the temple], God cannot be limited to one people [i.e., the Jews].⁷

For Keathley, “the heart of the matter” in the persecution of the church which followed Stephen’s death was “the inclusive nature of God” as practiced by Gentile Christians and rejected by most Jews and Jewish Christians.⁸ For Keathley, even the adoption of the name “Christian” by the believers in Antioch symbolizes the inclusive and universal nature of the Christian gospel. In regard to the term “Christian,” Keathley explains:

“Christian” is formed by adding a Latin ending (*ian*) to the Greek translation (Christ) of a Hebrew concept (Messiah). The name itself has a universal quality. How fitting, then, that this *inclusive* name was first used in the city where the Gentiles were included among the believers for the first time.⁹

Throughout Acts 10 it is said that “Luke is primarily concerned with the expansion of Christianity to and among the Gentiles”¹⁰ and Peter’s vision in Acts 11 serves to demonstrate that the church’s “turning to the Gentiles is indeed ordained by God.”¹¹ For Keathley, all of the events in 6:8-15:35 are “transitional” because they record “the major innovations that transform Christianity from a Palestinian Jewish sect into an *inclusive* world-

⁶Keathley, *Mission*, 28.

⁷Keathley, *Mission*, 29, emphasis added. It is, of course, ironic that the “transition to Gentile Christianity” which Keathley celebrates is, in fact, *exclusive* by definition. In spite of the “universal implications of the gospel,” “Gentile Christianity” *excludes* Jews by definition.

⁸Keathley, *Mission*, 29.

⁹Keathley, *Mission*, 32, emphasis added.

¹⁰Keathley, *Mission*, 36. The pre-Christian Saul is described as one who is “determined to stamp out the proponents of this inclusive movement [Christianity]” and as who wishes “to extend his vendetta [against inclusive Christianity].” See Keathley, *Mission*, 37.

¹¹Keathley, *Mission*, 35.

wide movement.”¹² In summarizing his discussion of “the transition to Gentile Christianity,” Keathley says:

With the ascendancy of the role of Paul, the establishment of a precedent for outreach in the first missionary journey, and the decision of the Jerusalem Conference confirming the inclusion of the Gentiles, we are prepared for the triumph of Gentile Christianity that follows.¹³

Having been prepared for the expansion of the church in the first half of Acts, Keathley examines the second half (15:36-28:31) under the rubric of the “triumph of Gentile Christianity” and explaining that

Luke’s purpose is to help the church to clarify its self-understanding, to explain how it came to be the predominantly Gentile movement it was at the end of the first century. Running through his narrative is the idea that nothing could stop the spread of the gospel. Luke’s story is that the gospel triumphed in spite of religious, nationalistic, racial, geographical, cultural, and political barriers.¹⁴

Keathley correctly notes that the book of Acts is about the church’s identity and self-understanding and he also recognizes the problem that Jewish rejection creates for those seeking to understand the church’s identity. Thus, he insists:

Striving to clarify the church’s self-understanding at the end of the first century, Luke has reiterated that Christianity became predominantly Gentile not because the church had neglected the Jews in its missionary outreach, but because Jews usually had rejected the gospel.¹⁵

Later, in very similar words, Keathley emphasizes the theme of Jewish rejection by reiterating that

Luke demonstrated from the life of the church and from the career of Paul that Gentile Christianity emerged triumphant, not because of the failure of the church to reach out to the Jews, but because of the rejection of the gospel by the Jews

¹²Keathley, *Mission*, 46, emphasis added.

¹³Keathley, *Mission*, 46.

¹⁴Keathley, *Mission*, 49.

¹⁵Keathley, *Mission*, 53.

and the overwhelmingly positive reaction of the Gentiles to it.¹⁶

Keathley's reading of the mission of the church as portrayed in Acts closes with a clear celebration as he insists that

Luke's story is bigger than that of Peter or Paul. It is bigger than that of any individual local church. . . . His story is that in spite of overwhelming obstacles, the gospel could not be stopped. God's salvific intention was realized in these early crucial decades because of the unlimited vision of Stephen, Philip, Paul, and others like them who were willing to defy racial, religious, cultural, and geographical boundaries to proclaim the good news to all who would listen. Triumph came to the church because of the willingness of these to undertake a mission to the Gentiles!¹⁷

One need not be overly sensitized to the tendency of Christian historians toward triumphalism to detect its presence within Keathley's reading of Acts. For Keathley, the church presents the inclusive and universal proclamation of the gospel, and the Jews, in their exclusivity and narrowness, chose to exclude themselves from the benefits of this proclamation. Admittedly, Keathley offers a coherent and plausible reading of Acts that is widely shared. It is, however, not without problems.

The *Not-So-Inclusive* Mission of the Church in Acts

Not everyone regards the mission of the church as seen in the book of Acts to be nearly as inclusive and universal as does Keathley. In fact, many contemporary Lukan scholars insist that the mission of the church was characteristically intolerant and exclusive to the point of anti-Judaism.¹⁸ One of the most outspoken proponents of this not-so-inclusive reading of the mission of the church as in Acts is Jack T. Sanders, professor emeritus of religious studies at the University of Oregon. Although

¹⁶Keathley, *Mission*, 61.

¹⁷Keathley, *Mission*, 61.

¹⁸For the most important recent summary of Lukan scholarship on this issue, see Erich Gräßer, *Forschungen zur Apostelgeschichte* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 37-43.

Sanders has written extensively on the subject¹⁹ and has therefore provided a rich variety of writings from which to discern his thought, the essential elements of his reading of Acts can be illustrated by examining his essay "The Jewish People in Luke-Acts."²⁰

In light of the tendency to celebrate Luke's writings as inclusive in nature and universal in concern, Sanders begins by asking a probing question:

What *does* Luke think of the Jewish people? Of course, we are not thinking of such items as whether they are rich or poor, or what their manners were like. We are thinking of such issues as these: Does Luke see the Jewish people as guilty in the death of Jesus or not, as irredeemably opposed to the will of God or not, as recipients of the salvation of God or not?²¹

Developing his answer to this question, Sanders suggests that one is wise "to separate speech from narrative in Luke-Acts."²² Sanders then proceeds to examine the speeches and sayings in Acts to see how they portray the Jews. After presenting a careful and nuanced reading of the various passages, Sanders concludes:

Jesus, Peter, Stephen, and Paul [the main speakers] present in Luke-Acts, *in what they say on the subject*, an entirely, completely, wholly, uniformly consistent attitude toward the Jewish people as a whole. That attitude is that the Jews are now and always have been willfully ignorant of the purposes and plans of God expressed in their familiar Scriptures, that they

¹⁹Among Sanders' many writings on the issue of anti-Judaism in Luke and Acts, his most important works are "The Jewish People in Luke-Acts," *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People*, ed. Joseph B. Tyson (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988), 51-75; *The Jews in Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987); "Can Anything Bad Come Out of Nazareth, or Did Luke Think That History Moved in a Line or a Circle?" *Literary Studies in Luke-Acts*, ed. Richard P. Thompson and Thomas E. Phillips (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1998), 297-312; "The Parable of the Pounds and Lucan Anti-Semitism," *Theological Studies* 42 (1981): 660-69; and "The Salvation of the Jews in Luke-Acts," *Luke-Acts: New Perspectives From the Society of Biblical Literature Seminar*, ed. Charles H. Talbert (New York: Crossroads, 1984), 104-27.

²⁰Jack T. Sanders, "The Jewish People in Luke-Acts," *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People*, ed. Joseph B. Tyson (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988), 51-75.

²¹Sanders, "The Jewish People," 52, emphasis from Sanders.

²²Sanders, "The Jewish People," 58.

always have rejected and will reject God's offer of salvation, that they executed Jesus and persecute and hinder those who try to advance the gospel and that they get one chance at salvation, which they will of course reject, thus bringing God's wrath upon them, and quite deservedly so. There is not a single saying, story, or speech put into the mouths of the four leading speakers in Luke-Acts that contradicts this position, and it is repeated over and over in every way possible ad nauseam.²³

Although some readers will suspect that Sanders has engaged in rhetorical excess, a close reading of the respective speeches and sayings will bear out that Sanders has provided a coherent and plausible reading of these texts. There is certainly merit to his contention that "regarding the *speeches and sayings* in Luke-Acts . . . 'Luke has written the Jews off.'"²⁴ If Sanders' analysis of the discourse in Luke-Acts leaves one feeling uneasy with Keathley's emphasis upon the inclusive nature of the church's mission in Acts, Sanders' analysis of the narrative in Luke-Acts will do little to allay that uneasiness. Sanders acknowledges that the narratives in the early chapters of Acts provide a largely favorable portrayal of the Jews, but he insists that these favorable portrayals must be read in light of the plot development in Acts, a development which portrays "a picture of *increasing Jewish hostility and opposition to the gospel*."²⁵ Sanders insists:

The attitude the Jews in Jerusalem demonstrated *in nuce* in the Stephen affair is therefore revealed in its fullness in historical development in the course of Paul's ministry. The truth of Jewish opposition to the gospel that is announced by Stephen just prior to his being martyred is borne out in a historical progression in the course of Paul's ministry. The accusations are becoming historical reality.²⁶

For Sanders, the story of Luke and Acts narrates the "historical progression" of how "Luke has portrayed the Jews as totally rejecting Jesus, the

²³Sanders, "The Jewish People," 66, emphasis from Sanders.

²⁴Sanders, "The Jewish People," 66, emphasis from Sanders. The saying that "Luke has written the Jew off" is taken from Ernst Haenchen to whom Sanders gives appropriate recognition.

²⁵Sanders, "The Jewish People," 71, emphasis from Sanders.

²⁶Sanders, "The Jewish People," 71.

church, and the message of salvation and as thereby bringing on themselves God's condemnation and punishment."²⁷

If Sanders is even partially correct in his assertion that the discourse in Luke and Acts has "written off" the Jews from the beginning and that the narrative has come to share in and illustrate that perspective, then it would seem that Keathley's emphasis on the inclusiveness of the church's mission in Acts is in dire need of reexamination. Surely, the book of Acts cannot be radically inclusive and universal in outlook, while writing off the Jews and defining the church as essentially non-Jewish—or can it be?

The Not-So-Inclusive Mission of the Church in Acts . . . and the Inclusive Book of Acts?

In spite of the very different emphases in the work of Keathley and Sanders, we should not overlook the tremendous irony that their readings are really not that much different. Keathley celebrates how the Gentiles are first included in the story and then come to dominate it. Sanders mourns how the Jews are first marginalized in the story and then come to be excluded from it.²⁸ In both cases, Gentiles are included and Jews are excluded from the Christian community. Each reading emphasizes many of the same themes within Acts, but examines these themes from significantly different perspectives. For Keathley, Luke's emphasis on the inclusion of the Gentiles is read from a perspective sympathetic to the Gentiles. His reading therefore celebrates their inclusion. For Sanders, Luke's emphasis on the inclusion of the Gentiles is read from a perspective sympathetic to the Jews. His reading therefore mourns the seeming exclusion of the Jewish people.²⁹ Both readings share the common assumption that the inclusion of the Gentiles within the primary mission of the church leads to the exclusion of the Jews from the saving mission of God. My concern now is

²⁷Sanders, "The Jewish People," 74.

²⁸It must be noted that Sanders does not like the anti-Jewish tendencies he finds in Luke-Acts, but he believes that an honest reading of these tendencies is needed in order to bring about the constructive dialogue which will enable readers to move beyond those anti-Jewish tendencies. See "Can Anything Bad Come Out of Nazareth?" 297-312, esp. 309.

²⁹Sanders, "The Jewish People," 51-58, acknowledges that the mission of the church in Acts remains open to individual Jewish persons who are interested in the Christian message, but insists that Acts has written out the Jewish people as a collective body. For a similar analysis, see Joseph B. Tyson, "The Problem of Jewish Rejection in Acts," *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People*, 124-37.

to examine this assumption and to inquire if the theme of the soteriological inclusion of the Gentiles in Acts must necessarily be read as a soteriological exclusion of the Jews (or perhaps even worse, as anti-Jewish).

In two separate books, Joe Tyson has addressed the issues of Judaism and anti-Judaism in Luke and Acts.³⁰ In the first book of the pair, *Images of Judaism in Luke-Acts*, Tyson asks: “Do the images that are embedded in Luke-Acts convey to the implied reader positive or negative impressions of Jewish religious life and the Jewish people? The answer, of course, is that they convey both.”³¹ Tyson then explains:

The narrative [of Luke-Acts] begins with highly positive images of individual Jewish piety and reverence for the Temple and ends with images of the Jewish leaders and people who are hostile, vicious, and obdurate. But no less striking is the stress at the end of Acts on Paul’s fidelity to Judaism and the harmony between Christian and Pharisaic beliefs. The fact is that deeply ambivalent expressions about Jewish people and religious life pervade Luke’s writings.³²

Since Tyson found great “ambivalence” regarding the Jews and Judaism in his own analysis of these issues in the text of Luke-Acts, he committed the second book of the pair, *Luke, Judaism, and the Scholars*, to an examination of the history of nineteenth and twentieth-century Lukan scholarship on these issues in order to determine how scholars have dealt with the ambiguity apparently inherent within the Lukan texts. Tyson explains that “it is not obvious whether these texts lead readers to be positive or negative about Jews and early Judaism, and this leaves a great deal of room for scholarly interpretation.”³³ Tyson then demonstrates how in the nineteenth century both liberal interpreters of Luke-Acts (like F. C. Bauer and Adolf von Harnack) and their conservative counterparts (like Adolf Schlatter) shared a common assumption that the inclusion of the Gentiles in Acts excluded the Jews from salvation. In the early twentieth century, this interpretive tradition of what Tyson sees as “anti-Judaism” continued to be perpetuated by many of the leading schol-

³⁰Joseph B. Tyson, *Images of Judaism in Luke-Acts* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992) and *Luke, Judaism, and the Scholars: Critical Approaches to Luke-Acts* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999).

³¹Tyson, *Images of Judaism*, 187.

³²Tyson, *Images of Judaism*, 182.

³³Tyson, *Luke, Judaism, and the Scholars*, x.

ars of Luke-Acts (particularly Ernst Haenchen and Hans Conzelmann). In fact, until the devastating events of the Holocaust in the mid-twentieth century sensitized Christian scholars to the potential horrors of anti-Judaism, Christian scholars typically interpreted portrayals of the Jews and Jewish religious life in Luke-Acts in ways that could, by contemporary standards, rightly be called “anti-Jewish.” Tyson explains:

A major change in the character of NT scholarship generally seems to have taken place in the period following the Holocaust. Before 1933-45, most scholars followed the tradition of anti-Judaism, portraying early Judaism as legalistic, casuistic, demanding, dry, and hopeless. After the twentieth-century tragedy of the Jewish people became widely known, NT scholars began to exhibit a more positive attitude toward second-temple Judaism and described it in very different terms.³⁴

Tyson applauds this shift in readings, but reminds his readers that “there are both pro-Jewish and anti-Jewish materials in Luke-Acts” and it is “naïve” to suggest “that anti-Judaism in Luke-Acts is a figment in the eyes of all nineteenth-century scholars, or that those [late] twentieth-century scholars who find Luke to be more benign to Jews are indulging in wishful thinking.”³⁵ In essence, for Tyson (and I would say, for any serious reader of Acts), the highly significant question of anti-Judaism in Acts is, like nearly all highly significant questions, marked by considerable ambiguity and complexity. This ambiguity and complexity (Tyson would say “ambivalence”) is present both within the biblical text itself and within scholarship on that text.

The final question, therefore, becomes: Is there a way to read grace into the ambiguous and complex scholarly task of interpreting the status of the Jews in Acts? I believe that there is. My suggested reading of the mission of the church in Acts is simply this: The mission of the church in Acts is exclusive and Acts has written off the Jews as essentially outside of the mission of the church, but the saving mission of God in Acts is inclusive and Acts has left the Jews in the hands of God where they were before the rise of the church. Let me briefly explain how this reading deals with some of the relevant texts and themes in Acts.

³⁴Tyson, *Luke, Judaism and the Scholars*, 134.

³⁵Tyson, *Luke, Judaism and the Scholars*, 140.

Clearly, in Acts, the mission of the church is to witness to Christ. In the programmatic words in the opening chapter, the disciples hear the prescriptive and predictive announcement from Jesus that “You will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth” (1:8). Also clear in Acts is the church’s proclamation of Christ as the exclusive agent of salvation. As Peter and John boldly proclaimed in a sermon before the Jewish leadership in Jerusalem, “There is salvation in no one else, for there is no other name under heaven given among mortals by which we must be saved” (4:12). Equally clearly, the mission of the church in Acts is emphatically inclusive of Gentiles. When Simeon spoke before the so-called “Apostolic Conference” and insisted that God “looked favorably on the Gentiles, to take from among them a people for his name” (15:14), he gave voice to a persistent and recognized theme of Acts. Nearly as clearly, the Jews are written off from the mission of the church in Acts. On three occasions, Paul tells a Jewish audience that he is turning away from the Jews and to the Gentiles because the Jews have rejected his message (13:38-47; 18:5-6; and 28:26-28).

What remains disconcertingly ambiguous, however, is the all-important question of whether one can find salvation through Christ, *but outside of the church*. Clearly, Acts promotes the basic Christian conviction that salvation comes only through Christ and demands that the church give witness to this conviction. It is decidedly less clear, however, whether or not Acts promotes the early church’s subsequently developed conviction that salvation comes only through the church. In Acts, there is no salvation outside of Christ, but this affirmation does not necessarily entail adherence to the patristic notion that there is no salvation outside of the church. Theologically, this distinction between a soteriology of christological exclusivity and a soteriology of ecclesiological exclusivity is easily justified. Take Abraham as an example. How was Abraham saved? Through Christ? Of course, Abraham was saved through Christ. The church must always proclaim that Christ is the exclusive agent of God’s salvation. To proclaim any other message would be to deny the church’s central confession. But was Abraham saved outside the church? Of course! The church did not yet exist in the time of Abraham. Christ, although not yet incarnate in Jesus of Nazareth, existed as the exclusive agent of salvation in the time of Abraham. Thus, Abraham was saved through Christ, but *outside of the church*—and without a conscious confession of Christ as Lord.

Biblically, specifically in terms of Acts, a similar case can also be made. Two factors are particularly decisive for one's understanding of the soteriological status of Jews in Acts. First, Paul never ceased being a Jew in Acts. Even in the closing chapters, Paul repeatedly insisted, "I am a Jew" (21:39; 22:3) and even "I am a Pharisee" (23:6). Such statements would make little sense if Paul and the book of Acts had written the Jews off in a soteriological sense, that is, if Paul and Acts regarded the Jews as outside the scope of salvation. Second, even Paul's final rejection of a Jewish mission for the church (28:26-28) is framed in terms of Gentile inclusion, but not in terms of Jewish exclusion from the saving mission of God. Paul's final words in Acts were: "Let it be known to you then that this salvation of God has been sent to the Gentiles; they will listen" (28:28). Although this text is often read in a manner which assumes that the salvation which was sent to the Gentiles was also taken away from the Jews, nothing in the context demands such a reading.³⁶ We should not overlook the fact that even after Paul's decisive turn toward the Gentiles, he "welcomed *all* who came to him" (28:30). The message remained open to the Jews who came to the church, even though the Jewish people were no longer a significant focus of the church's mission—the message had been sent to the Gentiles.

In light of these theological and biblical considerations, it seems credible to read the mission of the church in Acts as exclusive, that is, as primarily directed to Gentiles, but to regard the saving mission of God as inclusive of both the church and the Jewish people. As Christians, we, of course, must always witness to our conviction that all salvation comes through Christ. However, when reading Acts, we must also be very careful to avoid the unexamined assumption that the salvation we find within the church comes *only* through the church.

Conclusion

I have reflected above on the mission of the church in Acts and noted the complexity and ambiguity present both within the text of Acts and within the scholarship on that text. I have suggested readings of the

³⁶Marilyn Salmon, "Insider or Outsider? Luke's Relationship with Judaism," *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People*, 76-82, has plausibly argued that the denunciations of the Jews in Luke-Acts are no more harsh than those of Israel's own prophetic tradition. The statements in Acts, therefore, certainly do not require a reading that assumes that God is taking salvation away from the Jews.

mission of the church in Acts and of the saving mission of God in Acts that emphasize the importance of the Christian witness to a soteriology of christological exclusivity without the accompanying claim to a soteriology of ecclesiological exclusivity. Of course, the reading suggested here is not the only credible reading of Acts, but I believe that this reading is appropriate both to the ambiguities of the text and the nature of the Christian witness. I also believe that this reading can be defended as decidedly Wesleyan. We Wesleyans have long affirmed that God's prevenient grace is not limited to the church and that God's prevenient grace is, in fact, actively seeking to save all human beings. While it would be dreadfully anti-Wesleyan to minimize the role of the church in bringing persons to the fullness of salvation in Christ, it is perhaps equally anti-Wesleyan to suggest that the incarnation of God in Christ brought an end to God's saving activity in Judaism.

A THEOLOGY OF URBAN MINISTRY, SUPPORTED BY THE WESLEYAN QUADRILATERAL

by

John E. Stanley

The four pillars of the Wesleyan quadrilateral, Scripture, reason, tradition and experience, strongly support a theology of urban ministry. Commitment to cities should characterize the mission strategy, new church development, and evangelism of Wesleyan/Holiness churches.

Since 1950 many congregations have left the central and inner cities as suburbs expanded. Many churches which have remained in inner or downtown cities are small and struggling. For instance, in December of 2000 and 2001 my wife and I attended two historic Methodist churches in Baltimore. Both resembled tiny retirement centers and were struggling to survive. While African-American churches often moved into neighborhoods when white flight occurred, now affluent minority churches frequently are also leaving downtowns and inner cities and moving to outer-ring neighborhoods and the suburbs. This paper states why the church should be in the inner city. It is meant as an encouragement to those who are in the city and as a motivation to start more urban churches.

Although some have viewed American inner cities as “an urban wasteland,”¹ inner cities never were “urban wastelands” for residents who

¹The phrase appears in Harvie M. Conn & Michael Ortiz, *Urban Ministry: the Kingdom, the City & the People of God* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2001), 168; likewise, Jon C. Teaford speaks of “An Age of ‘Urban Crisis,’ 1964-1979,” *The Twentieth-Century American City*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Johns/Hopkins Press, 1993), 127-150.

lived in them, and it is patronizing to use this term. In fact, cities are homes, work places, playgrounds, schools, and neighborhoods. Many inner cities are experiencing a renaissance after decades of decline, a decline partly due to the government's post-World War II financing of suburban development. Amid this renewal, Wesleyan/Holiness congregations and denominations need an urban theology that will sustain a ministry of presence, evangelism, church planting, and congregational renewal in the cities because people who are in the city or who are returning to the city need the Christian gospel.

Biblical Basis for Urban Mission

Since Acts and Paul provide an adequate biblical basis for valuing the city as a place of mission, I will only draw upon the Book of Acts and Paul's writings.

The City in Luke-Acts. Luke structured his two-volume work so that the conclusion of Luke and the introduction to Acts emphasize the city as a place of ministry. Luke concludes the third Gospel with a post-resurrection appearance of Jesus in which the final words of Jesus in Luke 24:49 contain a promise and a command: "And see, I am sending upon you what my Father promised, so *stay here in the city* until you have been clothed with *power* from on high." Luke promises "power from on high," a power identified as the Holy Spirit in Acts 1:8. With the command to "stay here in the city," Luke posits the city not only as the place where the disciples are to wait for "power from on high," but also as the place where the church's evangelism and expansion will begin. Luke's introduction to Acts repeats what Luke stressed in the conclusion to the Gospel. Acts 1:4 reiterates the essential thrust of Luke 24:49. Luke placed these commands to stay in the city at the close of the Gospel and in the preface of Acts to emphasize his thesis that the church could grow if it obeyed the Lord's twin commands to stay in the city and to receive power from on high.

As a geographical outline of Acts, Acts 1:8 reflects Luke's commitment to the city, "But you will receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem, in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth." Luke's outline designates Jerusalem as the place where the Holy Spirit initially will be received and from whence evangelism and expansion will begin. While church growth commenced in Jerusalem and climaxed in Rome, Luke depicts the

church's mission in cities including Antioch, Philippi, Thessalonica, Athens, Corinth, Ephesus, back to Jerusalem, and on to Rome. Acts imparts two teachings to Wesleyan/Holiness urban missionary strategies. First, as Justo L. González states, "the main character in the Book of Acts is not the apostles, nor even Paul, but the Holy Spirit."² Second, Luke affirms cities as key places for ministry. According to Harvie M. Conn and Manuel Ortiz, "it is no exaggeration to say that the Book of Acts deals almost entirely with cities; missionary work is almost limited to them."³ As the next section shows, Paul's letters reflect a similar pattern.

The City and Paul. Paul was an urban church planter who wrote letters to churches in key cities of the Roman Empire. Wayne Meeks, in *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul*,⁴ argues that Pauline Christianity "was entirely urban. In that respect it stood on the growing edge of the Christian movement, for it was in the cities of the Roman Empire that Christianity, though born in the village culture of Palestine, had its great successes until well after the time of Constantine."⁵ Meeks notes, "Paul was a city person. The city breathes through his language" in contrast to the agrarian nature of many of Jesus' parables.⁶

Scholars unanimously agree that Paul wrote letters to churches in at least five cities, including Thessalonica, Philippi, the cities in Galatia, Corinth and Rome. Whether Paul wrote to the churches in Ephesus and Colossae is disputed, but these letters at least were written by disciples of Paul in the authoritative tradition of Paul, which leads to the conclusion that Paul's disciples continued working in cities. Colossians 4:16 mentions a letter to Laodicea. The significance of these cities must not be overlooked. Antioch, as indicated by Acts 13:1-3, was an early base of Paul; thus joined with his time in Ephesus and Rome, Paul ministered, or

²Justo L. González, *Acts: The Gospel of the Spirit* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 2001), 8. Also, consider G. W. H. Lampe's observation, "The connecting thread which runs through both parts of St. Luke's work is the theme of the operation of the Spirit of God," "The Holy Spirit in the Writings of St. Luke," *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R. H. Lightfoot*, ed. D. E. Nineham (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1967), 159.

³Conn & Ortiz, *Urban Ministry*, 128.

⁴Wayne Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983).

⁵*Ibid.*, 8.

⁶*Ibid.*, 8.

was imprisoned, in three of the four largest cities of the Roman Empire. It seems Paul planned his missionary activity so that he could minister in cities of power and influence. Ephesus, for instance, was a seaport in the province of Asia Minor with a theatre that seated 24,000 people, a stadium, and a temple to the goddess Artemis. Romans 1:15 records Paul's "eagerness to proclaim the gospel to you also who are in Rome." Paul, as indicated in both his epistles and in Acts, set his sights on Rome because it was the capital of the Empire.

As in Luke-Acts, the Holy Spirit is central in Paul's letters. Paul discusses the work and gifts of the Spirit in Rom. 5:5; 8:1-27; 1 Cor. 12:4-14:19; Gal. 5:16-26, and elsewhere. Wesleyan/Holiness exegetes can concur with Gordon Fee who claims, "I believe the Spirit to lie near the center of things for Paul, as part of the fundamental understanding of the gospel."⁷ Lyle Schaller submits that "one of the most significant trends in American Christianity during the last third of the twentieth century has been the rediscovery of the third person of the Holy Trinity . . . while they did not monopolize it, center-city churches led in the rediscovery of the Holy Spirit."⁸ Inner city churches also have led in the rediscovery of the Holy Spirit.

Acts and Paul's letters are planks in the biblical foundation for a theology that values a Spirit-led mission to cities. Further, use of the Bible will occur throughout the presentation of the other three facets of the Wesleyan quadrilateral.

Rational Basis for Urban Mission

Using reason, a second pillar of the Wesleyan quadrilateral, at least five features of cities indicate why it makes sense for the church to con-

⁷Gordon D. Fee, *God's Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994), 8. Fee cites Stephen Neill and N. T. Wright who maintain, "Paul's doctrine of the Spirit is far more central and characteristic than his doctrine of justification by faith," *God's Empowering Presence*, fn 1, 2, from Neill and Wright's *The Interpretation of the New Testament 1961-1986* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 203.

⁸Lyle E. Schaller, *Center City Churches: The New Urban Frontier* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993), 177. Conn and Ortiz err in claiming that "Donald McGavran and C. Peter Wagner "introduced social-scientific perspectives and methods into church planting and church growth in 1970" (*Urban Ministry*, 14). By 1970 Schaller had published several works utilizing social-scientific methods, including his monumental *Planning for Protestantism in Urban America* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1965).

sider cities as primary sites of ministry. Cities are crossroads, cosmopolitan places, economic, educational, political and penal centers. These qualities compel churches to value cities because these aspects of city life vitally influence people.

Cities are Crossroads. People come to cities from diverse places because of what cities offer. Consider the roles of Jerusalem, Thessalonica, and Rome in antiquity. Jews from all over had come to Jerusalem for the festival of Pentecost (Acts 2:9-11). When these religious tourists went home, they took the message and power of Pentecost with them. Thessalonica was located on the Via Egnatia, a major highway which ran from east to west in Macedonia. It also was the Roman capital of Macedonia. The ancient saying “all roads lead to Rome” preserves the idea of cities as crossroads.

To appreciate cities as crossroads in the United States, one only needs to consider the growth along the Interstate 5 corridor in Oregon and southwestern Washington as one moves north from Eugene, to Salem, to Portland, to Vancouver. The majority of Oregonians live along the Interstate 5 corridor. Or, consider the commercial and residential growth in Columbus, Ohio, where Interstates 70 and 75 intersect. Interstate 75 replaced old U. S. 25, which was known as Dixie Highway because of the traffic from the north to the south each weekend as former southerners returned home and then came back up north. In the United States and around the world, the attraction of the city is a magnet drawing people from rural areas. Despite the frequent poverty and poor housing, people come to cities seeking better opportunities and new starts. Tours of the Lower East Side in Manhattan document the waves of Africans, Irish, German, Jewish and Chinese immigrants in the 1800s and early 1900s. Add to that the influx of African Americans to Harlem, Chicago,⁹ Detroit, and other northern cities after World War I.

Immigration and growth continues. *The New York Times* reported that in New York City “over the last decade, the population increased by 456,000 to the unprecedented size of more than 8 million. It is as if all of Kansas City left Missouri to settle somewhere in the five boroughs.”¹⁰ In

⁹St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis. A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City*. Revised & Enlarged Edition, 1 & 2 (New York: Harper, 1962).

¹⁰Dan Barry, “A Man Who Became More than a Mayor,” *The New York Times*, 31, December 2001, sec. A, 12.

2002 there were fifteen “urban agglomerations,” that is, contiguous and densely populated urban areas that are not demarcated by administrative boundaries and are over 11 million people. Two of these are in the United States, two are in Japan, two in India, and three in Latin America.¹¹ While this paper focuses on the United States, it is essential to be aware of the population growth in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Mexico City is growing at a rate of 2% annually,¹² and that rate has decreased from 5% only because other large cities are mushrooming in Mexico. In the New Testament era, Antioch, Rome and Ephesus were three of the largest cities in the Roman Empire. Luke and Paul valued these and other cities as crossroads where people gathered and scattered. That movement facilitated communication of the gospel, as indicated in Rom. 16 where Paul greeted twenty-six persons from different places whom he assumed would read his letter to Rome. Paul’s networking with friends and co-workers in key cities was a missionary strategy. Cities are crossroads where people gather; for that reason, the church needs to be located in crossroads.

Cities are Cosmopolitan Places. Where is the second largest concentration of Mexicans in the world? Where is the second largest center of Guatemalans in the world? Where is the second largest aggregation of Cambodians in the world? Los Angeles is the answer.¹³ Likewise, Arlington County, Virginia, has the second largest concentration of Salvadorens and New York City has the second largest grouping of people from the Dominican Republic. Diana Eck, Director of the Pluralism Project at Harvard University, reports, “Today the percentage of foreign-born Americans is greater than ever before, even than during the peak of immigration one hundred years ago. The fastest growing groups are Hispanics and Asians. Between 1990 and 1999 the Asian population grew 43 percent nationwide to some 10.8 million, and the Hispanic population grew 38.8 percent to 31.3 million, making it almost as large as the black population.”¹⁴ American cities have become internationalized again because of

¹¹“Population of the World’s Largest Cities,” *World Almanac and Book of Facts* (New York: World Almanac Books, 2002), 869.

¹²Keith Pezzoli, *Human Settlements and Planning for Ecological Sustainability: The Case of Mexico City* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1998), 47.

¹³Conn & Ortiz, *Urban Ministry*, 158.

¹⁴Diana Eck, *A New Religious American: How a “Christian Country” Has Become the World’s Most Religiously Diverse Nation* (San Francisco: Harper, 2001), 2.

the 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act which allowed Asians to immigrate to the United States and because of immigration from Latin America. Eck documents that “there are more Muslim Americans than Episcopalians, more Muslims than members of the Presbyterian Church USA, and as many Muslims as there are Jews—that is, about six million.”¹⁵ World missions has come to our cities, requiring strategies for reaching ethnic and national groups.

Luke and Paul experienced a similar phenomenon. Luke’s narrative argues that in an Empire which stressed differences between persons and social groups, the church provided cities with models of integration and inclusiveness. For instance, Acts portrays how the friction between the Hellenists and the Hebrews in Jerusalem was overcome (6:1-7). Acts also delineates how the Holy Spirit brought unity between Jews and Gentiles (Acts 10-11; 15).¹⁶ Luke carefully lists the ethnic background (Acts 6:1), the nationalities (8:9, 27; 10:1), the race (Acts 8:27; 13:1), and the gender (Acts 16:14; 18:2) of persons, indicating that in Christ and through the Holy Spirit unity can occur in a world which stressed differences.

Meeks, drawing upon the research of Tony Reekmans, shows that Juvenal’s satires ranked people in the Roman Empire via seven social categories, including “language and place of origin, formal *ordo*, personal liberty or servitude, wealth, occupation, age, and sex.”¹⁷ In a similar manner, Ben Witherington III explains that in antiquity people assumed that “gender, generation and geography determine a person’s identity, which is to say it is fixed at birth.”¹⁸ Awareness of these stratifications accentuates the social significance of Galatians 3:28 as a manifesto affirming unity and equality between Jews and Greeks, men and women, slaves and free. If Gal. 3:28 was Paul’s policy statement on unity and equality for the church in cosmopolitan places, then his actions strove to implement that policy involving those three social groups. For example, Paul fostered Jewish/Gentile unity by encouraging primarily Gentile churches to take a collection for the saints in Jerusalem (2 Cor. 8-9; Rom. 16:25-28). Paul’s recognition of Phoebe as a deacon (Rom. 16:1) and Junia as a female apostle (Rom. 16:7) indicate Paul’s acceptance of women as equal with

¹⁵Ibid., 2-3.

¹⁶Paul’s account in Gal. 2 seems more conflictual than Luke’s.

¹⁷Meeks, *First Urban Christians*, 22-23.

¹⁸Ben Witherington III, *The Paul Quest* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1998), 18; also see, 31, 33, 159.

men in opportunity and office in ministry. His pressuring Philemon to free the slave Onesimus is one sign that Paul believed Christians should not own slaves. Referring to the “revolutionary nature of the early Christian mission,” Donald Bosch terms it “a movement without analogy, indeed a ‘sociological impossibility.’”¹⁹ Reason dictates that churches evangelize and be present in cities because they are cosmopolitan population centers where the Spirit can bring unity amid diversity between racial and ethnic groups, and men and women.

Cities are Economic Centers. Money is power, even in the information age; thus it makes sense for the church to minister in economic centers. Economic decisions made in urban centers have regional and national ramifications, as well as local influence. Although the rise of suburbs has been accompanied by the location of major industries outside cities, still cities generally are powerful centers of commerce.

Luke mentions how Paul challenged a chief industry, that of silver-smiths, in Ephesus (Acts 19:23-41). Yet Luke also affirms business persons such as Lydia (Acts 16:14) and the tent makers Paul, Priscilla and Aquila (Acts 18:1-3). Meeks notes that the cities of Asia Minor to which Paul wrote and travelled were “centers of trade.”²⁰ Strabo called Ephesus the “largest commercial center”²¹ in Asia Minor and Corinth was a major seaport. Paul continually stressed the need for an offering for the saints in Jerusalem (2 Cor. 8-9; Rom. 15:25). Perhaps that was Paul’s first-century way of arguing that the affluent churches in wealthy cities need to support the less affluent in poorer cities.

Great wealth exists and is often concentrated in financial centers such as Wall Street and the Golden Triangle in Pittsburgh. These and similar financial centers will continue to exist and prosper. This, however, does not mean that wealth naturally flows to the inner city. As Michael Porter contends, “The economic distress of America’s inner cities may be the most pressing issue facing the nation. . . . The sad reality is that the efforts of the past few decades to revitalize the inner cities have failed.”²²

¹⁹David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1991), 48.

²⁰Meeks, *First Urban Christians*, 44.

²¹David Aune, *Revelation*, WBC 52A (Waco: Word, 1997), 136.

²²Michael E. Porter, “The Competitive Advantage of the Inner City,” *Harvard Business Review*, 73 (May-June 1995), 55.

Porter identifies four economic advantages of inner cities that will support viable businesses—strategic location, local market demand, integration with regional clusters, and human resources. Porter provides examples of these advantages, such as Detroit Universal Casket Company which sells \$3 million annually to African-American owned funeral parlors.²³ Arguing that “the private sector, not government or social service organizations, must be the focus of the new model”²⁴ of inner-city economic revitalization, Porter outlines the reconceived roles of the private sector, government, and community-based organizations in moving toward economic viability.²⁵ He cautions, however, that “rethinking the inner city in economic rather than in social terms will be uncomfortable for many who have devoted years to social causes and who view profit and business in general with suspicion.”²⁶ Porter’s concern is that an anti-business sentiment often prevails among those working with the disadvantaged. Many concerned with urban ministry have not appreciated the positive role that just and fair businesses can play and have exerted in inner cities. Similar to Porter, Jesse Jackson, Jr., and Frank E. Watkins affirm the primacy of an economic approach. While they perceive racism “as the *lens* through which to view all of American history,” they recognize that “economic issues are the *hearing aid* through which the majority of Americans will hear most political discourse and dialogue.”²⁷ Jackson and Watkins identify several sites in Jackson’s congressional district, such as Ford Heights, needing economic development.²⁸ One can combine the wisdom of Porter, Jackson and Watkins and have an alliance of private enterprise, community organizations, and governmental agencies.

Many churches are involved in community-based organizations that bring jobs to city neighborhoods. Porter’s thesis and strategy needs consideration. When I pastored, I worked with several individuals and families whose problems with housing, insurance, transportation and stress

²³I identified with this illustration because I used to catch the bus at the gas station where Detroit Universal Casket Company fueled their trucks each morning.

²⁴Porter, “The Competitive Advantage of the Inner City,” 65.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 65-70.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 71.

²⁷Jesse L. Jackson, Jr., with Frank E. Watkins, *A More Perfect Union: Advancing New American Rights* (New York: Welcome Rain, 2001), 16-17.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 23-25.

improved dramatically when decent paying jobs with benefits became available as industry and commerce moved into the area. Once more, reason dictates that the church be in the city because cities are places of economic power.

Cities are Educational Centers. In Acts 17:16-34, Luke places Paul on Mars Hill in Athens where Paul gives a speech to Greek philosophers and quotes Aratus of Soli in Acts 17:28. For Luke, Paul is an equal to the philosophers at a leading academic center in the learned city of Athens. Although Paul's letters do not mention the visit to Athens, his epistles document his educational attainments and his time in Antioch and Tarsus. Not only was he a learned Pharisee (Phil. 3:5), but Paul claimed, "I advanced in Judaism beyond many among my people of the same age" (Gal. 1:14). Paul's epistles reflect his familiarity with the Hellenistic style of argument and writings. He utilized the rhetorical device of diatribe, whereby he debated and dialogued with an imaginary opponent (Rom. 2:1-5, 17-29). He introduced topics with rhetorical questions in Rom 4:1; 6:1 and 11:1. G. W. Hansen observes, "Paul employed the art of Hellenistic rhetoric to present his argument. The extent of correspondence is too great to think otherwise."²⁹ Paul's model of ministering in educational centers and excelling in the rhetorical methods of his day offer the contemporary church a biblical precedent for its mission to educational centers in cities.

Excellent universities and colleges draw bright minds, provide the students with opportunities for social advancement, and offer cultural benefits to their cities. Whether it is the University of Pittsburgh and Carnegie Mellon in Pittsburgh, Wayne State University in Detroit, or Johns Hopkins University and Morgan State in Baltimore, urban schools provide think-tanks, cultural events, and resources for social and economic policy studies and planning. The church needs to be in the city where bright minds study.

Cities are Penal and Political Centers. Paul knew about prison life from personal experience. Luke reports that, while jailed in Philippi, Paul

²⁹G. W. Hansen, "Rhetorical Criticism," *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, eds. Gerald F. Hawthorne, Ralph P. Martin, Daniel G. Reid (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1993), 822. For a study of Paul's rhetoric, consult Michael R. Cosby, "Galatians: Red Hot Rhetoric," *Rhetorical Argumentation in Biblical Texts*, eds. Anders Eriksson, Thomas H. Olbricht, Walter Uberlacker (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 2002).

converted his guard (Acts 16:26-34). Paul experienced house arrest in Rome (Acts 28:16). Philippians speaks of an imprisonment which gave opportunity to witness to the “whole imperial guard (Phil. 1:7-14).” He was tried before King Agrippa, the Roman designated ruler of Judea, according to Acts 26:1-23.

Although violent crime declined significantly in American cities in the late 1990s, prisons are well-populated because of the policy of locking up drug offenders. Actors on “Law and Order,” a popular detective show set in New York City frequently refer to “Riker’s Island,” a prison which houses most of New York City’s 20,000 inmates. Jonathan Kozol states that “New York State now spends more money on its prison system than on its universities.”³⁰ Quoting the Institute for Policy Studies, Randall Robinson makes a sobering point, “Does the fact that the United States has less than one-twentieth of the world’s population and one-quarter of the world’s prisoners suggest there is something fundamentally wrong with our criminal justice system?”³¹ Overcrowded prisons are a symptom of a systemic social problem. Robinson argues that “grinding poverty, wretched schools, dysfunctional families, and a general self-regard of angry hopelessness are killing our young people and driving a burgeoning national prison economy.”³² The church has a ministry of making restorative justice as prevalent as retributive justice now is, of visiting the imprisoned, but also of providing preventive ministries that build opportunities, role models, and character development for inner city residents.

As mentioned earlier, Paul ministered in and wrote to the chief political and administrative cities of his era such as Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, and Rome. Likewise, the contemporary church needs to have a presence and ministry in political centers not only as a lobbyist, but also to influence the lives and values of urban decision makers.

Reason requires that the church value the city as a place of ministry because cities are crossroads, cosmopolitan places, economic, educational, penal, and political centers.

³⁰Jonathan Kozol, *Ordinary Resurrection: Children in the Years of Hope* (New York: Crown, 2000), 354.

³¹Randall Robinson, *The Reckoning: What Blacks Owe to Each Other* (New York: Dutton, 2002), 49.

³²*Ibid.*, 273.

Traditional Basis for Urban Mission

Historically speaking, a strong tradition of social involvement and ministry in cities exists in the Wesleyan/Holiness tradition. A usable past exists upon which churches and ministers can build. Timothy Smith, Donald W. Dayton, William M. Greathouse, Susie C. Stanley, and Sethard Beverly have documented much of the social holiness tradition³³ and Leon Hynson has laid the theological foundations of Wesleyan social ethics.³⁴ Rather than attempt the impossible task of reciting the entire tradition of compassionate ministries or social holiness in the city, this section will offer examples of how Wesleyan/Holiness churches have responded in ministry to cities as crossroads, cosmopolitan places, economic, educational, penal, and political centers.

It is imperative to mention four foundational ministries and books which undergird Wesleyan/Holiness ministry in cities. These cornerstones include John Wesley's ministry, B. T. Roberts "Free Churches,"³⁵ William Booth's *In Darkest England and the Way Out*,³⁶ and Catherine Booth's

³³Timothy L. Smith's *Revivalism & Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980; originally published by Abingdon, 1957). Donald W. Dayton documents the passionate identification of Wesleyan/Holiness churches with the poor in "Pneumatological Issues in the Holiness Movement," *The Spirit and the New Age*, eds. R. Larry Shelton and Alex R. G. Deasley (Anderson, IN: Warner Press, 1986), 264-266, and in "Presidential Address: The Wesleyan Option for the Poor," *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, 26 (Spring, 1991), 7-22. Greathouse sketches "Compassionate Ministries in the Church of the Nazarene," in *Evangelism and Social Redemption*, eds. Albert L. Truesdale, Jr., and Steve Weber (Kansas City: Beacon Hill, 1987), 102-110. Susie C. Stanley's "Wesleyan/Holiness Women Share God's Love," *The Living Pulpit*, 10 (July-September 2001), 18-19, only hints at the detailed chronicle of women's social ministries in her *Holy Boldness: Woman Preachers' Autobiographies and the Sanctified Self* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2002). Sethard Beverly, former Director of Urban Ministries for the Church of God (Anderson), discussed current and historical examples of urban ministries in "Metro-Voice," published quarterly by the Board of Church Extension and Home Missions of the Church of God (Anderson).

³⁴Leon O. Hynson, *To Reform the Nation. Theological Foundations of Wesley's Ethics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1984); also, "Remington Rifles or Bows and Arrows? The Post-Bellum Wesleyan Quest for the Transformation of Society," *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, 25 (Spring 1990), 57-82.

³⁵B. T. Roberts, founder of the Free Methodist Church, published "Free Churches," *The Earnest Christian* 1 (January, 1860), 6-10. Dayton attached "Free Churches" to his "Presidential Address."

³⁶William Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (London: The Salvation Army, 1890).

*Female Ministry: or Women's Right to Preach the Gospel.*³⁷ As Wesley preached on the streets to miners going to and from work, he demonstrated a radical commitment to taking the gospel to the poor. B. T. Roberts, founder of the Free Methodist Church, argued that pews should be free, rather than bought or rented as was the custom in many nineteenth-century churches, so that poor people could have access to hearing the gospel preached in churches.

William Booth asked, "Why all this apparatus of temples and meeting-houses to save men from perdition in a world which is to come, while never a helping hand is stretched out to save them from the inferno of this present life?"³⁸ Booth spoke of "the lost" as "(1) those who, having no capital or income of their own, would in a month be dead from sheer starvation were they exclusively dependent upon the money earned by their own work; and (2) those who by their utmost exertions are unable to attain the regulation allowance of food which the law prescribes as indispensable even for the worst criminals in our gaols."³⁹ Booth's proposed solution provided food and work for everyone, the regeneration of criminals, rescue homes for lost women, industrial schools, children's homes, and asylums for the mentally ill. He even advocated banks, lawyers, and marriage counseling for the poor. His radical vision became the mission statement for the Salvation Army. In addition to organizing many early Salvation Army ministries, Catherine Booth defended women's right to preach. These eighteenth and nineteenth-century cornerstones anchor a tradition which continues to call for mission in cities.

Ministry at the Crossroads in the Tradition. Missionary homes in cities supplied housing for Church of God (Anderson) persons moving into cities. The years 1890-1920 were prime for missionary homes. They existed in Denver, Spokane, Pittsburgh, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Indianapolis, Oklahoma City, Houston, and elsewhere. Not only did missionary homes provide food and shelter, but they were communal settings which fostered Christian growth and camaraderie. As historian John W. V. Smith explains:

³⁷Catherine Booth, *Female Ministry: or Women's Right to Preach the Gospel* (London: The Salvation Army, 1909).

³⁸Wm. Booth, *In Darkest England*, 16.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 18.

The development of these missionary homes in the Church of God likewise represented a shift away from the predominantly rural focus of the earliest years and gave evidence of an awakened awareness of the growing importance of cities in American life. As developed, they became a rather unique Christian response to the great needs and exploding opportunities which the burgeoning urban centers in America placed before the church.⁴⁰

Bethany Church of God, formerly located in Detroit, emerged from one of the missionary homes. Migrants from the South who came to Detroit seeking work in the automobile factories often stayed at the missionary home until they became settled in their own housing.

Phineas F. Bresee, a founder of the Church of the Nazarene, planted churches in the heart of the city where the gospel could be preached to the poor. Bresee strategized that church buildings should be “‘plain and cheap’ so that everything should say welcome to the poor.”⁴¹ There still remains a living history of ministry to the poor and with new arrivals to the cities as urban crossroads.

Ministry in Cosmopolitan Cities. Earlier, this paper referred to Donald Bosch and Wayne Meeks’ portrayal of Pauline Christianity as “a movement without analogy” in antiquity because of the emphasis on social equality and opportunity. Pauline Christianity affirmed racial, ethnic and gender equality (Gal. 3:28). This openness to racial, ethnic, and gender equality also existed within parts of the Wesleyan/Holiness movement.

Racial inclusion existed within branches of the Wesleyan/Holiness movement. Jane Dunning titled her autobiography *Brands from the Burning: An Account of a Work among the Sick and Destitute in Connection with Providence Mission, New York City*.⁴² Susie C. Stanley recognizes Dunning as with working in “the first home in the country devoted solely to meeting the needs of African Americans.”⁴³ The strength of the Church

⁴⁰John W. V. Smith, *The Quest for Holiness and Unity: A Centennial History of the Church of God (Anderson, Indiana)* (Anderson, IN: Warner Press, 1980), 231.

⁴¹Phineas F. Bresee, “Our Social Service Heritage: Unto the Poor,” *Herald of Holiness* 72 (October 1, 1983), 18.

⁴²Jane Dunning, *Brands from the Burning: An Account of a Work among the Sick and Destitute in Connection with Providence Mission, New York City* (Chicago: Baker & Arnold, 1881).

⁴³Susie C. Stanley, “Wesleyan/Holiness Women Share God’s Love,” 19.

of God (Anderson) in the South can be traced to the African-American minister, Rev. Jane Williams. According to James Earl Massey, Williams brought her congregation in Charleston, South Carolina, into the Church of God movement in 1886. From her congregation in Charleston, the Church of God spread to Georgia, North Carolina, Alabama, and Florida.⁴⁴

Massey shares two instances of African Americans pastoring predominately white congregations. Emma A. Crosswhite, an African American, held a tent meeting in 1906 in Washington, Ohio. Between thirty-five and forty whites were converted. They called a white pastor, who served briefly. Then the church called Rev. Crosswhite as pastor and she and her husband were the only African Americans in the congregation for twenty years. Likewise, Ozie B. Wattleton, an African American, pastored an otherwise all-white church in Columbus, Nebraska.⁴⁵

National Memorial Church of God in Washington, D. C., has always had an international constituency which continued the heritage of its original pastor. The first pastor was Marcel Desgalier, a French-speaking Caucasian butler from Switzerland. A maid, with whom he worked and eventually married, invited Desgalier to a new church pastored by Charles T. Benjamin from Jamaica. Benjamin's church eventually became the Third Street Church of God. After attending the racially mixed church for several years, Desgalier, in 1916 with Pastor Benjamin's blessing, started what became National Memorial Church of God. In the mid-1930s the congregation was floundering without a pastor and the National Board of Church Extension and Home Missions of the Church of God asked Rev. Esther Kirkpatrick⁴⁶ to pull the church together. Kirkpatrick relocated the church and constructed National Memorial Church of God on 16th Street N. W. The main stained glass window in National Memorial pictured Jesus loving children from around the world, including a Japanese child. Just before the window was finished, Japan bombed Pearl Harbor in 1941. The window maker phoned Rev. Kirkpatrick and asked if he should remove the Japanese child since the United States and Japan were now at war. Rev. Kirkpatrick responded, "Jesus loves all the children of the world, whether

⁴⁴James Earl Massey, *An Introduction to the Negro Churches in the Church of God Reformation Movement* (New York: Shining Light, 1957), 19.

⁴⁵James Earl Massey, *Raymond S. Jackson. A Portrait* (Detroit: James Earl Massey, 1967), 67.

⁴⁶Esther Kirkpatrick's married name was Esther Kirkpatrick Bauer.

their countries are at war or peace. Leave the Japanese child in the picture window.” That testimony of ethnic openness remains alive.

Churches have been sensitive to the need to develop ministries among new international immigrants coming to the cities. Church of God Hispanic congregations began in San Antonio in 1921 under the leadership of M. F. Tafolla and in Corpus Christi in 1933.⁴⁷ In 1978 State Fair Church of God in Detroit and the Board of Church Extensions and Home Missions of the Church of God called Rev. Jacob Kakish to begin a ministry to the Arabs who were moving into the Detroit area in large numbers. The Detroit Arabic Fellowship remains as a outreach to the over a quarter million Arab Americans whom Eck reports live in the Detroit area.⁴⁸

Other women ministers, beyond the ones mentioned previously and following the model of Pauline Christianity, were ordained in the Wesleyan/Holiness tradition and served in cities. The contemporary International Wesleyan/Holiness Women Clergy Conferences, sponsored by seven holiness denominations, intends to preserve the Wesleyan/Holiness tradition of gender and racial equality. Sponsoring denominations include Evangelical Friends, the Free Methodist Church, the Church of the Nazarene, the Salvation Army, Brethren in Christ, Church of God (Anderson), and The Wesleyan Church. In the tradition of Catherine Booth, leaders from the conference have written defenses of women’s right to be ordained and pastor.⁴⁹

⁴⁷David A. Telfer presents a biblical and theological basis for ethnic ministries and cultural pluralism in *Red & Yellow, Black & White: Ministry and Evangelism in Ethnic Communities* (Anderson, IN: Warner Press, 1981).

⁴⁸Eck, *A New Religious America*, 248.

⁴⁹The seven denominational policy statements on the ordination of women appear in Randy Huber and John E. Stanley’s “Reclaiming the Wesleyan/Holiness Heritage of Women Clergy: Sermons, A Case Study and Resources” (Grantham, PA: Wesleyan/Holiness Women Clergy, 1999), 49-51. Susie C. Stanley articulated a “feminist hermeneutic” in “The Religious Basis of Feminism,” *Feminist Pillar of Fire: The Life of Alma White* (Cleveland: Pilgrim, 1993), 98-105. Stanley authored a Wesleyan/Holiness response to the debate on women in ministry, “Response—Galatians 3:28: Conundrum or Solution?” in *Women, Authority & the Bible: An Evangelical Breakthrough on the Biblical Debate*, ed., Alvera Mickelsen (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1986), 181-188; also, her “The Promise Fulfilled: Women’s Ministries in the Wesleyan/Holiness Movement,” *Religious Institutions and Women’s Leadership: New Roles Inside the Mainstream*, ed., Catherine Wessinger (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 139-157; also, Rebecca Laird, “A Brief Theology of Women in Ministry,” *Grow*, 3 (Spring, 1992), 46-50 and Sharon Clark Pearson, “Women in Ministry: A Biblical Vision,” *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, 31 (Spring, 1996), 141-170.

Historical precedent thus amply provides models for ministries implementing racial, ethnic, and gender equality in the Wesleyan/Holiness tradition.

Ministry in Economic Centers. William Booth foresaw the same need for economic viability in inner cities which Michael Porter, Jesse Jackson, Jr., and Frank Watkins now urge. Booth noted, “Capital . . . is not an evil in itself; on the contrary it is good—so good that one of the greatest aims of the social reformer ought to be to facilitate its widest possible distribution among his fellowmen. It is the congestion of capital that is evil, and the labour question will never be finally solved until every labourer is his own capitalist.”⁵⁰ Booth’s analysis formed the basis of Salvation Army efforts to help persons move to financial stability, thus alleviating the issue of urban poverty.

Church of God (Anderson) ministers helped Jesse Jackson, Sr., start Operation Breadbasket in Chicago. Operation Breadbasket evolved into PUSH—People United to Serve Humanity. Pastors Claude and Addie Wyatt of Vernon Park Church of God, Chicago, were original board members of PUSH. A Church of God minister, Rev. Willie Barrows, served as chief administrator for years. Frank Watkins was Press Secretary for Jesse Jackson, Sr., and Political Director for twenty-seven years. Watkins currently serves as Press Secretary for Jesse Jackson, Jr., and Director of Communications. Watkins and Roger Hatch, both Anderson University School of Theology graduates, explain the purpose of PUSH:

PUSH is not a church; rather it is an ecumenical action arm of the church devoted to furthering the cause of human rights internationally. It believes that injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. PUSH’s approach to social change is holistic, though. It believes that a spiritual and moral crisis is at the core of every material evil. . . . Whereas *civil rights* was the cutting-edge issue for social change in the fifties and sixties, PUSH has made *economic rights* the fundamental issue of the seventies and eighties.⁵¹

PUSH negotiated to get businesses to locate in inner city neighborhoods and lobbied for businesses to employ workers from the neighborhoods in

⁵⁰Booth, *In Darkest England*, 229.

⁵¹Roger D. Hatch and Frank E. Watkins, “Editors’ Introduction,” *Rev. Jesse L. Jackson: Straight from the Heart* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), xii. Watkins and Jesse Jackson, Jr., make the same point in *A More Perfect Union*.

which they were located. PUSH argued that those who bought products should also profit from making and selling the product. Money should not flow out of inner city neighborhoods.

At one point in a business meeting some members of the Vernon Park Church of God criticized their pastors for spending too much time in social action ministries such as PUSH. Pastor Claude Wyatt stopped the meeting and asked, "Would those of you who have jobs because of the ministry of Operation Breadbasket and PUSH please stand?" Those standing outnumbered those sitting. The Wyatts made their point that ministry in the city involves addressing economic conditions.⁵²

Church of God minister Sethard Beverly shares that in 1978 he became seriously ill and unable to pastor. He resigned the church he had pastored for twenty years. Beverly and his wife, Sandra, became realtors. In a three-year period they purchased, upgraded, rented, and/or sold over two dozen properties. Further, "we hammered out *ethics and goals* for our investment activities: we would not simply make money, we would labor to improve every property and community we bought into and, if possible, help tenants into home ownership. In short, we developed social, financial and stewardship goals."⁵³ From that experience Beverly taught other congregations to develop ministries of neighborhood improvement by purchasing and improving housing.

In addition to working for economic viability to neighborhoods and individuals, churches remind people, both the affluent and the poor, that their value comes from their status as children of God, not from their paychecks or bank accounts. Wesleyan/Holiness churches have a tradition of working for economic change in urban neighborhoods.

Ministry in Educational Centers. Wesleyanism values the mind, as evidenced by including reason within the quadrilateral. Wesleyan/Holiness churches have an extensive history of establishing colleges. While some Wesleyan/Holiness schools are located in small towns, Roberts Wesleyan University, Warner Pacific College, Seattle Pacific University, Point Loma University, and others are in major cities. Some

⁵²Claude and Addie Wyatt, interviews with author since 1967. Edward Gilbreath quotes Jerald January, current pastor of Vernon Park Church of God, in regard to Jesse Jackson, Sr., in "Still Somebody," *Christianity Today*, 46 (February 4, 2002), 69.

⁵³Sethard Beverly, "Inner-city Housing: Acres of Diamonds. Starting a Real Estate Ministry in Your Church," *Metro-Voice* (Anderson, IN: Board of Church Extension & Home Missions of the Church of God, 1987).

schools located in small towns or rural areas have urban extensions. Taylor University's history on the matter of an urban extension is fascinating. Taylor began in 1846 as Fort Wayne Female College. In 1893, due to a financial crisis, the then coeducational Fort Wayne College relocated to Upland, Indiana, under the leadership of President Thaddeus Reade. During Reade's tenure of office, Sammy Morris, an African student from Liberia, enrolled in Fort Wayne College at the encouragement of missionaries. Morris symbolized the quest for the "Spirit-filled" life" for which Reade wanted the college to be known. Morris became ill and died in 1893. Reade's biography of Morris sold over 200,000 copies by 1924 and drew missionary oriented students to Taylor University.⁵⁴ In the 1990s when Taylor University wanted to establish an extension in Fort Wayne, one motivating factor was the enduring legacy of Sammy Morris. Taylor envisioned a college for urban engagement and set up a "Center for Justice and Urban Leadership" as a component of its Fort Wayne campus.⁵⁵

Schools have served the city. Professor Marie Strong formed the Christianity-In-Action student ministry at Anderson College in the 1950s. Students served in prison ministries, shut-in visitation, mental hospital visitation, a ministry at a girl's home, etc. In 1963-64, twenty-five percent of the student body participated in Christianity-In-Action ministries. Many schools developed short-term mission projects which enabled students, faculty, and staff to serve in urban areas in the United States and internationally. Warner Pacific College in Portland sponsored the first on-campus shelter for homeless families from 1986 to 1994. Learning through service in cities has been a component of college life in Wesleyan/Holiness schools.

Congruent with the openness to women and minorities, women have served as faculty and as academic deans in Wesleyan/Holiness schools. James Earl Massey, an African American, served as Dean of Anderson University School of Theology in the 1990s. Wesleyan/Holiness denominations have a history of educational ministries in urban centers.⁵⁶ Those ministries include service and an openness to women and minorities.

⁵⁴William C. Ringenberg, *Taylor University: The First 125 Years* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973), 70-77.

⁵⁵Joseph Jones, Dean of the School of Social Sciences, interview, Messiah College, Grantham, PA, January 25, 2002.

⁵⁶Consult John E. Stanley and Susie C. Stanley, "What Can the Wesleyan/Holiness Tradition Contribute to Christian Higher Education?," *Models for Christian Higher Education*, eds. Richard T. Hughes and William B. Adrian (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 313-326.

Ministry in Penal and Political Centers in the Tradition. A history of prison ministry exists in the tradition, as exemplified by Florence Roberts and Elizabeth Wheaton. Roberts preached to over 1,000 prisoners in San Quenton Prison in 1904 and counseled many prisoners.⁵⁷ As *Prisons and Prayers; or, A Labor of Love*,⁵⁸ the title of Wheaton's autobiography, indicates, Wheaton's ministry mainly was to prisoners. Her first prison meeting was in a prison mining camp where hundreds of men in rags, with faces black and grimy from coal dust, listened to the Christian gospel. She counseled prisoners on death row⁵⁹ and opposed capital punishment because "it does not stop crime."⁶⁰

A few examples will illustrate that Wesleyan/Holiness churches have a tradition of involvement in political reform. Alma White located Alma Temple, the original home church of the Pillar of Fire Church, near the state capitol in Denver, Colorado. White's Pillar of Fire Church and the National Woman's Party were the first two groups to fight for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment in the early 1920s.⁶¹ Earlier, in 1848 a Wesleyan Church in Seneca Falls, New York,⁶² hosted the first meeting for women's suffrage.

Douglas M. Strong, in *Perfectionist Politics: Abolitionism and the Religious Tensions of American Democracy*⁶³ documents that the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, which became the Wesleyan Methodist Church, opposed slavery as early as 1843. Not only did it promote the Liberty Party as an alternative to the Whigs and Democratic Party, the Wesleyan Methodists also spoke of "structural evil" and the reform of "oppressive structures." They understood sin as an evil lodged in institutions and the need for changing public policy and social structures.⁶⁴ Rev. Addie Wyatt shares how former United States Senator of Illinois Carolyn

⁵⁷Florence Roberts, *Fifteen Years With The Outcast* (Anderson, IN: Gospel Trumpet, 1912), 259, 62.

⁵⁸Elizabeth R. Wheaton, *Prisons and Prayer; or, A Labor of Love* (Tabor, IA: M. Kelley, 1906).

⁵⁹Wheaton, *Prisons and Prayer*, 241-242.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 156.

⁶¹Susie C. Stanley, *Feminist Pillar of Fire*, 108-114.

⁶²Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (New York: Atheneum, 1974), 76-77.

⁶³Douglas M. Strong, *Perfectionist Politics: Abolitionism and the Religious Tensions of American Democracy* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999).

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 98, 100-101, 164.

Mosley Braun, a member of Vernon Park Church of God in Chicago, would ask the congregation for their prayerful guidance as she represented her state in Washington, D. C.⁶⁵

Wesleyan/Holiness churches can claim a strong history of reform ministries in the city that have addressed penal and political issues.

Experiential Basis of Urban Mission

The appeal to experience as a basis for urban mission draws upon three sources—an encounter with the Holy Spirit, Wesleyanism as a theology of love, and hope.

As a college student and seminarian, I was active in the civil rights revolution and exposed myself to inner cities, especially Chicago's South Side. Those involvements alerted me to a tradition of African American preaching and theologizing about the city. Eventually the Spirit impressed that tradition of an urban theology upon my heart and mind. When I pastored in a mill town on the edge of Baltimore and then in inner city Detroit, the Spirit led me to a biblical theology of the city in Luke and Paul. The Spirit directed me to biblical, theological, and biographical resources that informed my racially integrated ministries in Columbia, Maryland, and then in inner-city Detroit. When the Spirit called my wife to ministry in 1975, that same Spirit helped me appropriate the Wesleyan/Holiness tradition of women in ministry. In summary, when I encountered Appalachian poverty, urban structures, the need for racial reconciliation, and sexism, the Spirit impressed my mind and heart so that I could appropriate a theology of mission already present in my Wesleyan/Holiness heritage. The Spirit met me at each crossroads in ministry and guided me to elements of a heritage I had not previously known. For those who serve and study, the Holy Spirit continues to be an empowering resource for ministry in cities.

Wesleyanism is a theology of love, as accurately articulated by Mildred Wynkoop and Barry Callen.⁶⁶ Wesleyanism understands sin as a relational malady; thus, love can be the restoring medicine that heals social, as well as personal relationships. The experience of God's love leads to a sharing of that love in urban ministries. What does love look

⁶⁵Addie Wyatt, interview during Wesleyan/Holiness Women Clergy Conference, Santa Fe, April 1994.

⁶⁶Mildred Wynkoop, *A Theology of Love: The Dynamic of Wesleyanism* (Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill, 1972). Barry L. Callen's *God as Loving Grace* (Nappanee, IN: Evangel, 1996) affirms well the loving nature of God.

like in effective inner city churches? *Miracles on Monroe Street*⁶⁷ records testimonies of persons delivered from drug addiction, crime, and family stress through the faithful ministry of a church located in a high-crime, low-income area in Baltimore. In another instance, love became a retired millwright installing 108 hot water heaters in homes of elderly neighbors in one year. By purchasing the hot water heaters at a neighborhood store, the churches also helped the store stay in business. Third Street Church of God in Washington, D. C., faced a decision during the early ministry of Pastor Samuel Hines. How would the church relate to its inner city neighborhood? Hines answered the question by getting the church involved in an urban prayer breakfast which has fed two hundred homeless persons five days a week for thirty years, starting Boy Scout troops, providing foster homes for children being released from juvenile facilities the government was closing, working with immigrants, and by preaching and incarnating a ministry of reconciliation. That ministry of reconciliation continues under the leadership of Pastor Cheryl J. Sanders.⁶⁸

Paul testified that our experiences produce hope “and hope does not disappoint us because God’s love has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit that has been given to us (Rom. 5:5).” A Wesleyan/Holiness commitment to the city can be hopeful. Hatch and Watkins remind us “that a spiritual and moral crisis is at the core of every material evil.”⁶⁹ While aware of sin as a social malady that stifles community and breaks relationships, the Spirit and a theology of love impart hope to those who serve and are served. The Holy Spirit enables servants of love to appropriate a usable tradition that remembers significant social change and to find biblical promises of healing and reconciliation through Christ. The Wesleyan quadrilateral supports a theology of urban ministry.

⁶⁷Jean Testerman, *Miracles on Monroe Street* (Anderson, IN: Warner Press, 2000).

⁶⁸I frequently have visited the church since 1969 and was in a study group with Pastor Hines from 1970-1976. Sanders’ account appears in “Refuge and Reconciliation in a Holiness Congregation,” *Saints in Exile, The Holiness-Pentecostal Experience in African American Religion and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 35-48; also, Samuel George Hines and Curtiss Paul DeYoung, *Beyond Rhetoric, Reconciliation as a Way of Life* (Valley Forge: Judson, 2000). The ministries of Hines and Sanders are discussed by Michael O. Emerson and Christian Smith, *Divided by Faith: Evangelical Religion and the Problem of Race in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 53-54, 59, 63. Emerson and Smith also discuss the ministry of Curtiss DeYoung and his mentoring by James Earl Massey and Samuel Hines, 60-63. DeYoung has continued the ministry of reconciliation.

⁶⁹Hatch and Watkins, “Editors’ Introduction,” xii.

THE REVIVALIST MOVEMENT AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A HOLINESS/ PENTECOSTAL PHILOSOPHY OF MISSIONS¹

by

Wallace Thornton, Jr.

In the January 5, 1899 edition of *The Revivalist*, editor Martin Wells Knapp asserted, "The Pentecostal experience brings a missionary spirit. When a man is really sanctified wholly he is cut loose from the world and ready for anything God may call him to."² Knapp's own commitment to

¹Appreciation is given to God's Bible School for permission to publish this paper, which relies on research done for *Back to the Bible: The Story of God's Bible School*, forthcoming from Revivalist Press. It should be noted that the use here of the term "Pentecostal" does not carry many of its modern connotations, particularly that of a focus on glossolalia and other physical phenomena believed by modern Pentecostals to evidence Spirit-baptism. Rather, it was the term of choice embraced for self-identification by such radical holiness leaders as Martin Wells Knapp. As such, it indicates an ideology or worldview espousing the attempt to recreate primitive Christianity, not through phenomena such as glossolalia but through the purity and power resultant from Spirit-baptism which would radically transform both community and individual life. My use of the term thus results from its historic usage and should not be misconstrued as an anachronistic attempt to identify Knapp and the Revivalist Movement with modern Pentecostalism. In fact, developments occurring after the scope of this paper indicate that the latter movement represents a departure from (or innovation on) the earlier "Pentecostalism" promoted by Knapp and his colleagues. I am especially indebted to Charles E. Jones for elucidating this point.

²"Shall We Send Them," 9. *The Revivalist* is the oldest holiness periodical in continuous circulation. Its name was changed to *God's Revivalist and Bible Advocate* in 1901, reflecting the increasing significance in Knapp's thinking of an ideal treated here—Divine ownership of the Holiness cause.

Pentecostal ideology and experience led him to challenge his readers to take advantage of this “time of glorious opportunity.” He assured them that much of the preparation for worldwide Pentecost had taken place. All that remained necessary were missionaries and supporters who would make themselves available for the work, a belief reflected in his appeal which used typical Pentecostal metaphors—electricity and dynamite: “The wires are laid—they stretch to every country of the globe. All that we need is some Holy Ghost manipulator of the electric buttons who will make connections and blow up heathenism, and ancient superstition, and ignorance and barbarism, and sin.”

The Central Role of Martin Wells Knapp

Subsequent developments reveal the central role of Knapp and the movement engendered by his periodical in pushing these “buttons” to create a global network of Holiness/Pentecostal missionaries. Indeed, by the time of his death in December 1901, Knapp was likely the most influential leader in the Holiness Movement, a status achieved through developments that in retrospect appear to be hardly short of miraculous.³

Several factors coalesced to catapult this frail but energetic man, whose natural disadvantages led even his closest associates to consider him an unlikely leader, to the forefront of the turn-of-the-century Holiness Movement.⁴ Second only to his acceptance of holiness teaching and his personal experience of entire sanctification was his literary career beginning with the book *Christ Crowned Within* (1886).⁵ The holiness public’s clamor for this book encouraged Knapp to begin publishing *The Revivalist* in 1888 with the assistance of his wife, Lucy Glenn Knapp, a venture

³The story of Knapp’s ascendancy and the remarkable saga of the Revivalist movement will be treated more fully in my *Back to the Bible: The Story of God’s Bible School* (Cincinnati: Revivalist Press, forthcoming). I am especially indebted to William Kostlevy’s pioneering scholarly efforts to explain the significance of Knapp and the Revivalist movement to Holiness/Pentecostal history.

⁴In an effort to stress the Spirit’s role in Knapp’s ministry, his official biographer, A. M. Hills, makes much of his subject’s natural disadvantages, particularly his appearance and physique: “The proportions of his body were not fine: the various parts and members of his body, in their general effect, seemed as if they had been thrown together. . . . The first impression he made upon a strange audience was always unfavorable” (*A Hero of Faith and Prayer; or, Life of Rev. Martin Wells Knapp* [1902; reprint, Salem, OH: Allegheny Publications, 2001], 24).

⁵*Christ Crowned Within* (Albion, MI: Martin Wells Knapp, 1886).

that made Knapp's name a household fixture in holiness homes. However, the positive reception accorded to his periodical and subsequent books such as *Out of Egypt Into Canaan* (1888) left Knapp primarily a regional holiness leader until 1892 when he moved his publishing venture from Michigan to Cincinnati, Ohio.⁶

This transition was precipitated by several influences on Knapp, one of the first being a period of intense suffering, including financial pressures, personal illness, and culminating in the death of his beloved wife in 1890, whom he extolled as "spiritual mother" and "ministerial co-laborer."⁷ During this time, the Knapps relied heavily on their office assistant, Minnie Ferle, whom Martin married in 1892, just one week prior to the move to Cincinnati. Another personal relationship that figured prominently in Knapp's decision to relocate was his deepening friendship with a Methodist evangelist from Cincinnati, J. L. Glascock, who convinced Knapp that the holiness cause in his city was in need of Knapp's influence.⁸

Cincinnati, with dominance over Louisville as the rail link between North and South, afforded an ideal location for a publishing concern.⁹ Its central location also meant that holiness revivalists would often pass through the city, literally making it the crossroads of the Holiness Movement. In addition to Glascock, Knapp soon became a fast friend with such men as W. B. Godbey and G. D. Watson, forming symbiotic relationships with them through Revivalist publishing. They promoted *The Revivalist* and his books, and Knapp in turn published their writings, in effect propelling such men as Godbey and A. M. Hills to the forefront of the Holiness Movement as popular writers.¹⁰

⁶*Out of Egypt Into Canaan; or, Lessons in Spiritual Geography* was copyrighted in 1887 but was not published until the following year. A reprint is available (Salem, OH: Schmul Publishing Company, 2000).

⁷M. W. Knapp, "Glorified," *The Revivalist* (October 1890), 3. During this period, *Impressions*, Knapp's most popular and enduring book, was written (Cincinnati: Revivalist, 1892).

⁸Holiness advocates in Cincinnati were in disarray and disrepute due to the ravages of "fanaticism," including such extremes as one man claiming "to be Christ incarnated again" (Hills, *Hero*, 79).

⁹For instance, it was home to the world's largest publisher, best-known for its McGuffey Readers.

¹⁰Although Godbey had written a few books before meeting Knapp, the latter was the motivation behind the production of Godbey's best-known books, his New Testament commentaries. Godbey recognized Knapp's responsibility for his

Over the next decade there was a boom in Knapp's publishing ministry. It saw *Revivalist* circulation reach twenty thousand by 1899 and the formation and rapid evolution of a series of holiness "leagues" established Cincinnati, which became the center of a movement dedicated to holiness revivalism. These organizational efforts resulted in a Holiness Union (1897) recognized by posterity as the precursor to the Pilgrim Holiness Church. However, Knapp never envisioned this work to be a step on the road to denominationalism, which he strongly deplored, instead attempting to accommodate both denominational loyalists and disaffected holiness parties with a unique ecclesiastical balance.¹¹ This difficult equilibrium between inordinate denominational loyalty and "anarchistical come-outism" committed *The Revivalist* and its related Cincinnati-based enterprises to inter-denominationalism long after Knapp's death, and the evolution of the union into a denomination.¹²

An incipient feature of the union on the local level was the establishment of storefront missions, including several such works located in

own success by praising God "for using Brother Knapp to launch me into authorship" (*Autobiography of Rev. W. B. Godbey*, A. M. [Cincinnati: Revivalist, 1909], 365). For a scholarly discussion of Godbey's significance to the Holiness Movement, see Barry W. Hamilton, "William Baxter Godbey: Apostle of Holiness," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* Vol. 36 No. 2 (Fall 2001), 144-163. Also, see my biographical essay on Godbey in *Lightning from the Past: Camp Meeting Sermons by Early Twentieth-Century Holiness Revivalists* (Salem, OH: Schmuel Publishing, 2001), 73-79. Knapp also risked publishing Hills' *Holiness and Power for the Church and Ministry* (1897), a book rejected by other publishers but destined to become a best-selling holiness classic. Hills recognized Knapp's stimulus to his own ministry by crediting the publisher with introducing him "to the holiness public" and "immeasurably" enlarging his influence (Hills, *Hero*, 88, and Rees, Seth C., et. al., *Pentecostal Messengers*, 39).

¹¹This position was not one of ambivalence, as interpreted by Timothy L. Smith (*Called Unto Holiness*, 59), but was a carefully articulated and purposeful stance intended to avoid the extremes at either end of the ecclesiastical spectrum.

¹² See Knapp's "Come-outism and Revivals," *The Revivalist* (April 4, 1901), 1, where he condemns "anarchistical come-outism" as "one of the greatest foes of spirituality and the kingdom of heaven." In particular, Knapp suggested that the "Evening Light" advocates (Church of God, Anderson) were guilty of "Sect-fighting Sectarianism," *The Revivalist* (February 21, 1901), 8. He considered their *Gospel Trumpet* to be one of *The Revivalist's* "most strenuous opposers" ("Revival Perils," *The Revivalist* [September 12, 1901], 1). On the other hand, Knapp became increasingly outspoken against the abuses of ecclesiastical authority by anti-holiness forces in the MEC and MECS. For example, see his *Pentecostal Aggressiveness; or, Why I Conducted the Meetings of the Chesapeake Holiness Union at Bowens, Maryland*, M. W. Knapp, 1899? and "Withdrawing from the Methodist Church," in Hills, *Hero*, 132-144.

inner-city Cincinnati. While these missions often evolved into self-supporting churches in other communities, a Bible study led by Knapp at the Revivalist Chapel in Cincinnati was the forerunner of a much larger enterprise. *Revivalist* readers were invited to join these daily “Pentecostal” sessions and the numerous participants included several ministers who “received the baptism with the Holy Ghost, which . . . transformed them into flames of fire.”¹³ The success of this mission work, which included the conversion of an influential businessman’s daughter, Bessie Queen, coupled with interest in correspondence studies offered to the *Revivalist* family, helped to convince Knapp that the time was right to launch a ministry which he had envisioned before leaving Michigan.

This ministry was to be a Bible school and missionary training home. In the summer of 1900, through events that astounded the real estate sector of Cincinnati, Knapp obtained property in the suburb of Mount Auburn for a fraction of the amount being asked by its owner.¹⁴ With practically no money to his name, he walked into the courthouse and deeded the property to God, with M. W. Knapp listed as trustee. The *Revivalist* family responded in kind to this challenge of faith, and the secular media marveled more than once at their generosity in supporting the work on what quickly became known as the “Mount of Blessings.”¹⁵

The *Revivalist* publishing enterprises were soon moved from the rented rooms at the YMCA. to the stately brick mansion that provided the initial quarters for Knapp’s work on the Hilltop. Likewise, the *Revivalist* Chapel was moved from 409 Sycamore Street to the parlor at 1810 Young Street. Within a year, a large wooden tabernacle was constructed, providing ample space for conducting the “Salvation Park Camp Meeting” which had been sponsored for several years by the Cincinnati Holiness

¹³“The Revivalist Chapel,” *The Revivalist* (January 25, 1900), 11.

¹⁴Previously, the owner had rejected an offer of \$100,000 for the prime real estate that bordered picturesque Filson’s overlook above the Ohio River. After negotiations had lowered the price to \$35,000, Knapp felt God would have him offer \$20,000. To the surprise of even the real estate agents, the offer was accepted.

¹⁵The required downpayment of \$2,000 was met through gifts that rapidly followed the initial \$100 given by Mrs. E. S. “Mother” Duff and the \$1,000 donated by F. M. Messenger, later a prominent leader in the Metropolitan Church Association and the Church of the Nazarene. For media response to such phenomena, see “Wild Scenes in the Tabernacle: When Women Threw Away All Their Jewelry: And Men Gave Liberally of Their Wealth: To Clear Up the Debt on the New Edifice at the Bible School,” *Cincinnati Enquirer* (July 5, 1901), 10.

League, also led by Knapp.¹⁶ However, the central focus of the new campus was the school named God's Bible School and Missionary Training Home.

Repeating Pentecost: Modeling a Worldview

When school began on September 27, 1900, with Seth C. Rees presenting the opening sermon and dedicatory prayer before the staff and seventy-two students, Knapp's vision for the new venture had already been widely disseminated through the pages of *The Revivalist* and a small book entitled *Back to the Bible; or, Pentecostal Training*.¹⁷ These writings make it clear that Knapp saw God's Bible School as a vehicle for Holiness/Pentecostal teaching on at least two levels—the individual and the community.

Among individual students, Knapp hoped to remedy the preoccupation with the intellectual in ministerial education by focusing on the spiritual development of soul-winners. He believed that most ministerial training involved “cramming the coal-bins of the soul full of the sawdust of secular knowledge instead of the coal of the Word of God.”¹⁸ Knapp thus expressed determination that God's Bible School would equip students with Bible knowledge instead of attempting “to stuff students with dead languages, higher mathematics, and heathen philosophies.”¹⁹

In addition to being grounded in Bible doctrine, students were also expected to seek Pentecostal experience (Spirit-baptism), taking “‘heed to themselves’ as well as the doctrine, knowing that it [was] only ‘in so doing’ that they [would] be able to save themselves and them that hear them.’” Stressing the urgency of this requirement, Knapp warned that it was “needless for persons who will not meet these conditions to apply for admission to this School.”²⁰ Furthermore, the elements of Bible knowledge and Pentecostal experience were inextricably interwoven at God's Bible School. On the one hand, Spirit-baptism without Bible study would

¹⁶This organization was one of those leading to the formation of the Union. The camp was held in 1895 at Beulah Heights, Kentucky, and thereafter at the Hamilton County Fairgrounds until the move to the Mount of Blessings.

¹⁷Cincinnati: M. W. Knapp, 1900. In *The Revivalist*, see especially its “Bible-School Edition” (June 21, 1900).

¹⁸Martin Wells Knapp, *Back to the Bible: or, Pentecostal Training* (Cincinnati: M. W. Knapp, 1900), 14-15.

¹⁹“God's Bible-School,” *The Revivalist* (August 30, 1900), 15.

²⁰Knapp, *Back to the Bible*, 34.

leave the believer without substance, liable to “mistakes and blunders” too often characteristic of “unskilled laborers.”²¹ Knapp explained this by extending his analogy using coal: “The Word of God is the coal which feeds the fire and which keeps [the gospel worker] going. The baptism with the Holy Ghost is the fire itself. As the engine soon stops without coal, so the believer can accomplish little unless, like Barnabas, he is ‘full of the Scriptures.’ ”²²

Conversely, Knapp viewed Pentecostal experience as the essential qualification in Bible interpretation. He extolled it as “the Divine preparation for receiving and understanding the Word of God,” asserting that “the birth of the Spirit and the baptism with the Spirit are essential to knowing the Word.”²³ In particular, the “second blessing” opened the interpreter to new vistas unknown to the merely regenerate. Godbey thus “counseled interpreters to get all the rocks of depravity eliminated from the heart . . . [to enable them to] go down into the profound mysteries of revealed truths, be flooded with new spiritual illuminations, and progressively be ‘edified by fresh revealments of the Divine attributes in glory, though you never saw a college or inherited Solomonic genius.’ ”²⁴

This radical appropriation of the traditional concept of double-inspiration provided the hermeneutical nexus of “Word and Fire” that laid the foundation for a unique worldview—Pentecostalism. Just as Scripture was opened to the Spirit-baptized, confirming their experience in passages otherwise never suspected of expounding the second blessing (particularly through use of Bible allegory), so Pentecostal experience was confirmed by observations of practically every aspect of life. Knapp and such colleagues as G. D. Watson found Pentecostal metaphors in such natural phenomena as lightning and earthquakes, such technological

²¹Ibid., 15.

²²Ibid., 14.

²³Ibid., 34.

²⁴Cited in Stephen J. Lennox, “Biblical Interpretation in the American Holiness Movement: 1875-1920,” *Wesleyan Theological Journal* Vol. 33 No. 1 (Spring 1998), 27. For more extensive critique of early Holiness Movement hermeneutics, see Lennox’s dissertation by the same title (Ph. D. diss., Drew University, 1992) and Bruce E. Moyer, “The Doctrine of Christian Perfection: A Comparative Study of John Wesley and the Modern American Holiness Movement” (Ph. D. diss., Marquette University, 1992).

advances as the railroad and the telegraph, and such everyday observations as the symmetry of human anatomy.²⁵

This “hermeneutic of illustration” that reinforced Pentecostal experience through every realm of observation was concomitant with an application of Pentecostal ideals to every facet of life. That is, the fruit of Spirit-baptism was Spirit-guidance. For example, in relation to health issues, the “second blessing” would practically result in “hygienic” holiness for the newly cleansed “temple of the Holy Ghost” (1 Corinthians 6:19-20). Seth Rees reflects this sentiment in his assertion that “those who have received their Pentecost live pure, holy lives. They never practice unclean habits, whether secret or known. They do not have unclean thoughts, unchaste desires, or unholy passions. They do not use wine, beer, tobacco, snuff or opium.”²⁶

The emphasis on accountability to God extended beyond health concerns to such considerations as finances, time, energy, etc. *The Revivalist* columns on “Winning and Warning” and “Reformation” alerted readers to contemporary challenges to righteousness in these areas, illustrating Knapp’s refusal to “be even a silent partner to any evil that is robbing God or His people of time, money, influence, strength, or health.”²⁷

This rhetoric was implemented at God’s Bible School through a rigorous regimen that continuously reminded students to “do all to the glory of God” (1 Corinthians 10:31). For example, in keeping with Knapp’s

²⁵Knapp contended that “Two eyes, two ears, two hands, two feet, are an ever present argument that a double work is in harmony with the divine order” (M. W. Knapp, “Notes By the Way,” *The Revivalist* [September 21, 1899], 2). Titles of Knapp’s books, such as *Revival Tornadoes* (1889) and *Lightning Bolts from Pentecostal Skies* (1898), reflect a preoccupation with Pentecostal analogies from nature. For a demonstration of holiness interest in the railroad as an evangelism tool and subject for illustration, see “Railroad Edition” *The Revivalist* (April 1896), 1. Also, note Charles Edwin Jones, “The Railroad to Heaven,” *North Dakota Quarterly* Vol. 40 (August 1972), 69-72, on the particular identification of the railroad with the “Pilgrim’s Progress” to Beulah Land.

²⁶Seth C. Rees, *The Ideal Pentecostal Church* (1897; reprint, Salem, OH: Schmull Publishing, 1998), 13. For more on the role of behavioral issues in holiness history, see my *Radical Righteousness: Personal Ethics and the Development of the Holiness Movement* (Salem, OH: Schmull Publishing, 1998). Also, see B. T. Roberts, Adam Clarke, et. al., *Chained By A Leaf: The Use and Abuse of Tobacco* (Salem, OH: Schmull Publishing, 2001).

²⁷“God’s Revivalist for 1902,” *God’s Revivalist and Bible Advocate* (Dec. 5, 1901), 1.

conviction that indulging in vacations was “unPentecostal,”²⁸ the school term “was to be forty-weeks in length with no vacations.”²⁹ Since “God’s people should utilize every opportunity to make the holidays contribute to soul-winning and the advancement of God’s kingdom,” such occasions were marked by special evangelistic endeavors, such as the famous Thanksgiving Dinners for the poor begun in 1901.³⁰

Such attempts to bring all of life into conformity with “Pentecost” sprang from a unique formulation of primitivism or restorationism—an ideal that has been recognized as perhaps “the most vital single assumption underlying the development of American Protestantism.”³¹ Indeed, efforts to return the contemporary church to the condition of the New Testament church have informed practically every American denomination, especially such indigenous groups as the Christian Church/Disciples of Christ and the Church of Latter-Day Saints.³² While attempts at implementing this ideal have focused to varying degrees on the three categories of primitivism identified by Richard Hughes (ecclesiastical, ethical, and experiential),³³ all three, but particularly the last two, were concerns of the Revivalist Movement that avowed commitment to “apostolic purity and practices for the individual and church.”³⁴

²⁸“Notes By the Way,” *The Revivalist* (September 21, 1899), 2.

²⁹Lloyd Raymond Day, *A History of God’s Bible School in Cincinnati: 1900-1949* (M. Ed. thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1949), 37.

³⁰“Holiday Revival Hints,” *God’s Revivalist and Bible Advocate* (November 7, 1901), 1.

³¹Charles W. Nienkirchen, *A. B. Simpson and the Pentecostal Movement: A Study in Continuity, Crisis, and Change* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1992), 25. For reflections on the broad influence of this concept, see the *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* Vol. 44 (March 1976).

³²On the first group, often identified as the “Restoration Movement,” see James B. North, *Union in Truth: An Interpretive History of the Restoration Movement* (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing, 1994). On the primitivistic impulse in Mormonism, see Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989) and Richard T. Hughes, “Christian Primitivism as Perfectionism: From Anabaptists too Pentecostals,” in Stanley M. Burgess, ed., *Reaching Beyond: Chapters in the History of Perfectionism* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1986), 234-239.

³³Hughes in Burgess, 213. See also Richard T. Hughes, ed., *The American Quest for the Primitive Church* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois, 1988) and (with C. Leonard Allen), *Illusions of Innocence: Protestant Primitivism in America, 1630-1875* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1988).

³⁴“A God-Given Mission,” in Rees, et. al., *Pentecostal Messengers*, Advertisements, 10. Within the Holiness Movement, concern for ecclesiastical

Throughout their constituency, and particularly at God's Bible School, Knapp and his associates sought to effect a rather simple restoration of the church with profound implications. While holding similar commitments as other restorationists, reflected in such slogans as "no creed but the Bible,"³⁵ the Revivalist Movement's insistence on Pentecostal experience added remarkable features to its brand of primitivism.³⁶

restoration appeared most dominant in the works of such leaders as D. S. Warner—Church of God (Anderson) and John P. Brooks—Church of God (Holiness). On the former, see Barry L. Callen, *It's God's Church: The Life and Legacy of Daniel S. Warner* (Anderson, IN: Warner Press, 1995) and *Contours of a Cause: Theological Vision of the Church of God Movement (Anderson, Indiana)* (Anderson, IN: Anderson University School of Theology, 1995). On the latter, see Clarence Eugene Cowen, *A History of the Church of God (Holiness)* (Overland Park, KS: Herald and Banner Press, 1949).

³⁵While joined by other holiness leaders including Knapp, "Objections to the So-Called Apostles' Creed," *The Revivalist* (November 15, 1900), 7; and Oswald Chambers, *Studies in the Sermon on the Mount* (1915; reprint, Grand Rapids: Discovery House Publishers, 1995), 38; W. B. Godbey led the anti-creedal crusade, insisting that "if the Holiness people do not get saved from all the creeds and come back to the New Testament alone, rest assured the Holy Spirit will be grieved" (*The Bible*, Nashville: Pentecostal Mission Publishing Co., n. d.), 19). Godbey also provides an excellent example of the appropriation of primitivist themes from the Restoration Movement or "Campbellism" as he termed it. Although he reserved some of his most vitriolic polemics for this movement due to its view of baptism (that he characterized as idolatry to the "water god"), he ironically held many commitments in common with Alexander Campbell's followers including, in addition to vehement opposition to "human" creeds, an equally strong emphasis on biblical authority and a desire to see the contemporary church conform to New Testament patterns. See W. B. Godbey, *Water and Fire: From Water Baptism to Spirit Baptism*, compiled by Roger G. Price and Wallace Thornton, Jr. (Salem, OH: Schmul, forthcoming) for primary sources that document Godbey's relationship to the Restoration Movement, including his first book, *Baptism: Mode and Design* (1883).

³⁶For scholarly exploration of primitivism in Holiness/Pentecostal traditions, see Edith Blumhofer, *Restoring the Faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, and American Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1993); Melvin E. Dieter, "Primitivism in the American Holiness Tradition," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* Vol. 30 No. 1 (Spring 1995), 78-91; Susie C. Stanley, "Bumping Into Modernity: Primitive/Modern Tensions in the Wesleyan/Holiness Movement" (121-138) and Grant Wacker, "Playing for Keeps: The Primitivist Impulse in Early Pentecostalism" (196-219) in Richard T. Hughes, ed., *The Primitive Church in the Modern World* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1995); and Steven Ware, "Restorationism in the Holiness Movement, Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* Vol. 34 No. 1 (Spring 1999), 200-219, which condenses his dissertation, "Restoring the New Testament Church in the Holiness Movement of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century," Ph. D. diss., Drew University, 1999.

Radical holiness advocates took a step further the primitivist axiom that the New Testament Church provided the ideal pattern for the Church in all ages. For them, the church of Acts 2-4 was normative: “Back to the Bible” actually meant “Back to Pentecost.”³⁷ This primitivism was imbued by a conviction expressed well in “Pentecostal Fire is Falling,” a song by George Bennard:

Pentecost can be repeated,
For the Lord is just the same,
Yesterday, today, forever,
Glory to His precious name!
Saints of God can be victorious
Over sin and death and hell;
Have a full and free salvation,
And the blessed story tell.³⁸

A. M. Hills thus explained to his fellow Congregationalists that “the main issue” of the movement that had coalesced around *The Revivalist* was “the multiplication of Pentecosts in all the churches and in individual hearts.”³⁹ Knapp reflected this passion and logic in terms of “Our Revival Model”:

Pentecost and the great revivals which followed it in the primitive Church are the patterns which the Holy Spirit has left for us to follow. They declare in thunder tones that if we would see Pentecostal results, there must be Pentecostal repentance, Pentecostal prayer, Pentecostal sanctification, and *conformity to Pentecostal conditions and practices*. The great spiritual principles which were magnified by the apostles are the same now as they were then, and insistence upon them will bring similar results.⁴⁰

³⁷This position is articulated in a reprint of George Kulp’s article, “Back to the Word—to Pentecost,” *God’s Revivalist and Bible Advocate* (August 6, 1959), 9.

³⁸Although not as well known as Bennard’s *The Old Rugged Cross*, this song was a favorite at God’s Bible School and appeared as number 151 in *Praise of His Glory Songs*, edited by R. E. McNeill, J. F. Knapp, and M. G. Standley (Cincinnati: Revivalist Press, 1922).

³⁹“An Open Letter to Congregationalists,” *The Revivalist* (May 18, 1899), 14. See also “The Main Issue,” *The Revivalist* (May 3, 1900), 1.

⁴⁰“Our Revival Model,” *The Revivalist* (December 6, 1900), 1 (my emphasis).

This unique blend of Wesleyan perfectionism and primitivism resulted in a new religious construct distinct in church history. Ironically, the attempt to recapture the essence of the “apostolic” church had resulted in a radically new ideology. As William Kostlevy has observed, “The radical holiness impulse far from a revival of the old-time religion is, in fact, best understood as a new religious movement.”⁴¹ This movement, variously termed “apostolic faith” and “Pentecostal” by Knapp and his colleagues, was the incipient stage in the “spread of pentecostal theology,” widely recognized as “probably the most important Protestant story of the twentieth century.”⁴²

Indeed, while the term “Pentecostal” has become inextricably associated with tongues-speaking, the movement led by Knapp understood itself as Pentecostal and held many of the same views as later tongues advocates, with the exception of the appropriation of glossolalia and other physical phenomena as evidences of Spirit-baptism. Thus, when the tongues-speaking innovation appeared, resulting in a “divided flame” in the Holiness/Pentecostal traditions, “leaders of the Holiness movement recognized that it was only the gift of tongues that set it apart from their own teachings.”⁴³ While tongues advocates added a new dimension to Pentecostal experience, the Revivalist Movement, particularly through the community on the Mount of Blessings, represented an earlier, but full-orbed expression of Pentecostal ideology.

This commitment to following “Pentecostal conditions and practices” went far beyond the much controverted identification of entire sanctification with Pentecost, a teaching that “reached a crescendo” in the preaching of Knapp and his colleagues and found its “geographical cen-

⁴¹William Kostlevy, *Moving Beyond Phoebe Palmer: Holiness Movement Research Challenges and Opportunities in the 21st Century* (n. p.: Wilmore, KY, n. d.), n. p. Knapp could not see the novelty of Pentecostalism, asserting that revival fire at God’s Bible School was “simply the old religion of the Bible and of the fathers . . . being expressed” (“A ‘New Religion,’ ” *God’s Revivalist and Bible Advocate* [September 5, 1901], 15).

⁴²David E. Harrell, “David E. Harrell Comments at the Opening of the John Carver Collection,” *Wesleyan/Holiness Studies Center Bulletin* Vol. 7 No. 2 (Winter 1999), 1. See also, Mark A. Noll, *Turning Points: Decisive Moments in the History of Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1997), 302.

⁴³Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1987), 175.

ter” at God’s Bible School.⁴⁴ To be sure, this equation of Spirit-baptism with the second blessing, along with the other elements of the four-fold gospel, formed the heart of Pentecostalism, as has been demonstrated by Donald Dayton.⁴⁵ In fact, the centrality of these components of regeneration, entire sanctification, divine healing, and the premillennial return of Christ was demonstrated in the opening sermon at God’s Bible School, an exposition by Seth Rees of these themes as essential components of “all the words of this life” (Acts 5:20).⁴⁶

However, while these elements reflect the core of the Pentecostal worldview, the attempt to recreate Pentecost extended much further, as already illustrated by the application of Pentecostal logic to such diverse areas of practical living as hygiene and work schedules. Knapp intended for God’s Bible School to promote the repetition of Pentecost by instilling Pentecostal principles within its students through Spirit-baptism and insistence on Pentecostal practices by individuals and the community.⁴⁷

In addition, Knapp’s vision for individuals on the Hilltop complemented his concern for the extended “apostolic faith” community. Firstly, and obviously, Knapp hoped that students would leave and engage in ministries that would propagate the radical holiness message far beyond the

⁴⁴Leon O. Hynson, “They Confessed Themselves Pilgrims, 1897-1930,” 217-264, in Wayne E. Caldwell, ed., *Reformers and Revivalists: The History of the Wesleyan Church* (Indianapolis: Wesley Press, 1992), 227. This should not be taken to imply that such “Pentecostal” theology was unique to GBS. Similar concurrent developments marked such works as J. O. McClurkan’s Pentecostal Mission in Nashville, Tennessee, and the revivalism of such pioneer Nazarene leaders as C. B. Jernigan who exulted from Texas, “O Glory to God! we are getting back to Pentecost” in a 1901 report to Knapp (“Revival Prayer Answered,” *God’s Revivalist and Bible Advocate* [April 11, 1901], 11). However, the role of the Revivalist Movement in promoting this Pentecostal formulation could hardly be overstated. Since its inception, more articles in the *Wesleyan Theological Journal* deal with the identification of Pentecost with entire sanctification than with any other single subject, bearing testimony to its controversial nature.

⁴⁵In *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* he traces the ascendancy of the last three elements of the four-fold gospel among Wesleyan/Holiness people, frequently noting the contributions of the Revivalist Movement to these developments. In particular, note pages 91-92, 165-167, and 173-175.

⁴⁶Knapp, *Back to the Bible*, 45-52.

⁴⁷Knapp listed several results of repeated Pentecosts, including Christian unity, the conviction and conversion of sinners, the sanctification of believers, empowerment for soul-winning, reading of holiness literature, divine healing, free-will offerings, and opposition “by the world, carnal Church-members, and the devil” (“Marks of Pentecostal Revivals,” *The Revivalist* [August 22, 1901], 1).

Mount of Blessings. Secondly, and equally significant, the implementation of Pentecostal ideals at God's Bible School was intended to provide a demonstration to the world at large of the validity of those principles. In essence, Knapp, like many Americans from John Winthrop to John Humphrey Noyes, desired to propagate his spiritual vision by establishing a "city set on a hill"—God's Bible School. Knapp thus requested, "As Mt. Zion was situated high above Jerusalem, and looked down upon it, and became the mighty center of a great movement that was a blessing to all Israel, so let our readers pray that the Mount of Blessings may be to this city and to God's Israel of every name and nation."⁴⁸

The Revivalist, other publications, and promotion by itinerant colleagues like Rees and Godbey provided readily available tools for publicizing the victories of Knapp's grand Pentecostal experiment on the Mount of Blessings. Accompanying developments reveal apparent widespread agreement with Dr. Godbey's assessment of the effort: "The brilliancy, fervor and glory shining out from this mountain really reflects more gorgeous splendor and permanent fire than elsewhere in all the earth."⁴⁹

Pentecostal Success: From the Hilltop to the Heathen

The dramatic increase in *Revivalist* subscriptions and its move from monthly to weekly publication in 1899 foreshadowed the success of God's Bible School. This success may not be apparent from conventional study of early enrollment numbers, made difficult by the nontraditional focus on Bible vocational education as opposed to a typical collegiate structure. However, the global impact of the school on the Holiness/Pentecostal traditions becomes clear when the careers of just a few early students and other associates of the school are taken into account.

⁴⁸Knapp, *Back to the Bible*, 28. Knapp and his colleagues, who had firmly committed to premillennialism by the time God's Bible School began, did not aspire to win majority acceptance of Pentecostal ideals. Indeed, they believed that culture in general would deteriorate and become more decadent. On the other hand, they believed in a simultaneous revival of Pentecost that would prepare Christ's Bride for His return. As Godbey put it, "Pessimism is as true, where it belongs, on the sin side, as optimism in its sphere on the grace side" ("Question Drawer," *God's Revivalist and Bible Advocate* [July 11, 1901], 5). The community at God's Bible School was intended to model this "optimism of grace" for all to see, while providing a practical rebuke to the "pessimism of sin."

⁴⁹W. B. Godbey, "Adoption," 98-119, in *Godbey on Christian Experience*, compiled by Wallace Thornton, Jr. and Roger Price (Salem, OH: Schmul Publishing, 1999), 99.

For example, two of the most influential leaders in early tongues-speaking Pentecostalism attended classes during the early years of God's Bible School. One of these was Ambrose Jessup Tomlinson, organizer of the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee), one of the largest Pentecostal groups in the world, as well as the Church of God of Prophecy.⁵⁰ Under the Revivalist Movement's influence through the ministry of fellow Hoosier Quaker Seth Rees and his "avid" reading of *The Revivalist* before moving to Cincinnati, Tomlinson exemplified Pentecostal grace while on the Hilltop. There he gained such reputation as a prayer warrior that other students affixed to his door a sign designating him "The Prevailer."⁵¹

Equally significant for global Pentecostalism was the ministry of another student, William Joseph Seymour, often acknowledged as the founding figure of modern Pentecostalism due to his leadership in the Azusa Street revival in Los Angeles (1906-1907). While historians have often noted Seymour's indebtedness to Charles Fox Parham's Bible School in Topeka, Kansas, it was his education at God's Bible School from 1900 to 1902 that firmly established his commitment to the Holiness/Pentecostal ideals advocated by Knapp.⁵² In addition, the integrated classes and worship on the Hilltop "may have provided Seymour with his first exposure to a racially mixed congregation."⁵³ Both the themes of Pentecostal holiness and racial reconciliation, pioneered by Knapp, became hallmarks of Seymour's ministry, particularly at Asuza Street.

Other early associates of God's Bible School that reflect its formative influence on the Holiness/Pentecostal traditions included Kent White, who represented the *Revivalist* in Denver; Frank Bartleman, regular contributor to *God's Revivalist*⁵⁴ who is best known for his reports of the Asuza Street revival; and Abbie C. Morrow, who wrote several Revivalist books, served as an editor of the Revivalist's children's periodical

⁵⁰Scores of other groups using the name "Church of God" have their roots in the work of Tomlinson, further extending his influence.

⁵¹H. D. Hunter, "Ambrose Jessup Tomlinson," in Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee, editors, *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988), 846-847.

⁵²See Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century* 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 93.

⁵³James T. Connelly, "William J. Seymour," in Charles H. Lippy, ed., *Twentieth-Century Shapers of American Popular Religion* (New York and Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1989), 381-387.

⁵⁴Synan, 87.

Sparkling Waters from Bible Fountains, and collaborated weekly with W. B. Godbey in *God's Revivalist*, shedding "Light from a Pentecostal Standpoint" on International Sunday-School Lessons.

The careers of these and other early residents of the Hilltop also reflect the inherent place of mission, both local and global, in Holiness/Pentecostal ideology. Knapp's nascent efforts at Pentecostal education at Revivalist Chapel indicate the strength of local evangelistic work in inner city Cincinnati long before classes began on the Hilltop. Remarkable numbers of people, including seven hundred and fifty in only one year, professed conversion and sanctification in these "home" mission works.⁵⁵ In addition, Knapp's colleagues in other urban works around the country garnered similar results. For example, Seth Rees saw "over one thousand converted" during two years of ministry in Providence, Rhode Island.⁵⁶

The fact that urban ministry was a well-established, integral part of the Revivalist Movement before the founding of God's Bible School is reflected in Knapp's proposal for the school, which included detailed plans of using Cincinnati as a proving ground for soul-winners.⁵⁷ Of course, this local training was intended to prepare Pentecostal soldiers to do battle for souls around the world, a goal which was quickly pursued by the Revivalist family.

The development of this worldwide vision as "a central concern" of the Revivalist Movement has been traced by David Bundy to the influence of Minnie Ferle Knapp, who, in the "For the Youth" column of *The Revivalist*, "began, in December 1896, to devote space to the story of Sammy Morris."⁵⁸ This account of a young African immigrant to the United States who became a force for revival at Taylor University found renewed life among her readers. It was followed the next month by the introduction of a full-fledged "Missionary" column. Mrs. Knapp contin-

⁵⁵Hills, *Hero*, 99.

⁵⁶Lee Haines, "The Co-Founders of the International Holiness Union and Prayer League—Forerunner of the Pilgrim Holiness Church: Martin Wells Knapp [and] Seth Cook Rees," *The Wesleyan Advocate* (July 4, 1977), 11.

⁵⁷See his "Cincinnati as a Mission Field" in *Back to the Bible*, 29-30. Among the techniques to be used were house-to-house visitation, street meetings, tract distribution, and personal work in the "slums."

⁵⁸David Bundy, "From Cincinnati to the World: The Beginnings of the Missionary Vision of God's Bible School," *God's Revivalist and Bible Advocate* 113 no. 1 (Winter 2001), 9.

ued to champion the cause of world evangelism through her articles and, after her husband's death, an extensive tour of the Caribbean.⁵⁹

Knapp, whose own aspirations for foreign missionary service under Bishop William Taylor had been thwarted by health problems, began plans to "manipulate the buttons" for global Pentecost even before classes began on the Hilltop. One of the first indications of this was the creation of various funds for foreign and home mission activities, such as the "India Famine Fund," with balances and offerings reported on the "Missionary" page. In effect, just as the Revivalist family provided a ready network of financial supporters for God's Bible School, so it did for Holiness/Pentecostal mission endeavors.

One of the most highly publicized of such mission efforts was the "Round-the-World" tour undertaken in January 1901 by Byron J. Rees, son of Seth (himself an ardent supporter of foreign missions), and Charles H. Stalker, another Quaker evangelist.⁶⁰ Stalker's progress, as he visited mission works primarily in India, China and Japan, was featured regularly in *The Revivalist*, which also provided financial support from the "Go-or-Send Fund."⁶¹ The goal of this venture was not to establish new missions, but to persuade missionaries already on the field to accept the Pentecostal message, regardless of their denomination.⁶²

However, efforts to start distinct Holiness works anchored in the Revivalist Movement were begun even earlier than the Rees-Stalker tour. They began when William Hirst, who had served as bookkeeper for Knapp's publishing ministry and as the first secretary of the International

⁵⁹See Mrs. M. W. Knapp, *Diary Letters: A Missiona[r]y Trip through the West Indies and to South America* (Cincinnati, God's Revivalist Office, 1918). In addition to her own articles, youth columns often included correspondence from missionaries especially oriented toward children.

⁶⁰Although Byron Rees apparently planned the tour before Stalker was included, he abandoned it in England. See Byron J. Rees, "The Whole World for Jesus," *The Revivalist* (October 4, 1900), 9, and "World-Wide Holiness Evangelism," *The Revivalist* (December 6, 1900), 14.

⁶¹See also Charles H. Stalker, *Twice Around the World With the Holy Ghost; or, The Impressions and Convictions of the Mission Field* (Columbus, OH: Charles H. Stalker, 1906). It should also be noted that *The Revivalist* gave frequent updates on W. B. Godbey's journeys abroad, in which he often visited mission works.

⁶²See the brief discussion of the significance of this tour in Thomas, Paul Westphal and Paul William Thomas, *The Days of Our Pilgrimage: The History of the Pilgrim Holiness Church* (Marion, IN: The Wesley Press, 1976), 28.

Holiness Union, felt a call to African missions. In response, Knapp established the "Africa Mission Fund" and, in October 1900, the Hirst family left for Capetown to become the first Revivalist-sponsored missionaries to a foreign field.⁶³ Many early students followed the Hirst's example and ministered in Africa, including Lillian Trasher, pioneer Assemblies of God missionary to Egypt, and Etta Innis (Shirley) and Lula Glatzel (Schmelzenbach), pioneer Nazarene missionaries to Swaziland.⁶⁴

While the significance of these enterprises should not be underestimated, the Revivalist family's enthusiasm for African missions, dampened by internal problems and the Boer War, soon gave way to excitement over evangelism in the Far East. The well-known story of Charles and Lettie Cowman aptly illustrates this development. A student at God's Bible School for only a few weeks, Charles had attended classes earlier at Moody's school in Chicago and was perhaps more of a colleague with Knapp than a student.⁶⁵ In addition, the Cowmans were already planning to go to Japan under the Methodist Missionary Board when they felt directed to spend time first on the Mount of Blessings. However, God's Bible School's primary contribution to the Cowmans' work involved their acceptance of a key element of Pentecostal ideology. At the culmination of three days of prayer with Knapp, Charles felt God speaking to him, as he and his wife expressed it, "about going out in the old apostolic way."⁶⁶

Rejecting denominational support in favor of the "faith line," the Cowmans departed from Cincinnati for Japan in December of 1900 with the full blessings and support of the Revivalist family, who eagerly watched them go to start a school similar to the one on the Hilltop, "not to cram the minds of the Japanese with secular knowledge, but to evangelize, teach, and exemplify a full gospel."⁶⁷ The ties between the Revivalist

⁶³See *The Revivalist* articles, "Going!" (October 4, 1900), 9, and "Gone!" (October 18, 1900), 9.

⁶⁴On Trasher's work, see Lillian Trasher, *Letters from Lillian* (Springfield, MO: Assemblies of God Division of Foreign Missions, 1983). On Glatzel and Innis, see J. Fred Parker, *Into All the World: The Story of Nazarene Missions Through 1980* (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1983), 15-21.

⁶⁵Robert D. Wood, *In These Mortal Hands: The Story of The Oriental Missionary Society: The First 50 Years* (Greenwood, IN: OMS International, Inc., 1983), 43. See also Lettie B. Cowman, *Missionary Warrior: Charles E. Cowman* (1928; reprint, Greenwood, IN: OMS International, Inc., 1976), 105-112.

⁶⁶Mr. and Mrs. C. E. Cowman, "Called to Japan," *The Revivalist* (November 15, 1900), 9.

⁶⁷"Farewell Service of Brother and Sister Cowman," *The Revivalist* (December 6, 1900), 9. They arrived February 22, 1901.

family and the Cowman's work, which was organized as the Oriental Missionary Society (now OMS International), remained strong for decades with the *Revivalist* regularly soliciting financial support for the Cowman's faith work. In addition, Lettie regularly contributed articles to the *Revivalist*, many of which were collected later in book form as the best-selling devotional, *Streams in the Desert* (1925).

When considering the contributions of the Revivalist Movement to the beginnings of OMS alone, which birthed one of the world's largest holiness denominations—the Korean Evangelical Holiness Church, the enormity of the success of Knapp's pentecostal experiment becomes apparent.⁶⁸ Yet, this success was not without its detractors from the earliest days of God's Bible School. Not even all holiness observers shared Dr. Godbey's enthusiasm for the light shining from the Mount of Blessings. Indeed, some of Knapp's most vocal critics were those associated with the National Association for the Promotion of Holiness, although this organization had embraced Knapp's ministry during his early years in Cincinnati, with its president, C. J. Fowler, endorsing Salvation Park Camp Meeting in glowing terms and engaging Knapp as a speaker as late as 1897.⁶⁹

However, as Knapp extended pentecostal ideals to include such concepts as divine healing and premillennialism, National Association leaders labeled *The Revivalist* as a "semi-holiness" paper and charged Knapp with derailing holiness people onto "sidetracks."⁷⁰ Regardless, and undoubtedly further inciting their angst, demand for Revivalist publications continued to outpace that for their own. Their opposition raised to fever-pitch when Knapp and Rees began to encourage holiness people to abandon apostate churches for independent fellowships associated with the Holiness Union, prompting Methodist loyalists to react with the charge of "come-outism," a charge given even more credence by Knapp's

⁶⁸See Sung Ho Kim, *History of the Korea Evangelical Holiness Church*, edited by the History Compilation Committee of the Korea Evangelical Holiness Church, translated by Chun-Hoi HEO and Hye-Kyung HEO (Seoul: Living Waters, 1998). The only larger holiness denominations are the Church of the Nazarene and the Salvation Army.

⁶⁹"Silver Heights Camp-meeting," *The Revivalist* (October 1897), 6. This camp is located near New Albany, Indiana. For Fowler's commendation, see "Salvation Park Camp-meeting," *The Revivalist* (September 1896), 7.

⁷⁰"Among the Holiness Periodicals," *Christian Witness and Advocate of Bible Holiness* (October 18, 1900), 5.

own withdrawal from the M. E. Church.⁷¹ Even in the face of such hostility within Holiness ranks, Knapp persevered in pressing for the renewal of Pentecost, arguing that, rather than sidetracks, the principles he promoted were spokes emanating from the holiness hub. He insisted that, while his work would continue to magnify the hub, the spokes such as “Gifts of the Spirit: wisdom, healing, etc.” and the “Return of Jesus” would also be “honored.”⁷² To ignore them would eventually “tear the hub out of the wheel and ruin it.”⁷³

The conflict with more traditional Methodist holiness leaders culminated in a dramatic “showdown” in Chicago in 1901. Before and during the General Holiness Assembly (convened largely due to concerns over fanaticism), radical holiness leaders associated with Knapp sponsored a competing revival meeting that was well advertised in the *Revivalist*. In a remarkable series of events, the revival fire of the radicals, which saw over two thousand seekers before the Assembly could even begin, apparently convinced many of the Assembly delegates so that, ironically, its “statement of faith included clauses endorsing premillennialism and divine healing.”⁷⁴

While “the extent of the radicals’ triumph only gradually became evident,” the pervasiveness of its influence would reshape most of the

⁷¹See “Notes, News, Marks, and Remarks,” *Christian Witness and Advocate of Bible Holiness* (February 14, 1901), 4, for response to the question “Is the National Holiness Association endorsing the Knapp-Revivalist movement?” The answer expresses antagonism toward “the fact that a separate association [the Holiness Union] was organized to further that movement,” concluding that “there is in the new movement that which the National Association would not endorse, though [it] has never taken any definite action in the case.” Knapp’s withdrawal from the M. E. Church was precipitated by his censure by the Michigan Conference due to his participation in the meetings of the Chesapeake Holiness Union at Bowens, Maryland, in July 1899. See Hills, *Hero*, 100-112 and 132-144. Knapp defends his action in *Pentecostal Aggressiveness; or, Why I Conducted the Meetings of the Chesapeake Holiness Union at Bowens, Maryland* (N. P.: M. W. Knapp, n. d.).

⁷²“Our Camp-meeting Wheel,” *The Revivalist* (June 14, 1900), 15.

⁷³“The Hub of the Gospel Wheel,” *The Revivalist* (June 1897), 2. See also, “A Revival Camp-Meeting,” *God’s Revivalist and Bible Advocate* (June 6, 1901), 1.

⁷⁴William Kostlevy, “Nor Silver, Nor Gold: The Burning Bush Movement and the Communitarian Holiness Vision” (Ph. D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1996), 116. The fascinating story of the Chicago revival appears in his third chapter, “Pentecost Come to the White City: The Chicago Revival and the General Holiness Assembly of 1901,” 96-126.

Holiness Movement.⁷⁵ Indeed, “although unannounced, one Holiness Movement had been superseded by another.”⁷⁶ That is, Methodist holiness had given way to Pentecostal holiness. Knapp was exultant; he felt vindicated. He thus wrote: “For years we had been praying that God would send us a Pentecost. . . . The prayer has been answered in a measure in different places, but, so far as we know, never so fully as in the recent great revival in Chicago.”⁷⁷

This note of triumph sounded remarkably similar to Knapp’s report of God’s Bible School’s opening Convention, just a few months later: “It opened auspiciously. . . . God is setting His seal upon this movement in a more wonderful way than ever. Our main answer to those who oppose us is the fire that is falling. We have never been so sensible of God’s leading and blessings in our own souls and in our work as at the present time.”⁷⁸ With these words, Knapp expressed an ideal essential to his Pentecostal vision that would thoroughly permeate the Holiness Movement over the next two decades.

Owning Pentecost: God’s Agents and God’s Assets

This ideal Knapp espoused was that of divine ownership of the Pentecostal cause, a concept increasingly promoted by Knapp after the move to the Hilltop. It is obviously reflected in the name of God’s Bible School and Missionary Training Home, in the change of the periodical name to *God’s Revivalist*, and in the erection of “God’s Tabernacle.” In a literal sense, the Revivalist family believed that God owned their enterprises, a concept that Knapp argued was biblical: “All through the New Testament, the Church is called *God’s Church*; and if it be true with the whole organized body of believers, the same principle would apply to any section of it, such as this school is.”⁷⁹

Anchored firmly within this foundational view of providence were both the concepts of the “Lord’s anointed” and the “faith line.” Knapp’s defense of attaching God’s name to his work further illustrates this fact.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, 124.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 125.

⁷⁷“God Answering by Fire, or the Great Chicago Revival,” *God’s Revivalist and Bible Advocate* (May 30, 1901), 1, 6, cited by Kostlevy, *Nor Silver*, 125.

⁷⁸Knapp, *Back to the Bible*, 52.

⁷⁹“God’s Bible-school and Missionary-training Home,” *The Revivalist* (July 5, 1900), 1.

He explained that the name expressed dependence on God, in hope of receiving continued divine leadership, since “one of the conditions of obtaining His guidance is that He should thus be acknowledged.”⁸⁰ Indeed, this commitment went beyond the level of institutional ownership to the level of daily administration, a position Knapp recognized to be unique: “The plan which God is giving us for this school is different. . . . In the first place, God Himself is recognized as the President and Proprietor, working through such agents as He may select.”⁸¹ An early student, Beatrice Finney, similarly asserted, “It certainly is God’s school. The Holy Ghost is recognized by all as the General Superintendent.”⁸² Likewise, Revivalist announcements of special meetings often noted that the “Father, Son and Holy Ghost in charge” would be assisted by such workers as L. B. Compton, E. A. Fergerson, and Arthur Green.⁸³

This rationale explains why Knapp deeded the Mount Auburn property to God, with himself and his successors acting as trustees, specifically debarring the natural “heirs of said Knapp” in favor of those selected by God.⁸⁴ Such provision also suggests the increasing authority of Knapp and other leaders within the “apostolic faith.” This influence was vividly portrayed by W. B. Godbey, who found Knapp’s “sweetness in manner” characteristic “of an angel instead of a man,” balancing “a power over the human will which was absolutely indescribable and apparently irresistible.”⁸⁵

As the “Lord’s anointed,” Knapp’s commitment to recreating Pentecost put his leadership in unique perspective among religious leaders. As

⁸⁰Ibid., 1. Knapp also noted that the latter part of the name “magnifies the missionary feature of the gospel” (original emphasis). See also his explanation of the name change of the *Revivalist* in “The Revised Name,” *God’s Revivalist and Bible Advocate* (January 3, 1901), 1, and in M. W. Knapp, *Pentecostal Letters, Selected from the Correspondence of M. W. Knapp* (Cincinnati: Office of God’s Revivalist, 1902), 79-80.

⁸¹“God’s Bible School,” *The Revivalist* (July 26, 1900), 14.

⁸²“A Blessing,” *God’s Revivalist and Bible Advocate* (March 7, 1901), 4.

⁸³For an example, see Kevin Moser and Larry D. Smith, *God’s Clock Keeps Perfect Time: God’s Bible School’s First 100 Years: 1900-2000* (Cincinnati: Revivalist Press, 2000), 37.

⁸⁴“Not for Personal Profit,” *God’s Revivalist and Bible Advocate* (August 1, 1901), 15. See also Knapp, *Pentecostal Letters*, 144. This became a point of contention when Knapp’s son, John Franklin, became involved in controversy with President and Mrs. M. G. Standley over control of the institution.

⁸⁵Godbey, *Autobiography*, 367.

an agent of Pentecost, he could speak, administrate, and even hold property on behalf of God. Since the Holy Spirit possessed him, He would use the “anointed” to effect His purposes. In addition, all those in harmony with the Holy Spirit would act in harmony with His anointed. Conversely, all opposition was seen to be, not against man, but against God.⁸⁶ For example, when Knapp was convicted of disorderly conduct due to camp meeting exuberance, he responded, “The opposing elements are in the company of evil men, who, like the rich Pharisees of old, think to lay hands on God’s work. But they will find in the day of reckoning that it is an awful thing to break God’s command, ‘Touch not Mine elect, and do My prophets no harm’.”⁸⁷

The enormous powers implicit in this principle were tempered by the realization that the “Lord’s anointed” must always derive his or her authority (as all other gifts) from God and remain in consistent harmony with His will.⁸⁸ In other words, this concept was held in tension by commitment to the “faith line.”

While much study of faith healing has been done in recent years, Pentecostal views of healing can be better appreciated when viewed as part of a commitment to a larger realm of radical faith.⁸⁹ Indeed, a return to Pentecost meant God’s people would rely on Him for every provision, especially financial. The four-fold gospel was thus expanded to a five-fold formulation on the Hilltop: God was “Savior, Sanctifier, Doctor, *Banker*, and coming King.”⁹⁰

God’s ownership of Pentecostal enterprises thus went beyond vindicating their leaders to meeting their every need, as explained in a definition of a “faith school” by Henry Shilling, an alumnus of God’s Bible School:

⁸⁶For a proof text, see 1 Thessalonians 4:8.

⁸⁷Hills, *Hero*, 167. See Psalm 105:15 and 1 Chronicles 16:22. For a graphic warning, still circulated in radical holiness circles, against violating this passage, see the tract *Touch Not Mine Anointed* (Knoxville, TN: The Evangelist of Truth, n. d.)

⁸⁸See “Spirit-prompted,” *God’s Revivalist and Bible Advocate* (January 3, 1901), 2.

⁸⁹Of course, such ideas as the provision for healing in the atonement add other dimensions to this element.

⁹⁰“My Call to Africa,” *God’s Revivalist and Bible Advocate* (December 19, 1901), 11 (my emphasis).

It is a school brought into existence by the direct will of God to perform a definite task and follow a definite leadership of the Holy Spirit. Being such as this, the school can look into God's face at any given moment and ask for the supply of its needs and have its needs adequately, definitely supplied so that the school may continue along the given line for which God has called it.⁹¹

Negatively, this concept prohibited many traditional means of religious fund-raising, for "a true faith school need not depend upon public appeal nor . . . a business project . . . any individual's wealth . . . any church's support . . . for support immediately forestalls the fundamental principles upon which a faith institution must be run."⁹² Revivalist publications thus included frequent diatribes against such "unPentecostal" practices as buying life insurance, charging camp meeting gate admissions, and including "worldly" advertisements in holiness periodicals.⁹³ Particular displeasure was reserved for "the salary-seeking minister" whom Godbey relegated to the ranks of the disciples of Judas.⁹⁴

It should be noted that this concept did not originate with Knapp's ministry. Indeed, much of the Revivalist inspiration for "faith work" came from the example of George Muller's orphanage operated in Bristol, England, on the faith basis.⁹⁵ The practical forms taken by radical faith at

⁹¹Henry Shilling, *Seven Years of Faith; or, Explorations in the Realm of Prayer* (Freeport, PA: The Fountain Press, n. d.), 174. Shilling incorporated many of the principles he imbibed on the Hilltop in the school he started, Transylvania Bible School.

⁹²*Ibid.*, 174-175.

⁹³See Godbey's answer to the question, "Is it right for Holiness people to carry life insurance?" in the "Question Drawer," *The Revivalist* (January 5, 1899), 3. See also "Life Insurance," *The Revivalist* (July 12, 1900), 5; "Camp-Meeting Gate Fees," *God's Revivalist and Bible Advocate* (August 22, 1901), 13; and "Why I Don't Insert Worldly Ads In *The Revivalist*," in Hills, *Hero*, 49-50.

⁹⁴W. B. Godbey, *Judas and His Apostles* (Cincinnati: God's Revivalist Press, n. d.). In addition, see "Wrecked Humanity and Hirelings," *God's Revivalist and Bible Advocate* (February 28, 1901), 1, and its illustration of "the salary seeking ministry." See also such *Revivalist* articles as E. A. Ferguson, "Preachers vs. Hirelings," (March 8, 1900), 8; Arthur Greene, "Souls or Money?" (September 12, 1901), 14; and "Bound Preachers," (January 23, 1902), 13.

⁹⁵See Abby Morrow, ed., *The Work of Faith Through George Muller* (Cincinnati: Revivalist, 1899) and such *Revivalist* articles as George Muller, "Early Rising" (March 29, 1900), 15, and W. N. Hirst, "Lessons from George Muller" (July 5, 1900), 3.

God's Bible School and in its mission works reflect the influence of William Taylor's "Pauline Missions."⁹⁶ However, the unique thrust of Knapp's "faith line" was his linkage of it to the core elements of Pentecostalism, in effect elevating it to the same status as divine healing or pre-millennialism. Cowman reflected this mooring of the faith line in Pentecostal primitivism by terming it the "apostolic order" of missions. This helps to explain why Charles' decision during the prayer meeting with Knapp was so pivotal—it sealed Cowman's commitment to Pentecostal principles.

Simply put, if any person truly had a Pentecostal experience, he/she would live by the faith line. Thus, one of the core commitments of God's Bible School was "to inculcate the faith principle of support in God's work."⁹⁷ This explains why early faculty members did not receive regular salaries and why early students did not pay tuition and were encouraged to pray in money for other expenses.⁹⁸ This faith principle radiated from the Hilltop with the hundreds of missionaries who, with such freedom from institutional support and restraint, were said "went forth" rather than "sent out."⁹⁹ Mrs. William Hirst expressed the ideal of many future missionaries from God's Bible School when she testified, "How glad I am to be on the self-supporting line. I feel so much closer to God to be going this way than if we went with a salary to depend on. We can depend on God."¹⁰⁰ For these harbingers of Pentecost, God's ownership guaranteed his direction and provision.

Conclusions: Pentecostal Results

Many of the numerous implications of the application of Pentecostal principles to mission were realized through the work of God's Bible School, proving instructive for Holiness/Pentecostal traditions today. The

⁹⁶ David Bundy, "From Cincinnati to the World: The Beginnings of the Missionary Vision of God's Bible School," *God's Revivalist and Bible Advocate* 113 no. 1 (Winter 2001), 3.

⁹⁷"God's School," *God's Revivalist and Bible Advocate* (October 27, 1901), 14.

⁹⁸See "Bible-School Queries Answered," *The Revivalist* (September 13, 1900), 15; and "Faith for Personal Expenses" and "Tuition Free," *God's Revivalist and Bible Advocate* (August 8, 1901), 15.

⁹⁹Thomas and Thomas, 29.

¹⁰⁰Mrs. W. N. Hirst, "Fairwell," *The Revivalist* (October 18, 1900), 9, cited in Thomas and Thomas, 33.

difficult equilibrium between the concepts of “Lord’s anointed” and “faith line” was not always maintained. The former ideal, when misapplied, allowed abuses of power in a movement ironically dedicated to freeing “people to follow the direction of the Holy Spirit” rather than “direction by mission boards and bishops.”¹⁰¹ When followers moved the focus of the “faith line” from God to charismatic humans, catastrophic consequences sometimes eventuated, giving additional force to Godbey’s warning that “human leadership is to-day the bane of the Holiness Movement, side-tracking, derailing, ditching, stranding and ruining more souls than anything else.”¹⁰² In fact, catastrophe was narrowly averted when allegations of financial irregularities and abuse of power led God’s Bible School to become a public trust embroiled in the longest running case in Ohio’s history (1907-1989), resulting in the ouster of a long-term president and a long-term editor of the *Revivalist*.

On the other hand, Knapp’s Pentecostal experiment reminds believers of all traditions of the essential role of spirituality in undertaking mission, conspicuously linking pneumatology and missiology. Following the Spirit’s lead allowed tremendous flexibility in meeting the demands of mission. For example, it opened the doors to women for involvement in mission and also to others like William Seymour who were barred from such activity in most religious groups of the time. In fact, Knapp’s immediate successors at God’s Bible School were three women—his wife, Bessie Queen, who followed Mrs. Knapp as *Revivalist* editor and married future GBS president Meredith G. Standley, and Mary Storey, a flaming revivalist who had pioneered the Holiness message throughout much of the mid-South—an area traditionally resistant to women ministers.¹⁰³

In addition, the growth of God’s Bible School, even under sometimes adverse circumstances, and its contribution to mission, including such innovations as the formation of the G(od’s) I(ssues) of the Cross cru-

¹⁰¹Bundy, 25, 9.

¹⁰²W. B. Godbey, *Christian Science*, 6, cited in Wallace Thornton, Jr., *Holiness or Hubris?: A Response to Keith Drury’s “The Holiness Movement is Dead”* (n. p.: n. p., 1999), 8.

¹⁰³“Revival Persecution,” *The Revivalist* (August 1, 1901), 7. J. S. Miller, an M. E. presiding elder in Kentucky, commented on her pioneering influence for women in ministry: “When she holds a meeting once at a place, it is no more trouble for the people to make arrangements for a woman to preach” (“Revival Reports,” *The Revivalist* (January 14, 1900), 11).

sade after the Second World War,¹⁰⁴ bear testimony to the power of the Pentecostal vision pioneered by Martin Wells Knapp and his colleagues. Little wonder that the successes of his experiment on the Mount of Blessings would inspire thousands of attempts at repeating Pentecost around the world. Furthermore, even the difficulties experienced at God's Bible School challenge all who seek Pentecost today to remain aware of possibilities and hazards inherent in their quest.

¹⁰⁴See Moser and Smith, 272-292. In addition to the U. S., crusades were conducted in Cuba and Jamaica.

REFORM AND HOLINESS FOR PRISONERS: A WESLEYAN MISSION FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

by

Robert Henning

John Wesley sensed that God created the Methodist movement to renew the church so that it might better advance God's kingdom of holy love. The classic catechetical summary is found in notes of an early Conference:

Question: What may we reasonably believe to be God's design in raising up the Preachers called Methodist?

Answer: Not to form any new sect; but to reform the nation, particularly the Church; and to spread Scriptural holiness over the land.¹

Leon Hynson states the implications in his study of Wesley's ethics: "Wesley is defining the work of the Christian ministry in effective personal and social transformation."² Hynson explains that this "reform"

¹"Minutes of Several Conversations Between The Rev. Mr. Wesley and Others From the Year 1744 to the Year 1789," *The Works of John Wesley*, Volume VIII, *Addresses, Essays, Letters* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, undated reprint with unidentified editor, from 1872 edition of the Wesleyan Conference Office in London), 299. The founding Christmas Conference of American Methodism in 1784 simply answered the question: "To Reform the Continent and to spread Scriptural holiness over these lands." Leon Hynson relates this to Wesley's ethical perspective in *To Reform The Nation: Theological Foundation of Wesley's Ethics* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Francis Asbury Press of Zondervan Publishing House, 1984).

²Hynson, op. cit., 16.

involves “the full range of God’s saving will . . . all of God’s restoring work for individuals, societies, the world, and the universe.”³ Clearly, a Wesleyan mission is restorative, working to reform nation, church, and individuals. Not an effort to restore a previously existing unjust and unfulfilling situation, it seeks both personal and social wholeness. It is a quest for biblical *shalom*. The two-sided Scriptural task of reform and holiness preaching has special relevance to a Christian mission for and with prisoners in the twenty-first century.

Wesley’s sense of mission is captured in a statement by a defense attorney in a Dostoyevsky novel. In *The Brothers Karamazov*, the court is challenged: “Let other nations think of retribution and the letter of the law; we will cling to the spirit and the meaning—the salvation and the reformation of the lost.”⁴ Wesley was indeed concerned for “the salvation and the reformation of the lost.” He was also concerned with reform of the prevailing system. He had no systematic plan to confront the existing criminal justice system, but he sympathized with some lawbreakers, challenged prison conditions, and praised prison reformer John Howard.

Manfred Marquardt explains that Wesley “did not polemicize on the basis of biblical and theological arguments alone” as he sought to inspire action on what seemed to him right and good.⁵ He wrote support for poor English people who waylaid a ship to distribute grain at a fair price.⁶ He

³Ibid. Hynson also cites Wesley in *A Farther Appeal To Men Of Reason And Religion*: “By reformation, I mean the bringing them back. . .to the calm love of God and one another, to a uniform practice of justice, mercy, and truth.”

⁴Michael L. Hadley cites these words in introducing a comparative study of religious and philosophic perspectives on restorative justice, *The Spiritual Roots of Restorative Justice*, edited by Hadley (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 2001), 1. Hadley notes: “Dostoyevsky was thinking of the redemption of the offender in the then prevailing criminal justice system.” He explains that Dostoyevsky did not have in mind today’s restorative justice stress on healing the victim and the community as well as healing the offender.

⁵Manfred Marquardt summarizes Wesley’s preaching and pastoral care, humanitarian aid, and publications related to prisoners and prison conditions in his chapter “Concern For Prisoners and Prison Reform,” 77-86 of *John Wesley’s Social Ethics: Praxis and Principles* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1992), translated by John E. Steely and W. Stephen Gunter.

⁶Theodore W. Jennings, Jr., *Good News to the Poor: John Wesley’s Evangelical Economics* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1990), 94. Jennings refers to Wesley’s *Journal*, May 27, 1758. His reference is to the Thomas Jackson, third edition of 1872 as reproduced by Baker Book House of Grand Rapids in 1979, Volume II, 446.

questioned those finding fault with Irish persons for “flying out” against “legal” confiscation of their lands.⁷ He considered John Howard “one of the greatest men in Europe” and commented: “Nothing but the mighty power of God can enable him to go through his difficult and dangerous employment. But what can hurt us if God is on our side?”⁸

Wesley’s restorative vision points to basics of a twenty-first century mission for and with prisoners. Three themes summarize this Wesleyan sense of mission. First, Wesleyan concerns for reform and holiness require a *restorative vision* that fits neither retributivism nor utilitarian deterrence. Nor does it fit rehabilitative theories of crime as sickness, for which prisoners are not responsible, nor restitution theories focusing on monetary compensation. Instead, a restorative vision seeks God’s *shalom* for victims, for offenders, and for the human community. Second, a Wesleyan mission for and with prisoners seeks to help prisoners develop *responsible citizenship*. As with Christian mission in general, a Wesleyan mission seeks to make disciples, persons learning, growing, and living as responsible Christians. Part of Christian discipleship is the ministry, shared with others of non-Christian belief, to help prisoners to help themselves to develop responsible citizenship. Even as Wesley joined others to seek a humane prison system, whether it helped prisoners to become Christians or not, so we need to join others concerned to give prisoners opportunity to develop responsible citizenship. Third, a Wesleyan mission, as with Christian mission in general, is motivated by *redemptive grace*—grace that responds to God’s loving grace with a grateful effort to be lovingly gracious in seeking wholeness for the total person, even when persons do not receive the Gospel message. These three themes—restorative vision, responsible citizenship, and redemptive grace—describe a Wesleyan mission for the twenty-first century for victims, for prisoners, for families of both, and for the entire community.

I. Restorative Vision

The term “restorative” implies a wholeness that may not have been present before a criminal offense. It lacks the inclusiveness of terms such

⁷*Ibid.*, 95, reference by Jennings to Wesley’s Journal, June 15, 1773 (Volume III, 499 of the cited edition).

⁸*The Complete Works of John Wesley, The Journal*, 1831, Thomas Jackson edition, reproduced by The Ages Digital Library (Albany, Oregon: Ages Software, 1997), Volume IV, 424.

as “integrative,” “communitarian,” or “transformative.” But the term is widely used to point toward a more holistic perspective than retributive or utilitarian deterrence perspectives. It is a vision for criminal justice that not only needs to be revived in the church, but also needs to be communicated to the wider human community. It is a concern for wholeness for victim, offender, and the community.

Some have suggested that modern emphasis on restorative justice began in Kitchener, Ontario, when a Mennonite probation officer established a victim–offender reconciliation program in 1974.⁹ The story of the replacement of an earlier restorative vision in Western society by a punitive and retributive approach has been told by Howard Zehr, Karen Strong and Daniel Van Ness, and Pierre Allard and Wayne Northey.¹⁰ They have also presented the case that a restorative vision is more helpful than retributive or utilitarian alternatives—more adequately relating to needs of victims and the community, as well as motivating a more redemptive response to the offender.

Zehr’s 1990 *Changing Lenses* suggests that “Community Justice” and biblical “Covenant Justice” were replaced between the eleventh and nineteenth centuries in England and Continental Europe by retributive justice, which viewed crimes as “against the state” rather than against persons.¹¹ The Code of Justinian, rediscovered in the late eleventh century, came to be used by central authorities in state and church to focus on punishment rather than settlements between those in conflict.¹² Cesare Beccaria’s *On Crime and Punishment*, published in 1764, advocated an “Enlightenment” version of the same perspective, viewing the lawbreaker as rationally moti-

⁹Nawal Ammar suggests this in Hadley, op. cit., 162.

¹⁰Howard Zehr, *Changing Lenses: A New Focus For Crime and Justice* (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1990), “Community Justice: The Historical Alternative,” 97-125. Karen Heetderks Strong and Daniel Van Ness, *Restoring Justice* (Cincinnati: Anderson Publishing Company, 1997), 7-13. Pierre Allard and Wayne Northey, *The Spiritual Roots of Restorative Justice* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 2001), “Christianity: The Rediscovery of Restorative Justice,” 119-141. Zehr is Professor of Sociology and Restorative Justice at Eastern Mennonite University. Strong and Van Ness belong to Justice Fellowship, a prison reform group affiliated with Charles Colson’s Prison Fellowship Ministries. The Rev. Dr. Allard has served as Director General for Chaplaincy and Assistant Commissioner, Correctional Operations and Programs, in Canada. He is also president of the International Prison Chaplains Association. Northey is Executive Director of Man-to-Man/Woman-to-Woman, Christian Volunteers in Corrections, in British Columbia, Canada.

¹¹Zehr, loc. cit.

¹²Ibid., 110-115.

vated by pleasure/pain principles, and seeing the state as responsible to rationally administer pain.¹³ Although praised by some as a utilitarian critique of abuses by authorities, Zehr sees it as essentially fitting the retributive view that became dominant from the eleventh century onward.¹⁴

Strong and Van Ness cite diverse ancient cultures that required offenders and families to make amends to victims and their families. They specifically elaborate on Hebrew justice concerns for *shalom* that involved right relationships among individuals, the community, and God—relationships needing to be re-established when violated by crime.¹⁵ They refer to William the Conqueror and his successors since the eleventh century as developing a new outlook that would establish the preeminence of the king over the church in “secular matters.”¹⁶

Allard and Northey also see the eleventh century as a key transition time, related to the work of Pope Gregory VII and Anselm of Canterbury. They argue that Anselm’s satisfaction theory of the atonement presents God as “bound by his own justice” and thus discouraging reconciliation.¹⁷ They contend that “the Christian church has moved over the centuries from a theology of grace and servanthood to a theology of law and punishment.”¹⁸ They conclude: “Theological reflection on criminal justice evokes a call to creativity, a call to repentance and conversion, and a call to community.”¹⁹

Allard and Northey’s call to restore an emphasis on “grace and servanthood” matches Wesley’s concern for Scriptural reform and holiness. However, while they compliment Wesley’s concern for the poor, they criticize him for not challenging the execution of thieves.²⁰ They relate this to

¹³Ibid., 117.

¹⁴Ibid., 118.

¹⁵Strong and Van Ness, op. cit., 9.

¹⁶Ibid., 10.

¹⁷Allard and Northey, op. cit., 128.

¹⁸Ibid., 135.

¹⁹Ibid., 137.

²⁰Allard and Northey, op. cit., 130-131. They cite a Charles Wesley diary entry from 1738, as quoted by Timothy Gorringer in *God’s Just Vengeance: Crime, Violence, and the Rhetoric of Salvation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 4-5. Apparently John and Charles had witnessed the dramatic conversion of nine prisoners the night before their execution. Charles is reported as having said of the day of execution: “That hour under the gallows was the most blessed hour of my life.” Allard and Northey contrast that with Augustine’s appeal to a Christian judge to not sentence to execution the murderer of some of Augustine’s friends.

a general identification of the satisfaction theory of atonement with retributive views of criminal justice.²¹ But this does not make Wesley a supporter of retributive justice. He chose instead to focus on the restorative love and grace of God. Wesley was no advocate of retributive justice. Although he believed we sinners must be saved from the wrath of God by the blood of Christ, he did not focus on a “logical necessity” that sinners be punished. Rather, he focused on the redeeming love of God in Christ, freely offering deliverance from the penalty of sin. Kenneth Collins has summarized Wesley’s adherence to an Anselmian penal satisfaction belief concerning the atonement.²² Theodore Runyon notes the importance to Wesley of such a substitutionary perspective in experiencing the radical nature of God’s love and release from efforts to justify himself, a release opening him to the power of the Holy Spirit to live that holy life whose prime characteristic is love.²³

This stress on a new way of life and love is present in Wesley’s sermon “The End of Christ’s Coming,” which focuses on the biblical phrase “to destroy the works of the devil.” He declares that “real religion” is “a restoration not only to the favour, but likewise to the image of God; implying not barely deliverance from sin but the being filled with the fullness of God.”²⁴ And, as Randy Maddox has pointed out, Wesley’s adherence to a penal satisfaction emphasis presented the wrath of God in conjunction with his love, with the central emphasis on “the love of God initiating and effecting our salvation.”²⁵ Rather than a classic retributive view that prisoners must be punished “to balance the scales of justice,” Wesley stressed the love of God in Christ that has taken the penalty upon himself. Marquardt’s study of Wesley’s social ethics notes that Wesley’s prison preaching, as reported in his journal, “consistently focused on texts

²¹Allard and Northey, op. cit., 128 ff.

²²Kenneth J. Collins, *The Scripture Way of Salvation: The Heart of John Wesley’s Theology* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1997), “The Atonement,” 80-86.

²³Theodore Runyon, *The New Creation: John Wesley’s Theology Today* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998), 43ff.

²⁴John Wesley, “The End of Christ’s Coming,” in *The Works of John Wesley*, Volume 2, edited by Albert Outler (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1985), 471-484, quotation from 482.

²⁵Randy Maddox, *Responsible Grace: John Wesley’s Practical Theology* (Nashville: Kingswood Books, Abingdon Press, 1994), 106. Pp. 94-118 deal with these issues.

proclaiming God's limitless love for all humanity."²⁶ Marquardt adds this pointed interpretation: "Wesley's sermons demonstrate his capacity to think through and apply in currently relevant preaching a theological precept: the justification of the sinner by grace alone." It was Wesley's restorative vision of grace in practice.

The restorative vision has become increasingly appealing to criminal justice practice in general in recent years. It responds to concerns shared by Christians and non-Christians alike. Conrad Brunk, in a summary of philosophic theories of criminal justice, has noted four concerns which any satisfying theory of criminal justice must address.²⁷ First is concern to protect law-abiding citizens, to deter lawbreaking. Second is "just deserts" to the offender, penalty that "fits the crime" Third is redress of injustice, with the offender "paying" for the wrong. Fourth is that the offender not be made worse, and, ideally, that she or he be made better. Brunk argues that restorative justice responds to these concerns more adequately than any alternative. However, Brunk notes that, while restorative justice has found "significant success" in some practices of the legal system, "scholars of jurisprudence and legal philosophy . . . have paid little attention."²⁸

Historic criminal justice theory has stressed two possible responses—retribution and utilitarian deterrence. Retributivism is concerned that offenders be held accountable and morally responsible. Brunk notes that the strength of retributivism is that it relates to offenders as "morally responsible members of the community" rather than as instruments to deter others or "sick" and not responsible.²⁹ Certainly a Christian perspective shares that approach. The problem is that there is no "plausible account of how the infliction of harm or deprivation of liberty amounts to *taking responsibility*."³⁰ Instead, Brunk explains, penalty needs to be related to helping persons become responsible members of the moral community. The National Council of Catholic Bishops in the United

²⁶Marquardt, *op. cit.*, 82.

²⁷Conrad Brunk, "Restorative Justice and Philosophic Theories of Criminal Punishment," 31-56, in Hadley, *op. cit.*

²⁸*Ibid.*, 33. Brunk says the notable exception is Wesley Cragg's *The Practice of Punishment: Towards Theory of Restorative Justice* (London: Routledge, 1992).

²⁹*Ibid.*, 38-39.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 48.

States, in its November 2000 statement on crime and criminal justice, put it this way:

Centuries ago, St. Thomas Aquinas taught us that punishment of wrongdoers is clearly justified in the Catholic tradition, but never for its own sake. A compassionate community and a loving God seek accountability and correction but not suffering for its own sake. Punishment must have a constructive and redemptive purpose.”³¹

The second classic response to criminal justice concerns, utilitarian deterrence, tends toward “preoccupation with pain and suffering” as primary to deter potential offenders. But it overlooks victims, alienates offenders, and thus does not really protect.³² Requiring offenders to take responsibility is a more effective deterrent, especially if successful in the effort “to provide the offender the way back into constructive involvement in the community.” This is far better than the potential of the utilitarian pain and punishment model leading to an ex-offender who is “psychologically and morally debilitated.”³³

Brunk also argues for the superiority of restorative justice over what he presents as two twentieth-century alternatives to retribution and utilitarian deterrence, rehabilitation and restitution. Restitution theory has not been widely adopted, and tends to reduce crime to a matter of “the cost of doing business.”³⁴ But, rehabilitative theory came to be widely accepted in Europe and North America, even more popular than retribution or utilitarian deterrence. Brunk joins the chorus of those who see it as a failure, but the rehabilitative theory he views as having failed is the one which views the offender primarily as a “victim” needing “therapy.” That rehabilitative theory is challenged by the fact that enforced therapy rarely succeeds, and it also treats offenders as irresponsible and denies them their dignity.³⁵

³¹“Responsibility, Rehabilitation, and Restoration: A Catholic Perspective on Crime and Criminal Justice: A Statement of the Catholic Bishops of the United States,” 13, from the November 15, 2000, statement via the internet at <http://www.nccbuscc.org/sdwp/criminal.htm>.

³²Brunk, *op. cit.*, 40.

³³*Ibid.*, 49-50.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 44, 51-53. He sees this “restitution theory” as rooted in political libertarianism, with its “minimal state” views, and reducing criminal law to civil and a kind of “cost of doing business.” The wealthier a person is, the more she or he has the “right” to inflict harm and “compensate” for it.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 42, 50-51.

But the term “rehabilitation” need not be identified with impersonal “treatment” and “not holding the offender responsible.” The National Council of Catholic Bishops made that clear in its November 2000 statement on crime and criminal justice titled “Responsibility, *Rehabilitation*, and Restoration.”³⁶ Ralph and Carol Ellis, in their historical and empirical study *Theories of Criminal Justice*, make the same kind of point. They too are critical of any practice of rehabilitative theory that disregards the responsibility of the individual. They call for both an awareness by community of its responsibility for producing offenders and responsibility by the offender for her or his offense. They term their approach “communitarianism.”³⁷

This “communitarian” approach returns us to the biblical restorative vision of *shalom* that several Christian writers have stressed in recent years.³⁸ Howard Zehr, using the work of Perry Yoder, presents biblical justice as focused on two basics: *shalom* (physical well-being, right relationships with one another and God, and moral integrity) and *covenant*.³⁹ The goal is *shalom* maintained in covenant. Rather than be concerned about “right rules applied the right way,” it is concerned “to make things right.”⁴⁰ It is especially concerned with the test of outcomes, “how the poor and oppressed are treated.”⁴¹ Zehr explains: “Biblical justice . . . grows out of love. Such justice is in fact an act of love which seeks to make things right.”⁴² The Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount are not so much imperatives as they are “a promise, an invitation” to *shalom* life in the covenant community.⁴³

Nicholas Wolterstorff develops the same interpretation in an essay in *God and the Victim*.⁴⁴ Although he does not make specific applications

³⁶My emphasis. See note 31.

³⁷Carol S. and Ralph D. Ellis, *Theories of Criminal Justice* (Wolfeboro, New Hampshire, 1989).

³⁸Zehr, op. cit.; Allard and Northey in Hadley, op. cit.; Strong and Van Ness, op. cit.

³⁹Zehr, op. cit., 131-135.

⁴⁰Ibid., 139-140.

⁴¹Ibid., 140.

⁴²Ibid., 138.

⁴³Ibid., 143.

⁴⁴“The Contours of Justice: An Ancient Call For *Shalom*,” 107-130, in *God and the Victim: Theological Reflections on Evil, Victimization, Justice, and Forgiveness*, edited by Lisa Barnes Lampman (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999).

to criminal justice theory, his discussion supports both a restorative and communitarian perspective. On the one hand, biblical injustice involves “the presence of persons in society who lack the material and other goods necessary for human flourishing,” especially “widows, orphans, and aliens.”⁴⁵ On the other hand, “justice” relates to God’s desire for “*shalom* for each and every person.”⁴⁶ This is the “drive” that A. J. Heschel has written of when he declares: “Justice is not a mere norm, but a fighting challenge, a restless drive.”⁴⁷ Paul Tillich has also written of justice as the activity of God and contended that “justice is fulfilled in love,” that “justice creative as love—is the union of love and justice.”⁴⁸

Wolterstorff grounds his argument on “rights,” maintaining that every person has a “right” to be “enjoying those goods—those components of one’s *shalom*—to which one has a legitimate claim.”⁴⁹ Everyone has a “legitimate claim” to the “conditions of human flourishing.”⁵⁰ The supposed silence of the New Testament on justice, says Wolterstorff, is due to lack of recognition that such passages as Matthew 5.6 and 10 could be translated with the word “justice,” as in “Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for justice.”⁵¹ The call to *holiness* is a call to “image God” in the quest for justice.⁵² This is a call to image the God we see in Jesus, who feeds the hungry, liberates prisoners, cures the blind, lifts up the sorrowing and humiliated, welcomes the stranger, and supports widows and

⁴⁵Ibid., 111.

⁴⁶Ibid., 113.

⁴⁷Abraham J. Heschel, *The Prophets*, Volume II (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), 212. Similarly, Walter Brueggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), in a chapter near the end of his study titled “Old Testament Theology and the Problem of Justice (735-742), declares: “Israel’s testimony is to the effect that Yahweh’s passion for justice, passion for the well-being of the human community, and passion for the *shalom* of the earth will refuse to come to terms with the power of death, no matter its particular public form or its ideological garb.”

⁴⁸Paul Tillich, “Moralisms and Morality: Theonomous Ethics,” in *Theology of Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), 144.

⁴⁹Ibid., 118.

⁵⁰Ibid., 117. Wolterstorff notes that the Old Testament sense of justice means that “each and every human being has a morally legitimate claim to the fundamental conditions of *shalom*—that is, of human flourishing.”

⁵¹Ibid., 123 ff.

⁵²Ibid., 119-121.

orphans.⁵³ This is not a God who delights in the misery of persons justly punished.⁵⁴ It is a God with the restorative vision of *shalom*.

We in the Wesleyan and Holiness movements and churches have a challenge to lift up the biblical restorative vision of *shalom*. It is a vision for prisoners, whom many consider “barbarians,” that is similar to the vision George Hunter has explained that St. Patrick had for the Irish—“that the barbarians can be reached, that they matter to God, and are as capable of sainthood as established people.”⁵⁵ We are challenged to point to this vision with our own people and to join with others—Christian and non-Christian—in lifting up a humane vision, not only for prisoners, but for victims of crime and for the entire human community. As Charles Colson argues in his preface to *God and the Victim*, gospel preaching in prison is not enough.⁵⁶ We need what he calls “the full cycle of restoration”—victim, offender, and “the peace of the community.” Colson sees this responsibility as part of a calling from a Reformed theological perspective to express “common grace” as well as “saving grace.”⁵⁷

John Wesley would phrase this as part of a divinely inspired heart to “do good,” to persons’ bodies as well as their souls, to express the holy love of God to all humankind. Of course, this must be accompanied with changes in the community to remove oppressive conditions that incline persons toward crime. The “restoration” of a prisoner we seek is “redemption”—not simple return to a former manner of life, but the entrance into a totally new way of life. “Restorative” as a term is less suggestive than “integrative” or “transformative,” and it is not “restoration” to a “have not” way of life that is economically and spiritually “oppressed by the devil.” Colson tends to propose a false dichotomy—either the environ-

⁵³Ibid., 113. “God’s justice, and ours, is manifested in getting food to the hungry, liberating prisoners, curing the blind, lifting up the sorrowing and humiliated, being welcoming to the stranger, and supporting widows and orphans.”

⁵⁴Ibid., 110. “The passages which speak of God’s love of justice are not pointing to God’s delight over the misery of those who are justly punished; God has no such delight.”

⁵⁵Hunter made this statement in a presentation titled “The Celtic Understanding of How the Christian Faith Spreads” at the March 2002 session of the Wesleyan Theological Society.

⁵⁶Lampman, editor, op. cit., xi.

⁵⁷Ibid.

ment causes crime or the person is responsible.⁵⁸ Both common sense and empirical study tells us that *both* have responsibility—the society (us!) to change and the prisoner to be responsible. A Wesleyan mission, guided by the restorative vision of *shalom*, challenges both to be responsible.

II. Responsible Citizenship

The restorative vision moves beyond the limited vision of seeking to get an offender to “pay his or her debt to society.” It opens beyond the tunnel vision that sees criminal justice as preoccupied with “security,” with protection from possible harm by repeat offenders or new offenders. It accepts the retributive stress on responsibility at the higher level of responsibility to contribute rather than the limited responsibility to atone for wrongdoing. It accepts the deterrence stress on protection, but at the higher level of empowering for contribution rather than the lower level of disabling from potential harm.

Trying to find a punishment that inflicts pain at the level of an offense can be very difficult. With murder, it is obviously impossible. As Antoinette Bosco says in *Choosing Mercy*, execution of a murderer comes nowhere close to matching the pain inflicted.⁵⁹ She says this as part of her response to the brutal murder of her son and daughter-in-law. She later met and compared responses with Bud Welch, whose daughter was one of

⁵⁸This is the perspective of his recent book that presents his thesis that the prime cause of criminal justice problems is a faulty worldview. *Justice That Restores* (Wheaton, Illinois: Tyndale House Publishers, Inc., 2001). *Publishers Weekly* sees the book as “in large part a rehash of the decades-old culture war between the left and the right, in which Colson argues that almost all left-of-center assumptions about humanity and God are wrong and dangerous, and that those of the Christian Right are correct.” They do acknowledge Colson’s recognition of the value of some rehabilitative therapy, his agreement that only a small minority of prisoners are “serious criminals,” and his reports on creative courts, sentencing, and prisons (copyright 2001, The Cahners Business Information, Inc., cited on the Amazon.com website entry for Colson’s book).

⁵⁹Antoinette Bosco, *Choosing Mercy: A Mother of Murder Victims Pleads To End The Death Penalty* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2001). Ms. Bosco’s son and daughter-in-law, John and Nancy Bosco, were murdered in their home at Bigfork, Montana, on August 19, 1993. In her introduction to this account of her response to that tragedy, she answers the argument that killing the killer is necessary for the families of the victim to experience “justice.” “Nothing could be further from the truth. The pain of losing a loved one by the horrible act of murder is not lessened by the horrible murder of another, not even when it is cloaked as ‘justice’ and state-sanctioned. It is only a delusion to believe that one’s pain is ended by making someone else feel pain” (16).

the 168 murdered in the Oklahoma City bombing. Welch told her that killing Timothy McVeigh wouldn't help him. He would see it as revenge, exactly what had motivated the killing of his daughter and the others.⁶⁰ Bosco concludes: "Reconciliation was for him the greatest balm."⁶¹ The agents of the Oklahoma City bombing and all the terrorists of September 11 could all be brutally executed, but it would in no way match the pain inflicted. As both Bosco and Welch experienced, the only match is forgiveness.⁶² Retribution has to resort to a hope or faith that a metaphysical "scales of justice" will some day be balanced. Execution will not balance them.

Following the pleasure/pain principle of deterrence is also difficult to practice. A more positive deterrence than threat of longer prison sentence is equipping for responsible citizenship. In fact, educational programs have consistently shown that education of prisoners is a powerful force to prevent recidivism (return to prison). Annette Johnson of New York's Balancing Justice Task Force has compiled an impressive bibliography of 20 studies from the last 20 years demonstrating the power of education to prevent recidivism.⁶³ A study of women at a New York maximum security facility, released between 1985 and 1995 and using a standard measure of 36 months, showed that 29.9% of all prisoners released re-offended and were returned to custody within the standard 36 month measure. Among those attending college classes, only 7.7% returned

⁶⁰Ibid., 170. Mr. Welch also told Ms. Bosco that he was inspired by words he remembered his daughter speaking after hearing a report of another Texas execution: "Dad, that makes me sick. All those Texans are doing is teaching all the children down there to hate. The murderer did wrong, but now the government has stooped to his level."

⁶¹Op. cit., 171-172. Welch's story was written up in *Guideposts*, including the account of his meeting with Timothy McVeigh's father.

⁶²Bosco writes: "Forgiveness doesn't mean to give in; it means to let go, and letting go is a precondition to becoming free. If you don't forgive, you give the one who hurt you ever more control over you" (ibid., 50). "I think that's what Jesus meant when he told us we must overcome evil with good—that if we did not, we would erode our humanity, lessen the possibility of being able to love, and thus, sadly, alienate ourselves from the life-Source who loves us" (ibid., 56).

⁶³The citations that follow are essentially from an unpublished annotated bibliography prepared March 15, 2001, by Annette Johnson, Ph.D., J.D., for the Balancing Justice Task Force on Correctional Education, New York. She may be contacted at abc.johnson@att.net (212-349-6741).

within 36 months.⁶⁴ The Texas Department of Criminal Justice received post-release data for 883 offenders who received degrees while in prison between 1986 and 1992. System-wide recidivism rate was 43%. But recidivism rates were far lower for those with degrees, 27% for associate's and 7.8% for bachelor's.⁶⁵ Similar results have been found in studies in Florida, Oklahoma, Massachusetts, and Canada.⁶⁶ Stephen Steurer, of the national Corrections Education Association reports some early results of a three-state study (Maryland, Minnesota, and Ohio) uniting state and federal correctional and educational authorities. He notes the 19% reduction in recidivism in Maryland for those involved in education and concludes, for those whose major concern is "public safety," that education is "one of the most effective crime fighting tools available" and, "correc-

⁶⁴"The Impact of College in a Maximum Security Prison for Women: Effects on Women, Prison Environment, Reincarceration and Post-Release Outcomes," Michele Fine, Professor of Social Psychology, City University of New York., study released April 2001, but no listing of publication source yet (mtorre@cukny.edu listed as contact source).

⁶⁵"Division of Continuing Education Post-Secondary Programs Executive Summary," January 2000, Windham School District, Texas Department of Corrections.

⁶⁶Florida, using a model of analysis adapted by the Florida Department of Corrections, concluded a return of \$3.53 per \$1.00 investment in correctional education ("Return on Investment for Correctional Education in Florida" [based on a Study conducted by Tax Watch and the Center for Needs Assessment & Planning], June 1999, Florida Department of Corrections, Bureau of Research and Data Analysis). An Oklahoma study concluded a reduction of recidivism to 8% for those completing some college courses, 3% for those completing a degree (H. C. Davis, "Correctional Education: Success and Hope," Correctional Education Association News and Notes, October 1999). A Massachusetts study reported that several hundred prisoners had completed a bachelor's degree during a 25-year program and none had returned to prison for a new crime ("Reflections from a life behind bars: Build colleges, not prisons," James Gilligan, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, October 16, 1998). Arkansas, Maryland, and New York studies reported reduced recidivism for those with college degrees—Alabama from 35% to 1%, Maryland from 46% to 0%, and New York from 45% to 26% (Dennis J. Stevens and Charles S. Ward, "College Education and Recidivism: Educating Criminals Meritorious," *Journal of Correctional Education*, Volume 48, Issue 3, September 1997). A complex study in Canada reported an overall reduction in recidivism after 3 years from 75% to 25%—a reduction of 46% for those considered by various factors to be "high risk," and a reduction of 23% for those considered to be "low risk" (Stephen Duguid, "Cognitive Dissidents Bite the Dust—The Demise of University Education in Canada's Prisons," *Journal of Correctional Education*, Volume 48, Issue 2, June 1997).

tional education is, simply put, public safety.”⁶⁷ But he states earlier in his report that the reason the education provided is so valuable is that, for those who take advantage of it, we have the positive contributions of “workers paying taxes, parents exercising their family responsibilities, and citizens contributing positively to the community.”

The nature of the education provided is important. A Texas study of 25,000 prisoners released between September 1996 and May 1998, controlling for age, type of offense, and post-release employment, showed that vocational certificates did not seem to significantly reduce recidivism since only 21% with vocational certificates received employment in their field of training.⁶⁸ However, in the same study, regardless of other prisoner characteristics, the higher the level of education the lower the recidivism rate. A 1995 study by Miles Harer in federal prisons showed that the impact of education on prisoners not recidivating was independent of post-release employment. Harer concluded that this is due to the “normalizing” effect on prisoners—that “prisonization” is reduced and prisoners are helped to appreciate and adopt prosocial norms.”⁶⁹ The key matter was not preparation for employment, but preparation for participation in society—responsible citizenship.

Observations by Hans Toch, Lawrence Jablecki, and Stephen Duguid support this emphasis on education having a more important role than equipping vocationally. As important as marketable skills are for material survival, a more primary role is to educate for responsible citizenship. Toch, after reviewing stories of the impact of education on several male prisoners, stresses two valuable responses to educational opportunity by prisoners.⁷⁰ First, educational curiosity leads to activity and a growing sense of competence. Second, establishment of a relationship

⁶⁷Preliminary report issued by Stephen J. Steurer, Project Director, Correctional Education Association, 4380 Forbes Boulevard, Lanham, Maryland 40706 (steuer1@aol.com).

⁶⁸“Impact of Educational Achievement of Inmates in the Windham School District on Recidivism,” August 2000, Tony Fabelo, Executive Director, Criminal Justice Policy Council.

⁶⁹“Prison Education Program Participation and Recidivism: A Test of the Normalization Hypothesis, May 1995, Miles D. Harer, Research Analyst, Federal Bureau of Prisons.

⁷⁰Hans Toch, “Regenerating Prisoners Through Education,” 99-106, in *Corrections: A Humanistic Approach* (New York: Harrow and Heston, 1997). Certainly education alone does not lead to Christian regeneration, but it provides the opportunity for a prisoner to experience a new life of responsible citizenship.

with a supportive staff member leads to program involvement. Rather than focus on full-blown “rehabilitation,” he encourages helping the prisoner cope with the existing environment and “giving him something positive or meaningful, around which to organize his life.”⁷¹

Operating from a similar perspective, Jablecki writes of his experiences in teaching Introduction to Philosophy in helping prisoners to face responsibility for their crime and their responsibility to change their own lives.⁷² Duguid, in a review of corrections education in general, concludes that some of the sources of benefit are the prisoner gaining a new sense of identity (“I am a student”—not a “prisoner”) and “a socially acceptable affiliation” (“I am connected to an institution outside the prison”).⁷³ Duguid quotes one student graduation speech: “Here we are granted our humanity; it is in fact demanded of us. Here we function as responsible human beings.”

In my work with the Spring Arbor College Prisoner Education Program between 1983 and 2000, I discovered those forces at work. Student after student in graduation speeches would repeat what we so often heard in everyday conversation with prisoners. Students were students, not prisoners. They were respected as fellow strugglers on the journey of life. They were positively affected by the “safe” environment of college classrooms. We do not have systematic follow-up reports, but we have heard individual stories of the power of education to change a person for the better, to help foster a desire to become a responsible citizen. One graduate became Director of the Prisoner Education Program and is now involved in community development and helping churches to work with gangs to change. Another, who helped develop a substance abuse counseling program while in prison, has earned an M.S.W. and works in substance counseling. Another works as a full-time employment counselor, challenging persons to be responsible to persist in seeking employment and neither to deceive nor make excuses.

Recidivism statistics, although giving a superficial measure of the success of programs, also leave one with a sense of incompleteness. It is

⁷¹Loc. cit., 105-106. Obviously, as Christians, we hope to help prisoners to experience in Christ “something positive . . . around which to organize . . . life.”

⁷²Lawrence T. Jablecki, “Prison Inmates Meet Socrates,” *The Humanist*, May/June 2000, 11-16.

⁷³Stephen Duguid, “Subjects and Objects in Modern Corrections,” *The Journal of Correctional Education*, Volume 51, Issue 2, June 2000, 241-245.

good to know that someone has not committed another crime. But, for the sake of human well-being, we want to know: Did the person “get her life together?” Did the person become a contributing citizen? A restorative vision looks beyond responsibility to “pay” for a crime to responsibility to deal with one’s conviction, be confronted with a sense of the harm done, and have opportunity for repentance and change. A restorative vision also looks to the responsibility to go beyond “staying out of trouble” to becoming a responsible citizen.

Yes, the restorative vision includes “therapy.” It is not the foolish therapy with the question begging belief: “No healthy person would commit a crime. Therefore all criminals are simply sick. Therefore, the only fair approach is ‘treatment.’” But one does not have to speak with very many prison workers to realize that addictions—whether it be alcohol or other drugs or criminal sexual behavior or other aggressive behavior—need therapy. They do not need a “therapy” without responsibility. But they need a therapy that fearlessly confronts their behavior problems, recognizes physical and social dimensions of the problems, and seeks to map out responsible therapeutic strategies.

Therapy that is accepted is not an evil. It is not a cop-out from responsibility. It is indeed difficult to encourage freely chosen therapy when an offender knows that better opportunities may go together with going through the motions of accepting therapy. But it is worth the risk—worth the risk of possible coercion by authorities and worth the risk of offenders “playing the game” of the system. The deepest need is *education*—education in the most profound sense—education that helps a person come face to face with a clear understanding of self, of society, and of mutual relationships and responsibilities. It is education in the “liberal arts”—clear and critical thinking about the physical and human world, encounter with human history and cultural diversity, analysis and communication concerning the great human philosophical and religious questions. It is education for responsible citizenship. In his own way, Charles Colson, in his stress on the problems of a wrong worldview, is providing evidence of the need for this education for responsible citizenship.⁷⁴

As Christians, Wesleyan or otherwise, our mission with respect to prisoners is the expression of Christian love. We are called to do that, not just to serve prisoners, but to be served by them. Even as Wesley called

⁷⁴Colson, *op. cit.*

upon members of Methodist societies to visit the poor, so you and I are challenged to visit prisoners. Then as now, it is a means of grace to the visitor as surely as it is a benefit to the prisoner. Yes, we have an evangelistic calling to share the good news of God's forgiving and transforming grace in Jesus Christ. But, at an even more basic level, we are to be "little Christs," as Martin Luther put it. In the process, our souls are fed. We join with others to seek education for responsible citizenship for prisoners, even as we join with others in a common mission for the public good and human wholeness. We seek humane conditions for prisoners, even as Wesley did. We also seek to help prisoners to help themselves to become better citizens.

III. Redemptive Grace

The restorative vision prompts us to join with others in helping prisoners to seek responsible citizenship. But, more than anything else, this restorative vision and this concern for responsible citizenship are motivated by the redemptive grace we have experienced. We have experienced a grace that humbles us and calls us to gratefully serve others. The Apostle Paul describes this motivation in his challenge in his letters to the early Christians at Rome and Ephesus to reject being "conformed to this world" (Romans 12.1-2) and to "walk worthy" of the gracious calling by which we have been called (Ephesians 4.1).

Mr. Wesley challenged the early Methodists to three basic rules: "doing no harm," "doing good," and "attending upon all the ordinances of God."⁷⁵ Among the "doing good" directions was the challenge "to be doing good of every possible sort, and as far as is possible, to all men: to their bodies, of the ability which God giveth, by giving food to the hungry, by clothing the naked, by visiting or helping them that are sick, or in prison."⁷⁶ Wesley followed with direction for "doing good . . . to their souls by instructing, reproving, or exhorting," etc. Pastor Bill McGill of the "One Church One Offender" program has cited a related Wesleyan challenge to Methodists: "Do all the good you can, by all the means you can, to all the people you can, in all the places you can, as long as ever

⁷⁵"The Rules of the United Societies," found in Albert Outler, editor, *John Wesley* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 177-180, as reproduced from the first 1743 edition.

⁷⁶Loc. cit., 179.

you can.”⁷⁷ He raised that challenge before a prison reform audience as he urged us to face the difficulties of our task, but not be discouraged in the effort—to “keep on keeping on.”

McGill, an African American Baptist preacher, has experienced great success in bringing together churches and ex-offenders—requiring intense commitment on the part of both the ex-offender and a church committee, working together on matters of support and accountability. The results have been impressive, with a 93% success rate in helping former prisoners become successfully integrated into the community. McGill’s remarks included challenges in two other areas that share the Wesleyan challenge to Christians for our twenty-first century mission. The first issue is racism. “Color-blindness” can become a euphemism for what he spoke of as a pale copy of concern for a society where resources and opportunities are available to all. Prisons and criminal justice policy are some of the most powerful forces in our society. Racism is very evident in the operation of the system. It can be quite depressing and guilt-inducing to be confronted with the reality that since 1995 it has been true that one of every three African American young men has been under criminal justice supervision.⁷⁸ The call to “walk worthy” of our calling challenges us to address the issue.

The other challenge McGill presented was that a punitive perspective on prisons is really an animalistic view of the human condition. Referring to the work of Gerald McHugh, he noted that a punitive emphasis that seeks to change behavior by pleasure and pain principles does not relate to persons as capable of communication and decision-making, but only as capable of being conditioned.⁷⁹ The “pleasure/pain” view is coun-

⁷⁷These remarks were part of a keynote address to a conference on “Correcting Our Priorities” jointly sponsored by the Citizens Alliance on Prisons and Public Safety (a Michigan criminal justice reform organization), the Michigan Council on Crime and Delinquency, and the Michigan Collaborative for Juvenile Justice Reform in Lansing, Michigan on October 29, 2001.

⁷⁸Marc Maurer presents the details of the “experiment in crime control” of the last 30 years in *Race to Incarcerate* (New York: The New Press, 1999). He deals with the racist results in chapters on “African Americans and the Criminal Justice System” (118-141) and “The War on Drugs and the African American Community” (142-161). He offers the charitable observation that “patterns of discrimination reflect *unconscious* biases rather than blatant attempts to oppress African Americans.”

⁷⁹Gerald Austin McHugh, *Christian Faith and Criminal Justice: Toward a Christian Response to Crime and Punishment* (New York: Paulist Press, 1978).

terproductive and morally questionable, not providing an example of the behavior it seeks to produce. McGill called for a shift from punishment to discipline, to training and education, to stress on moral and mental improvement.

Certainly our mission includes the “doing good” of prison reform every bit as much as it did when John Wesley spoke of John Howard as one of the greatest men in Europe. Some today lump Howard with prison reformer Cesare Beccaria, utilitarians, and rehabilitationists who do not hold prisoners responsible.⁸⁰ But Mr. Howard himself, together with his concern to improve prison living conditions and provide therapy, advocated repentance and responsible life change.⁸¹ Carol and Ralph Ellis describe Beccaria as a social contract theorist who stressed rehabilitation.⁸² Howard Zehr explains that Beccaria viewed the State as the instrument to administer rational law, appealing to pain and pleasure expectations.⁸³ Although Howard supported rewards and punishments, he went beyond advocating more healthful prison conditions to contend that the “leading view in every house of corrections” should be to “better . . . their

⁸⁰Charles Colson does this in *Justice That Restores*, 51. Similarly, in his chapter designed to demonstrate that we have moved from belief that “depravity” causes crime to belief that “deprivation” causes crime, he claims that, when looting occurred in a New York City power outage, “President Carter declared it was poverty that had driven people to loot.” In a personal appearance at Calvin College on January 7, 2002, Mr. Colson stated his admiration for Francis Schaeffer, who has employed such simplifications in relating to Christian thinkers who troubled him—such as Kierkegaard and Barth. Perhaps Mr. Colson would make the same kind of statements about Wesley as he did about Carter if Wesley were alive today to say what he did in support of the Irish who “flew out” against the “legal” confiscation of their lands (footnote 6 above, reference to Wesley’s *Journal*, June 15, 1773). Similarly, in writing of “Heaviness Through Manifold Temptation,” Wesley identified with the hard-working English laborer who did not have sufficient income to feed his family and, were it not for the restraining unseen hand of God, would “curse God and die” (Albert Outler, editor, *The Works of John Wesley* [Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1985], Volume 2, 228). Wesley does not say poverty justifies wrongdoing, but, he acknowledges that it “drives” people toward wrongdoing—most likely what Mr. Carter was referring to.

⁸¹John Howard, *The State of the Prisons* (London: J. M. Dent, 1929), No 835 of Everyman’s Library, copy of edition from 1784, 21. “I wish to have so many small rooms or cabins that each criminal may sleep alone. . . . If it be difficult to prevent their being together in the daytime, they should by all means be separated at night. Solitude and silence are favourable for reflection, and may possibly lead them to repentance.”

⁸²Ellis and Ellis, op. cit., 4-8 ff., 93 ff., 157 ff.

⁸³Zehr, op. cit., 117-120.

morals,” with a humane appeal to become “careful members of society.”⁸⁴ “Show them that you have humanity,” wrote Howard, “and that you aim to make them useful members of society.”⁸⁵

Our situation with respect to seeking to meet the human needs of prisoners and at the same time being concerned for their spiritual regeneration is similar to our concern to feed the hungry, knowing they need spiritual regeneration. In one of his thirteen sermons on the Sermon on the Mount, one of the standards of Methodist doctrine, Wesley suggested a way in which some might question “doing good” to others materially: “They affirm . . . What does it avail to feed or clothe men’s bodies, if they are just dropping into everlasting fire? And what good can any man do to their souls?” In some of his most pointed comments, Wesley responded: “Whether they will finally be lost or saved, you are expressly commanded to feed the hungry, and clothe the naked. If you can, and do not, whatever becomes of them, you shall go away into everlasting fire.”⁸⁶ In a similar sense, Jesus pronounced a final judgment based on whether or not we have visited him in prison (Matthew 25.31-46). To “visit him in prison” is more than to spend time there. It is to share the concerns and needs of those who are imprisoned, including their families. As responsible citizens, motivated by God’s redemptive grace, it is to seek renewal of the society. It is to share the concern expressed in William Arthur’s holiness classic of the nineteenth century, *The Tongue of Fire*. He notes the need to change society through individual conversion. Then he challenges the “insufficiently studied . . . application of Christianity to social evils.” Noting “fearful social evils” that can exist in a society where many individuals are holy, he calls for general renewal of society. The confrontation with the evils—including intemperance, commercial frauds, “neglect of workmen by masters,” and poor housing, is to be accomplished by “mild, genial, and ardent

⁸⁴John Howard, *The State of the Prisons* (London: J. M. Dent, 1929), No. 835 of Everyman’s Library, copy of edition from 1784. “To reform prisoners, or to make them better, as to their morals, should always be the leading view in every house of correction. . . . As rational and immortal beings we owe this to them; nor can any criminality of theirs justify our neglect in this particular” (41). Howard was convinced that “religion alone” could make possible the needed moral change.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, 40. “The notion that convicts are ungovernable is certainly erroneous. . . . Show them that you have humanity, and that you aim to make them useful members of society” (40).

⁸⁶*The Works of John Wesley*, edited by Albert Outler, Volume 1 (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1984), 545-546.

advocacy for what is purer.” This will both be “glorifying the Redeemer . . . and removing hindrances to individual conversion.”⁸⁷

I personally have seen the impact of “removing hindrances to conversion” by concern for a prisoner as a total person, not just a “soul to be saved.” One of our Spring Arbor College students, Mr. Floyd Mizell, a huge and outspoken person, asked one of our instructors, Dr. Harold Darling, if he would want him as a neighbor. It was at a time when Mr. Mizell was quite belligerent. Dr. Darling honestly responded: “No.” But, that was matched by his work as a skilled professional professor of psychology seeking to help prisoners pursue their education. Floyd responded to the redemptive grace expressed in the lives of Dr. Darling and others. I remember quite well Mr. Mizell’s remarks to me: “It’s persons such as Dr. Darling who make me think there’s something to this Christianity stuff.” After Mr. Mizell’s death, I heard from another prisoner that he had experienced Christian conversion. But, whether he would be converted or not, Dr. Darling was motivated by the redemptive grace of God to seek to minister to and with persons such as Floyd Mizell. It was my privilege to lead the funeral service for Mr. Mizell and to hear Dr. Darling and others give tribute to this one touched by God’s grace through education. Though he would die in prison, Floyd Mizell helped others to navigate the legal system. Singing “Precious Lord, Take My Hand” on the occasion of his funeral was one whom he had helped find release from prison after serving many years. She now serves as Director of a group helping children of prisoners, Sons and Daughters of Incarcerated.

Several issues call for our practice of redemptive grace in relating to prisoners. Prevention is a major issue. Our state and federal governments spend too few dollars on prevention programs because so much is wasted on punishment and the phantom of deterrence. Mr. Wesley once remarked that he was amazed that so many with want of bread were still so well behaved. We could well be amazed that we have so few crimes, given the economic and racial oppression that exists. As simple a preventive effort as pre-school programs has been shown to significantly reduce the likelihood of a person going to prison. As churches and as Christians working in various arenas of life, we are challenged to find ways to be supportive of children, parents, and other family members of those in prison.

⁸⁷William Arthur, *The Tongue of Fire: Or, The True Power of Christianity* (New York: Methodist Book Concern, date not listed [New and Revised]), with introduction from 1856. The remarks referred to are from pages 91-93.

Programming and therapy are not backed with nearly enough dollars. Some educational programs exist, but college programming is rare. Yet, study after study convincingly shows that the more education a person receives, the less likely she or he is to go back to prison. Our motivation needs to be bigger than combating recidivism. We have been gifted with educational opportunity that we need to share. This is especially evident in prison settings where so many persons are “at the end of their rope” and want to turn their lives around. There is great opportunity for sharing the redemptive grace of God.

We also have a parole system, at least in Michigan, that does not reward good behavior and steals money from other programs by lengthening prison sentences. We have a prison system that severs the potentially redemptive bonds of family. Data from 1997 revealed that 63% of state prisoners lived more than 100 miles from their former residence (likely address of family members), and 84% of federal prisoners were in similar circumstances. Telephone companies and government bureaucracies are profiting at the expense of families needing to pay \$6-7 for a 15 minute call. Each of these situations needs remedy. Also, we need to find ways to meet prisoners when they are released and help them find a place to live, a community of Christian support to belong to, and meaningful employment. Most of all, redemptive grace calls us to advocate a swapping of the primacy of punishment and security for the primacy of human and social wholeness. Any punishment or security practice must have a more primary concern for individual integration and community peace—“restorative justice.”

Our Wesleyan heritage is a heritage of reform and holiness. That heritage has not always been consistent. Yet, the roots are there. That heritage is especially relevant to today’s prison situation. The Wesleyan concern to reform the nation and the church is a concern for restorative justice—communitarian justice—transformative justice—biblical *shalom*. The Wesleyan concern for making disciples and for responsible participation in community life is a concern not only to make disciples of Christ among prisoners but also to join with non-Christians to provide education for responsible citizenship. The Wesleyan experience of redemptive grace overflows in concern for both spiritual and material well-being for prisoners—as well as for victims of crime and for the human community.

WHY DO MISSIONS? A PROBE OF WESLEY'S LIFE AND MINISTRY IN SEARCH OF MOTIVATIONAL RESOURCES FOR MISSIONS IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

by

Ron Creasman

Perhaps the starting point in answering the question of why Wesleyans undertake missions is to consider why John Wesley himself engaged so tirelessly in evangelism. Underlying Wesley's famous claim that the world was his parish was an intense desire to save sinners from damnation. However, the doctrine of eternal perdition is seen as in need of serious revision in today's postmodern setting. Moreover, in a recent presidential address to the Wesleyan Theological Society, Al Truesdale called for Wesleyans to reconsider whether the doctrine of hell is in fact logically compatible with the tenet that God's essence is holy love.

For these reasons it seems fitting to consider again the role hell played in Wesley's evangelism. In looking at a wide range of data, I seek to strike a balance between the exaggerated caricature of Wesley as obsessed with hell and the inaccurate minimization of Wesley's use of hell. I conclude by suggesting how Wesley's motives and method in evangelism may yet inspire our work in the twenty-first century.

Wesley's Mission Motivations

Why do Wesleyans do missions? Perhaps a preliminary place to look for the answer is with John Wesley himself. Why was Wesley driven to "spread scriptural holiness across the land"? What motivated his cele-

brated statement, "The world is my parish"? While several other motives stand out in Wesley's life as driving forces behind his indefatigable evangelism, it is clear that Wesley was significantly motivated by an intense conviction that sinners were on their way to hell. Not only did eternal damnation figure as a *motive* for evangelism, it also played a role in Wesley's *method* of evangelism. His emphasis on saving the lost from damnation, however, becomes problematic for contemporary missions. First, the doctrines of judgment and eternal perdition are seen as in need of serious revision in today's postmodern setting. Also, the logical compatibility of everlasting punishment with the tenet that God's essence is holy love has been called into question.¹ In light of these concerns, it is all the more fitting to reconsider Wesley's appropriation of the doctrine of hell as a motive for and method of evangelism.

Wesley's famous claim that the world was his parish came in a letter defending his practice of preaching throughout England without the official permission of the local parish clergy.² He claimed that he could not help committing this breach of Anglican church policy because he had been commanded by God to preach and the Church of England offered him no legitimate sphere to discharge that duty. Wesley likened the situation to that faced by the Apostles when they were forbidden to teach or preach in the name of Jesus. Wesley too had been forced to choose between obeying man or God. What God had commanded him to do, "man forbids me to do in another's parish . . . seeing I have now no parish of my own, nor probably ever shall."³ Faced with this choice, Wesley decided that the Church of England had not the ecclesiastical jurisdiction to restrict him from fulfilling his calling. "I look upon *all the world as my parish*; thus far I mean, that in whatever part of it I am I judge it meet, right and my bounden duty to declare unto all that were willing to hear the glad tidings of salvation."⁴

While Wesley does not explicitly discuss his motives in this passage, he does provide some clues. Wesley claimed he was compelled by an

¹Al Truesdale, "Holy Love Vs Eternal Hell," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 36, no. 1 (Spring 2001), 103-112.

²Letter of Mar. 26, 1739, *The Bicentennial Edition of the Works of John Wesley*, ed. Frank Baker (Nashville: Abingdon, 1984-), 25:615. In his editorial preface Outler discusses the difficulty in determining the recipient of this letter.

³*Works*, 25:615.

⁴*Works*, 25:616.

inner urgency. Quoting the apostle Paul, he explained, “A dispensation of the gospel has been given me and woe is me if I preach not the gospel.”⁵ What is more, this commission to preach brought with it a sense of responsibility. Wesley considered it his “bounden duty” to preach the gospel. It would seem that he felt if he did not “declare unto all who were willing to hear the glad tidings of salvation,” he would have to answer to God.

This impression is certainly confirmed when several years later Wesley again defended his practice of open air preaching. Wesley had been accused by the anonymous “John Smith” of violating Church policy by preaching in parishes without the express invitation of presiding clergy. Wesley claimed his “irregular” evangelical behavior was driven by two strong convictions: sinners were on their way to hell and Wesley himself would answer to God for his response to their plight.

Wherever I see one or a thousand men running into hell, be it England, Ireland, or France, yea in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, I will stop them if I can—as a minister of Christ I will beseech them in his name to turn back and be reconciled to God. Were I to do otherwise, were I to let any soul drop into the pit whom I might have saved from everlasting burnings, I am not satisfied God would accept my plea, “Lord, he was not of my parish.”⁶

Wesley demonstrates here how eschatology was a driving force behind much of his evangelistic ministry. In fact, his passion to save others from hell is to a degree an extension of the way death and judgment overshadowed his own life. While much attention has been given to the preeminence of soteriology in Wesley’s thought, his struggle for assurance of personal salvation cannot be understood apart from the essential eschatological motivation behind that struggle. The very notion of salvation entails rescue from dire consequences and obtaining lasting security. Wesley’s question, “What must I do to be saved?” is but another way of asking, “How can I prepare for standing before the judgment throne of God, how can I escape his wrath and gain his pardon?” Apart from this backdrop of eternal judgment with its consequence of bliss or damnation,

⁵Letter of Mar 26, 1739. *Works*, 25:615. The New Testament passage cited is 1 Cor. 9:16-19.

⁶Letter to “John Smith,” Mar. 22, 1748. *Works* 26:291.

much of Wesley's relentless evangelical activity loses its context. Albert Outler expressed this well by observing that, for Wesley, soteriology and eschatology form two sides of the same coin.⁷

This aspect of Wesley's thought has not gone unnoticed by his detractors. Accusations that Wesley and his preachers were obsessed with "hell-fire" began in his own day with the anonymous letters by "John Smith" and they have resurfaced with almost predictable regularity in the centuries since then.⁸ While most of these charges have been made by those not sympathetic with Wesley's work as a whole, the typical response of Wesleyans is to downplay Wesley's use of hell.⁹ Yet often these efforts do not appear to be based on careful research as much as on a desire to exonerate Wesley from embarrassing caricatures.

So the question arises once more: What precisely was the role played by the doctrine of hell in Wesley's evangelism? This paper seeks to ascertain Wesley's employment of the themes of death, judgment, and hell as both motives and methods for evangelism. It will look first at Wesley's

⁷Albert Outler served as editor of Wesley's sermons in the first four volumes of the new Bicentennial edition of Wesley's works. For this comment, see *Works* 3:181.

⁸Many of these are listed by D. Dunn Wilson, "The Importance of Hell for John Wesley," *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, 34 (1963):12. Nevertheless, he leaves out perhaps the most severe accusation, that of Marjorie Bowen, who claimed that Wesley "drugged and stunned the illiterate poor with his preaching of Hell fire." Marjorie Bowen, *Wrestling Jacob: A Study of the Life of John Wesley* (London: Religious Book Club, 1938), viii.

⁹Examples of scholars concerned to minimize Wesley's use of divine punishment include: Nehemiah Curnock, *Works* (Jackson) 1:139; D. D. Wilson, 16; Colin Williams, *John Wesley's Theology Today* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1960), 199; Doughty, (quoted by Herbert McGonigle, "John Wesley's Eschatology," in *Windows on Wesley: Wesleyan Theology in Today's World*, ed. Philip R. Meadows (Oxford: Applied Theology Press, 1997), 170; James Downes and Outler are listed by Randy Maddox, *Responsible Grace: John Wesley's Practical Theology* (Nashville: Abingdon, Kingswood Books, 1994), 372, note 150. Three authors who do not seem embarrassed about Wesley's use of hell are Bruce Morino, "Through a Glass Darkly: The Eschatological Vision of John Wesley" (Ph.D. diss., Drew University, 1994); Kenneth J. Collins, *A Faithful Witness: John Wesley's Homiletical Theology* (Wilmore, Ky: Wesley Heritage Press, 1993); and McGonigle. Yet even McGonigle appears to waver, for while he appears to argue for the significance of hell in Wesley, he adds such qualifying statements as to nullify that claim (e.g., "Wrath to come is not a major concern in John Wesley's published sermons" and "[Wesley] chose to give them only a small place in the published corpus," 166).

life for the influence of hell as a motivation behind his evangelism. Secondly, it will consider Wesley's use of hell as a method of evangelism.

Influence of Hell in Wesley's Life

In several activities Wesley undertook before and after he became leader of the Methodist movement, he acknowledged his concern about eternal punishment among his motives. To begin with, it has been well noted that the activities of the Oxford "Holy Club," both its regime of strict religious discipline and its deeds of charity, were driven in part by the members' concern to save their own souls.¹⁰ In a later reflection upon his religious motivations during the early Oxford years, Wesley summarized his primary concern: "I asked long ago, What must I do to be saved?"¹¹ Moreover, Wesley claimed that when he and others decided to leave Oxford on missionary venture to the new colony of Georgia, their motive was "singly this—to save our own souls."¹²

Much later, Wesley's decision to organize the Methodist Societies was also influenced by the doctrine of hell. Wesley explains the formation of the Societies as a response to a particular group of persons who asked him to "spend some time with them in prayer, and advise them *how to flee from the wrath to come*."¹³ This phrase, depicting the motive of escaping divine punishment, took on permanent status when Wesley made "desire to flee from the wrath to come" the only condition for membership in the

¹⁰Wesley's desire to secure his own salvation has been variously interpreted. The ethical significance of such motivation has been criticized by some Wesleyan scholars, e.g., Henry Rack: "It was a highly self-regarding stance" (*Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism*, Nashville: Abingdon, 2nd ed. 1993, 94). William R. Cannon is even more harsh in claiming that "[Wesley's] neighbor and his neighbor's needs. . .were important only in so far as they contributed to his own salvation" (*The Theology of John Wesley*, Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1974, reprinted by Abingdon, 1984, 63). However, this strong statement by Cannon must be understood in the light of Cannon's effort to construe Wesley's whole life as a journey from justification by works to justification by faith.

¹¹Entry for 1/25/38, *Works* 18:212.

¹²Journal entry of 11/14/35. This statement must be understood in light of Wesley's legalistic understanding of justification at this time (heavily influenced by the writings of William Law and Jeremy Taylor) which led him to attempt to secure the salvation of his soul through "holy living." See Cannon for a further discussion of Wesley's early moralism.

¹³*The Nature and Design, and General Rules of the United Societies* (1743), *Works* 9:69. Italics added.

United Societies. In fact, Wesley included it in the preface of all thirty-nine editions of the *Societies General Rules* published in his lifetime.¹⁴

The doctrine of hell also figured prominently in Wesley's campaign against Calvinism. Wesley's protracted polemic against the doctrine of predestination was largely fueled by his convictions regarding damnation. In his sermon "On Free Grace," Wesley explained his opposition to predestination:

It has a manifest tendency to destroy holiness in general, for it wholly takes away those first motives to follow after it, so frequently proposed in Scripture: the hope of future reward and *fear of punishment*, the hope of heaven and fear of *hell*. That "these shall go away into everlasting punishment and those into life eternal" is no motive to him to struggle for life who believes his lot is cast already.¹⁵

Finally, as seen already, Wesley claimed that his unprecedented practice of open-air preaching in other men's parishes was largely due to the inescapable judgment facing sinners and also himself. These several examples from Wesley's life give some indication of the motivational influence hell exerted on him.¹⁶

Hell As Evangelistic Method

The doctrine of hell served not only as a motive for Wesley's evangelism but also as a method of evangelism. Because of his belief that sinners needed to be "awakened" to their lost state before they would turn to God, Wesley made frequent application of divine wrath to bring sinners to repentance.¹⁷ The Third Annual Conference Minutes records a discussion between Wesley and his preachers on the value of preaching about hell.

Q.3. Did we not then purposely throw them into convictions; into strong sorrow and fear? Nay, did we not strive to make them inconsolable, refusing to be comforted?

¹⁴For a discussion of this, see McGonigle, 169.

¹⁵Sermon 110, "Free Grace" (1739), *Works* 3:548 (italics added). In a personal letter Wesley reiterated this point, explaining that his reason for attacking the doctrine of predestination was because he was "persuaded that opinion has led many thousands into hell." Telford, 6:224. Cited by D. D. Wilson, 15.

¹⁶Many other examples of Wesley being motivated by a sense of eternal judgment could be presented. Some these are discussed by Ron Creasman, "Heaven Connected to Earth: Toward a Balance of Personal and Social Eschatology in Wesleyan Theology" (Ph. D. diss, Marquette University, 1999), 45-50.

¹⁷Maddox, 160.

- A. We did. And so we should do still. For the stronger the conviction, the speedier is the deliverance.¹⁸

In his correspondence with the anonymous “John Smith,” Wesley admitted that his candid sermon references to hell might indeed offend the false sense of social discretion held by Anglican clergy, but he reasoned that saving souls ranked higher than following such refined manners. “Is it not better that sinners ‘should be terrified now than that they should sleep on, and awake in hell’? I have known exceeding happy effects of this, even upon men of strong understanding.”¹⁹

Wesley saw ethical as well as evangelistic value in the doctrine of divine wrath. Hell provided a strong motive to avoid dishonesty and cursing.²⁰ He also considered hell to be an effective motive in his call for slave traders to give up their business.²¹ Even acts of mercy could be predicated upon the doctrine of hell, for saving others from damnation by prolonging life and thereby giving additional time to repent was one of the motives that inspired feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and the like.²²

Though it primarily functioned to awaken sinners of their lost condition, hell served as a method for motivating believers as well. Hell was used by Wesley to prod believers in their upward pursuit of Christian holiness. In his 1788 sermon “On Hell,” Wesley drives this point home.

And let not it be thought that the consideration of these terrible truths is proper only for enormous sinners . . . this very

¹⁸Conference Minutes for Tuesday, May 13, 1746.

¹⁹Letter “To John Smith,” 6/25/46, *Works* 26:197. The phrase in scare quotes is taken from Wesley’s *A Farther Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion, Part I*, where he acknowledges that his emphasis on experimental religion may greatly upset some members of the Church of England, but nonetheless is warranted by the certainty of hell. *Works* 11:129.

²⁰In a letter to “John Smith,” Wesley mentions that whenever he was cheated by a dishonest tradesman he would question the person, “Are you a Christian? Do you expect to go to heaven?” Wesley considered the self-assured reply he always received (“As good a Christian as the next person”) to be a delusion resulting from the elimination of conviction of the wrath of God. This sorry state was enabled by relying on “some bit or scrap of ‘outward religion’” (Letter, 6/25/46, *Works* 26:201). For Wesley’s use of hell as a deterrent of cursing, see “A Further Appeal” (1745), part II *Works*, 11:216–17.

²¹See the discussion of this by Theodore Runyon, *The New Creation: John Wesley’s Theology Today* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1998), 180.

²²Sermon 110, “Free Grace,” *Works*, 3:548.

fear, even in the children of God is an excellent means of preserving them from it. . . . It behooves therefore not only the outcast of men but even you, his friends, you that fear and love God, deeply to consider what is revealed in the oracles of God concerning the future state of punishment. . . . What a counterbalance may the consideration of [hell's torment] be to the violence of any temptation.²³

That hell continued operative in the various factors motivating discipleship also emerges from Wesley's own admission, "I desire to have both heaven and hell ever in my eye while I stand on this isthmus of life, between these two boundless oceans. And I verily think the daily consideration of both highly becomes all men of reason and religion."²⁴

Extent of the Emphasis on Hell

These selections from Wesley's writings indicate that he considered hell to be a meaningful tool in his efforts to evangelize. However, given the vast extent of his recorded writings, these few examples do not reveal the overall significance of hell in Wesley's thought. When a given corpus includes tens of thousands of pages, one might easily select passages to make any number of themes appear central when in fact they occupy very minor status. In regard to the motivational significance of hell, the question that remains open is the *relative emphasis* Wesley gave to it.

One way of determining the importance placed by a theologian on a particular doctrine is to examine his response to those who argue against it. There were several in Wesley's day who published works seeking to reinterpret hell. Wesley gave considerable attention to these contemporaries who rejected the traditional doctrine of eternal punishment. I present four instances of Wesley refuting the writings of his contemporaries specifically because they attempted to moderate the doctrine of hell.

Wesley was no admirer of Jacob Boehme's obscure philosophical speculation, which he described as "so dark and indeterminate, that I have not found any two persons in England who understand it alike."²⁵ Of particular note, however, is the fact that even though Wesley claimed the impenetrable nature of Jacob Boehme's writing rendered it nearly useless,

²³Sermon 73 "Of Hell," *Works*, 3:32-43.

²⁴Letter to John Smith, 7/10/47, *Works*, 26:244-245.

²⁵Written 12/22/80, *Works* (Jackson), 9: 513.

Wesley also considered it dangerous specifically because “Jacob affirms ‘God was never angry at sinners.’”²⁶

The visionary writings of Baron Swedenborg also provoked a response from Wesley.²⁷ In a twenty-five page refutation of Swedenborg’s work, Wesley devoted ten pages to dismantling his teaching on heaven and hell, which Wesley considered of primary importance. “The most dangerous part of all [Swedenborg’s] writings I take to be the account which he gives of hell. It directly tends to familiarize it to unholy men, to remove all their terror and to make them consider it, not as a place of torment, but a very tolerable habitation.”²⁸ Wesley charged both Boehme and Swedenborg with attempting to “kill the never-dying worm, and to put out the unquenchable fire!”²⁹ Wesley brought the same charge against Villegas Quevedo’s *Visions of Hell*. The value Wesley placed on the doctrine of hell can be seen in his lamenting the “dreadful tendency must this [denial of hell] have in such an age and nation as this!”³⁰

Perhaps the most lengthy response by Wesley to a contemporary who denied the reality of hell is found in his *Letter to the Reverend Mr. Law*, in which Wesley claimed that “nothing is more frequently or more expressly declared in Scripture, than God’s anger at sin, and his punishing it both temporally and eternally.”³¹ Wesley devoted many pages to a point-by-point refutation of Law’s denial of eternal punishment, concluding that the fear of hell which rightly may “affright men from sin” is not based on God’s falsification of eternal torment, but on the reality of damnation. These responses of Wesley to those of his day who rejected eternal damnation provide further indication of Wesley’s substantial emphasis on the motivational value of the doctrine of hell.

So far, the data considered regarding Wesley’s use of hell have been drawn from his personal life, his leadership of the Methodist movement, and his polemical writing. It seems fair to conclude from this data that the

²⁶*Works* (Jackson), 9:513.

²⁷Emmanuel Swedenborg, *Treatise concerning Heaven and Hell, containing a relation of many wonderful things therein, as heard and seen by the author, translated from the Latin*. English translation (London, 1750).

²⁸*Works* (Jackson), 13:443 (5/9/82). Swedenborg held that hell would involve endless indulging in the particular vices that sinners practiced on earth.

²⁹*Works* (Jackson), 13:448.

³⁰Journal entry 4/22/79, *Works* 23:127.

³¹*Works* (Jackson), 9:481.

doctrine of eternal damnation was an important component of Wesley's thought. However, some have been reluctant to concede this point and have sought instead to minimize the importance of hell to Wesley. As stated earlier, the typical response of Wesleyans to the unfair charge that Wesley was absorbed with "hell-fire" is to downplay Wesley's use of hell. Let us now turn to those arguments and see if they are well founded.

D. Dunn Wilson is an example of those who mistakenly try to minimize the importance of hell for Wesley by a cursory look at Wesley's publications. Wilson claims that Wesley's *Sermons* contain only four direct references to hell and his entire corpus only twenty. Much to the contrary, substantial paragraphs on the theme of damnation can be found in no less than twenty-one of Wesley's published sermons alone.³² Of a total of some one hundred and fifty published sermons, this constitutes nearly one-seventh of the whole collection. It should be mentioned that in many of the pertinent passages Wesley refers to judgment rather than to hell explicitly. For the sinner, judgment meant divine wrath, and for this reason many of Wesley's references to "judgment" are but thinly veiled warnings of damnation.³³ Apart from this recognition of the implicit threat of hell behind Wesley's numerous reminders of judgment it is impossible to accurately assess the significance of fear of hell as a motivation in his work.

Perhaps even more crucial for determining the *extent* of Wesley's use of hell than its frequency in his published sermons is his public preaching

³²For sermons dealing expressly with divine wrath see, "The Great Assize (1758), "Of Hell," (1782), "Dives and Lazarus," (1788), and "The Important Question," (1775). McGonigle lists additional sermons that devote "substantial paragraphs" to the theme of damnation: "The Way to the Kingdom," (1746), "Justification by Faith," (1746), "Upon our Lord's Sermon on the Mount," # 7 and # 12, (1748 & 1750), "The New Birth," (1760), "The Good Steward," (1768), "The Wisdom of God's Counsels," (1784), "On Eternity," (1786), "On Dress," (1786), "On Friendship with the World," (1786), "On the Discoveries of Faith," (1788), "Walking by Sight and Walking by Faith," (1788), "Human Life a Dream," (1789), and "On a Single Eye," (1789). To McGonigle's list should be added "Free Grace," (1739), "The Spirit of Bondage and Corruption," (1738), and "Upon Our Lord's Sermon on the Mount" # 4.

³³D. D. Wilson correctly observes, "Wesley was able to preach judgment without continually equating it with the torments of hell," 16. David Naglee observes, "When one thinks of Wesley's preaching and writing ministries, the subject of judgment always surfaces. The majority of his sermons inject the theme and his wide ranging writings abound with references to God giving justice and mercy in one way or another" (*From Everlasting to Everlasting: John Wesley on Eternity and Time*, New York: Peter Lang, 1991, 581).

ministry. A difficulty emerges at this point. Although Wesley published sermons regularly throughout his life, his published sermon corpus does not adequately reflect his public preaching. A more accurate resource exists in Wesley's sermon register, which recorded in detail his preaching activity.³⁴ Albert Outler's extensive scholarship in Wesley's sermons led him to conclude that Wesley's most frequently preached text was Matthew 16:26—"What is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"³⁵ Wesley preached from this text no less than one hundred and seventeen times. He published a sermon on this text entitled "The Important Question," which went through seven separate editions in his lifetime. In this sermon Wesley devotes a majority of the prose to contrasting the state of those who lose their souls with those who repent and are saved. Thus it seems likely that hell bulked largely in Wesley's sermons on the text he preached from well over one hundred times.

Another approach of scholars seeking to minimize Wesley's use of hell is to rely on selected proof-texts. Three passages emerge as favorites for supporting the claim that Wesley made little use of hell. A closer look at these texts raises serious doubts about their appropriateness for this endeavor.

The text perhaps most frequently cited as proof of Wesley's innocence of the charge of preaching "hell-fire" comes from the *Minutes* of the Third Annual Conference between Wesley and some of his key assistant preachers.

Q. What inconvenience is there in speaking much of the wrath of God and little of the love of God?

A. It generally hardens them that believe not and discourages them that do.³⁶

³⁴As evidence of the disparity between Wesley's sermon publishing and his preaching activity, McGonigle notes that seven of Wesley's most frequently used sermon texts are not represented in the published corpus at all. McGonigle, 167.

³⁵Outler considers the fact that Wesley preached this sermon no less than one hundred and seventeen times "to be a sufficient comment on the familiar but misleading generalization that Wesley was less interested in eschatology than soteriology," *Works* 3:181.

³⁶*John Wesley*, ed. Albert C. Outler, *A Library of Protestant Thought Series* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 163. This passage from Wesley is quoted by (among others) D. D. Wilson, 14; Williams, 199; and Steve Harper, *John Wesley's Message for Today* (Grand Rapids: Francis Asbury Press, 1983), 111.

However, this passage does not demonstrate Wesley's opinion that hell is ineffective as a religious motive, but his opinion that the effectiveness of hell hinges on its being combined with the pardoning love of God. The central point of this passage is the futility of speaking *much* of wrath and *little* of God's love. It is not preaching hell, but preaching hell in isolation from divine grace that "hardens" unbelievers and "discourages" believers. The value Wesley placed on preaching God's wrath stands out in the Minutes for the previous day.

Q.3. Did we not then purposely throw them into convictions; into strong sorrow and fear? Nay, did we not strive to make them inconsolable, refusing to be comforted?

A. We did. And so we should do still. For the stronger the conviction, the speedier is the deliverance.³⁷

A similar misunderstanding of Wesley's use of hell stems from his oft-quoted *Journal* entries concerning the perilous storms he faced while crossing the Atlantic. When Wesley saw how quickly the promises of moral reform were abandoned by sailors once the storm had passed, he concluded, "I will never believe them to obey from fear who are dead to the motives of love." Nehemiah Curnock, as editor of the standard edition of *Wesley's Works*, saw fit to devote a lengthy footnote on this entry, arguing for Wesley's minimal use of hell. The wide ranging influence of Curnock's comments is unfortunate, for he too missed the point Wesley was making, i.e., the ineffectiveness of fear of hell as a motive *when it is not combined with the message of God's love*. Wesley's point was strikingly similar to the passage from the Conference Minutes. In order for sinners to properly "obey from fear" they must not be "dead to the motives of love." Curnock not only misses this point, but in the same footnote he goes on to comment on Wesley's sermon *The Great Assize*, claiming "the appeal is not really to fear, but to much more subtle and abiding motives." This comment is indeed puzzling, for after reading the sermon, one wonders what *subtle* motives Curnock might have in mind!³⁸

Curnock goes on to aver that Wesley's sermon *On Hell* "is obviously a sermon composed in pre-evangelistic days, and is full of academic quotations and allusions." Curnock thus dismisses the sermon as merely an

³⁷Conference Minutes for Tuesday, May 13, 1746.

³⁸Nehemiah Curnock, *Works* (Jackson), 1:139. The commentary is found in his note on *Journal* entry 1/18/36.

“outburst of youthful learning and zeal.” Yet Outler claims the true date for the sermon is 1788, so Wesley’s *youthful zeal* came less than two years before his death, at age 88!³⁹

Another proof-text often presented to demonstrate that Wesley did not make much use of hell comes from his correspondence with the anonymous “John Smith,” to whom Wesley claimed, “I am not conscious of doing this very often, of ‘profusely flinging about everlasting fire.’”⁴⁰ This statement, taken out of context, is presumed to be Wesley’s own disclaimer of preaching on hell.⁴¹ The complex background of this comment spans four separate letters between Wesley and “Smith” covering a period of nearly a year. The scare quotes in Wesley’s alleged disclaimer refer to Smith’s complaint that Wesley had earlier threatened Smith himself with damnation if he did not agree with Wesley’s views. The point of reference was the polemical correspondence between the two clergymen, not Wesley’s sermons. Therefore, Wesley’s oft-quoted “disclaimer” did not refer to his *preaching* at all.⁴²

³⁹Furthermore, Naglee lists eight separate *Journal* references to Wesley’s preaching this sermon (447). Finally, McGonigle demonstrates the invalidity of construing “an ‘early,’ ‘middle’ and ‘mature’ John Wesley relative to his understanding of hell and damnation” (166). Compare with Maddox, 160-61.

⁴⁰Letter to “John Smith,” (7/10/47), *Works* 26:244.

⁴¹Even McGonigle, who argues for the significance of hell in Wesley, mistakenly interprets this passage (164).

⁴²The whole discussion unravels as follows. The anonymous “Smith,” in a 8/11/46 letter, complained about Wesley’s use of lay preachers and compared it to preaching while standing on one’s head in order to draw a crowd. Smith concluded by implying that, if Wesley wouldn’t repent of this breach of regularity, then all Smith could further do was pray for his soul in light of the accounting Wesley would give for his actions at “that awful bar where all controversies shall be decided” (*Works* 26:215). In Wesley’s 3/25/47 response, he upbraided Smith for lack of seriousness about an issue which concerned “whether we dwell in the eternal glory of God or in the everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels” (*Works* 26:229). Smith’s next letter (4/27/47) claimed that the point at issue was not damnation but Wesley’s “deviations from established order” in using lay preachers. Smith further warned that Wesley should not “so profusely fling about everlasting fire, nor throw out such frequent hints that all who dispute your nostrums are . . . children of the devil” (*Works* 26: 238). And finally, the famous reply of 7/10/47, in which Wesley accused Smith of being afraid of candidly speaking of hell, claimed he would not follow that discretion, and objected: “Yet I am not conscious of doing this very often, of ‘profusely flinging about everlasting fire.’” Wesley further adds that he desires “to have heaven and hell ever in my eye while I stand on this isthmus of life, between these two boundless oceans. And I verily think the daily consideration of both highly becomes all men of reason and religion.” The conclusion of the matter comes two letters later when Wesley agrees with Smith that “it would be absurd to ‘threaten damnation’ to any merely for differing from me in speculations” (3/22/48, *Works*, 26:287).

Thus it appears that arguments minimizing Wesley's use of hell as a motive do not square with a careful consideration of the evidence. When all the data is considered, it appears that Wesley's motives for and methods of evangelism included a robust appropriation of the doctrine of hell. It is not necessary for scholars to try and exonerate Wesley from erroneous caricatures of being obsessed with preaching hell-fire and damnation by erring in the opposite direction. Yet, in light of the contemporary sensitivities regarding hell, Wesley's actual use of hell still presents a problem for some. If eternal damnation is indeed logically incompatible with Wesley's emphasis on love as God's essential nature, what are we to make of the significance Wesley placed on hell for evangelism? I would like to conclude by briefly suggesting one line of response.

Non-Eschatological Motives for Missions

I begin by drawing attention to Wesley's nuanced construal of eschatology. He understood both heaven and hell not in simple terms of eternal bliss or punishment, but in terms of fellowship with or separation from God. Because of this, Wesley temporalized both the benefits of salvation and the consequences of sin. This is particularly clear in Wesley's temporal notion of eternal salvation.⁴³ He rejected the idea that salvation meant nothing more than heavenly bliss in the life to come.

What is meant by *salvation*? The salvation which is here spoken of is not what is frequently understood by that word, the going to heaven, eternal happiness. It is not a blessing which lies on the other side of death . . . it is not something at a distance: it is a present thing.⁴⁴

⁴³Williams goes so far as to say: "There is a real sense in which Wesley stressed realized eschatology more than any other leading Western theologian" (194). While it would be interesting to see a defense of this claim, many other scholars have commented on the "already" aspect of Wesley's eschatology. Cyril Downes even claimed that Wesley was a precursor of C. H. Dodd's "realized eschatology," but Morino has demonstrated the flaws in this argument (Morino, 221-24). A detailed study of the "already" vs. "not yet" component of Wesley's theology is given by Henry H. Knight III, *The Presence of God in the Christian Life: John Wesley and the Means of Grace* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1992).

⁴⁴Sermon 43, "The Scripture Way of Salvation," *Works* 2:156. A similar passage is found in *NNT*, Matt 3:22. "The kingdom of heaven and the kingdom of God are but two phrases for the same thing. They mean, not barely a future happy state in heaven, but a state to be enjoyed on earth."

The indwelling Holy Spirit, who empowers the Christian for holy living, also inaugurates the believer into the life of heaven. "This eternal life then commences, when it pleases the Father to reveal his Son in our hearts. Then it is that heaven is opened in the soul, that the proper heavenly state commences."⁴⁵ Wesley's claim that redemption provides the believer with a temporal experience of eternal life resulted in his use of several eschatological phrases when describing the state of being saved: "the beginning of heaven," "a foretaste of eternal glory," "walking in eternity," "tasting of the powers of the world to come."⁴⁶ This concept of eternal life as a present experience of the believer also permeates the hymns of Wesley and his brother, Charles.⁴⁷

What is perhaps less often appreciated is the way Wesley temporalized the consequences of eternal separation from God. If heaven is not something reserved for the other side of the grave, neither is hell. This is nowhere more powerfully argued than in Wesley's sermon "The Important Question," which is based on the text he preached from more often than any other. Starting with Jesus' question, "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world but lose his own soul?", Wesley considers what is enjoyed by the man who gains the world. First, he cannot have peace of mind, "and without this there can be no happiness."⁴⁸ Wesley then looks at each of the vain pleasures which this world offers and notes how they will never provide true satisfaction for the human spirit. So even though he gain the entire world, the sinner is nonetheless miserable. Wesley concludes, "so vain is the supposition that a life of wickedness is a life of happiness!"⁴⁹

Then Wesley shows how the man of true religion does not live this life in misery, but in happiness. To love God and to love one's neighbor brings authentic joy. After arguing this at length, Wesley specifically corrects the misunderstanding that serving God results in misery and gaining the world provides happiness. He puts the following question to his listeners.

⁴⁵Sermon 77, "Spiritual Worship" (1780), *Works* 3:96.

⁴⁶Clarence Bence compiles these in "Processive Eschatology: A Wesleyan Alternative," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 14, no. 1 (Spring 1979): 52.

⁴⁷For example: "To us is given in Jesus to know, a kingdom of heaven, a heaven below." The motif of "heaven below" in Wesley hymnody is discussed by Oliver Beckerlegge, "Heaven and Hell in Charles Wesley's Hymns," *Epworth Review* 20, (1993): 31 ff.

⁴⁸Sermon, "The Important Question" (1775), *Works*, 3:192.

⁴⁹*Works*, 3:194.

It is simply this: Will you be miserable threescore years, and miserable ever after; or, will you be happy threescore years, and happy ever after? Will you have a foretaste of heaven now, and then heaven forever: or will you have foretaste of hell now and then hell forever: will you have two hells, or two heavens?

Wesley's emphasis on hell, then, becomes much more understandable if we remember that, for him, damnation and paradise were the eternal realizations of the temporal conditions experienced on this earth by those who received or rejected God's love. Thus, a potential response for Wesleyan missions is not to try and minimize Wesley's use of hell in evangelism, but to appropriate the concern he felt for the present spiritual condition of the lost. Wesley's heart was moved by the day to day misery of those living without God. If the saint experienced "a foretaste of eternal glory," the sinner lived with "a present hell in the breast."⁵⁰ For Wesley, the lost were not only on their way to hell. They did not know the unconditional love of God! As a result, their lives were characterized by alienation, insecurity, and insignificance—and that on a daily basis. This realization helped motivate Wesley to spread the message of God's love.

In conclusion, while some scholars question the consistency of Wesley's emphasis on divine love with the doctrine of eternal damnation, and others minimize Wesley's use of hell to defend him from unfair caricatures, there is ample evidence to indicate that hell did play a significant role in both his motives and methods of evangelism. If this presents a dilemma for some of us, perhaps one line of response is to focus on Wesley's temporal urgency of saving the lost from their present plight of alienation from God. A desire to save sinners need not be focused entirely on preventing something from happening to the lost on the other side of the grave. Sinners are also in need of being saved from their present loss. To Wesley, the awfulness of such existence was so terrible he saw it as nothing less than a type of hell experienced in this life. We might do well to reclaim this insight of Wesley as a vital motive for missions today. One wonders what forms our method and message of evangelism might take if this perspective fueled our efforts to do missions.

⁵⁰Sermon, "On the New Birth."

W. H. TURNER AND THE CHINESE PENTECOST

by

William T. Purinton

It is apparent that the Pentecostal movement has experienced phenomenal growth. By every count the movement is not only growing but multiplying. Overall it can be said that within one hundred years, from its small, historical beginning, a movement has emerged that now claims more members and adherents than Methodism, Presbyterianism, and Lutheranism.¹ Also, as one considers the patterns of geographical growth, a shift has occurred from north to south and from west to east.² Before we become reduced to theological “number crunching,” however, I would like to consider a qualitative issue related to the growth and development of the Pentecostal Holiness Church.

¹The statistical basis for this statement is taken from David B. Barrett's work. One of the problems associated with gathering data on global Pentecostalism is the definition of “Pentecostal/Charismatic.” For further research data see Barrett and Johnson's “Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission,” published in the January issue of *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*; David B. Barrett, “Statistics, Global,” in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, ed. Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, Regency Reference Library, 1988), 810-830; and David B. Barrett, George T. Kurian, and Todd M. Johnson, *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World*, 2d. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

²The largest single congregation in the International Pentecostal Holiness Church is located in Hong Kong, not in Oklahoma or North Carolina. As reported by Jesse D. Simmons (Director of World Missions Ministries) in *State of the Church 1993-1997, Pentecostal Holiness Church*, 15.

Walter Hollenweger, the father of global Pentecostal scholarship, maintained that Pentecostals offered a unique contribution to missiology by popularizing the earlier models of William Taylor (1820-1902), Roland Allen (1868-1947), and John Livingston Nevius (1829-1893). The three-selves, or mission from the underside, was seen as an alternative, or even protest, to the institution building of the larger and more prosperous denominations during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. But, according to Hollenweger, Pentecostals soon abandoned their “light” missiology and picked up the “heavy” models and methods of their affluent sisters and brothers.³ I will respond to Hollenweger from the Pentecostal Holiness side of the audience, to see if indeed his thesis was “lived out” in the ministry of William Henry Turner (1895-1971).

The Beginning of the Pentecostal Holiness Mission in China

Pentecostal Holiness missions began in China before the Azusa Street Revival. The separate ministries of James Octavias McClurkan (1861-1914) and Nickels John Holmes (1847-1919) converged on the theme of urgency in mission, but later would separate on the theme of Spirit baptism and tongues. In the context of radical holiness, the call went out for “eleventh-hour” missionaries. The “eleventh-hour concept” stressed the need for a modified mission theology, one that would require practical training in Bible schools and a universal ministry of women and men. Models already existed among the radical evangelicals, with the China Inland Mission of J. Hudson Taylor (1832-1905) holding the premier position of esteem and expediency. Other “eleventh-hour” missions included the Salvation Army, the Christian and Missionary Alliance, the East London Institute Mission, and the Peniel Mission.⁴

³See Walter J. Hollenweger, “Priorities in Pentecostal Research: Historiography, Missiology, Hermeneutics and Pneumatology,” in *Experiences of the Spirit: Conference on Pentecostal and Charismatic Research in Europe at Utrecht University 1989* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1991), 12-15.

⁴For information on the “eleventh-hour” mission, see Frederick Leonard Chapell, *The Eleventh-Hour Laborers: A Series of Articles from the “Watchword”* (South Nyack, N. Y.: Christian Alliance Publishing Co., 1898); William J. Strickland and H. Ray Dunning, *J. O. McClurkan: His Life, His Theology, and Selections from His Writings* (Nashville: Trevecca Press, 1998), 129-134; and Timothy L. Smith, *Called Unto Holiness: The Story of the Nazarenes, the Formative Years* (Kansas City, Mo.: Nazarene Publishing House, 1962), 180-204. The general context is covered well in Dana L. Robert, “‘The Crisis of Missions’: Premillennial Mission Theory and the Origins of Independent Evangelical Missions,” in *Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals and Foreign Missions, 1880-1980*, ed. Joel A. Carpenter and Wilbert R. Shenk (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 29-46.

N. J. Holmes took up the challenge to develop an educational institution that would pursue “eleventh-hour” mission concepts. The Altamont Bible and Missionary Institute (founded in 1898) was that institution. Among the school’s earliest graduates was Miss Lucy Jones who already had served 14 years as a missionary to China when she revisited the Institute in 1916 on furlough.⁵ The Tabernacle Pentecostal Church, pastored by N. J. Holmes, would later merge with the Pentecostal Holiness Church in 1915, making Miss Lucy Jones the first Pentecostal Holiness missionary to China.

The mission work in South China grew in numbers and intensity with the early evangelistic work of Mr. and Mrs. T. J. McIntosh, when they landed in Macau on August 7, 1907.⁶ Their first, short stay was marked with the results of “eleven missionaries, and many Chinese received the baptism; but they made only a brief stay of about seven months, and went on to Jerusalem.”⁷ The work continued with the arrival of four women missionaries from Washington: Miss Law, Miss Pittmann, Miss Fritsch, and Miss Milligan. In October 1907, three days before Law and Pittmann arrived in Hong Kong, A. G. Garr and family arrived from India. “A revival was begun at once in the Congregational church. Bro. Mok Lai Chi acted as interpreter for Bro. Garr.”⁸

Personal tragedies soon affected the mission work in South China. The deaths of “old Maria,” an African-American domestic from Virginia, and the Garr’s three-year-old daughter Virginia caused the Garrs to return to the U.S.⁹ A smallpox epidemic reached the homes of several missionaries, and in order to prevent further spread of the disease they were required to stay on an English hospital ship for forty days.

⁵Joseph E. Campbell, *The Pentecostal Holiness Church 1898-1948* (Raleigh, N.C.: World Outlook Publications, 1951), 345.

⁶“Bro. McIntosh’s Letter,” *The Bridegroom’s Messenger* (October 1, 1907), 2.

⁷E. May Law, *Pentecostal Mission Work in South China* (Falcon, N.C.: Falcon Publishing Co., c. 1916), 1. See also McIntosh’s letter in *The Bridegroom’s Messenger* (December 1, 1907), 1.

⁸Law, *Pentecostal Mission*, 2. For further reading on A[lfred] G[oodrich] Garr, Sr. (1874-1944) see the article by Gary B. McGee in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988), 328-329. A report of the Pentecostal work in South China appears in *The Apostolic Faith* (Los Angeles, Calif.), May 1908, 4.

⁹Reported by Annie E. Kirby in “Letter from China,” *Bridegroom’s Messenger* (May 15, 1908), 1; and in Law, *Pentecostal Mission*, 4.

For the next decade, China seemed to be the center of missionary zeal and labor for many connected with the Pentecostal movement in America. China was the focus of many prayers, with the result that Olive Maw reported as follows on her intense desire to go to China as a missionary:

I feel that God has called me to work for Him, and I must obey the call or it seems as if I will be lost. About one month ago I had such a strong call to go to China. I don't know their language, but if Jesus wants me to teach the Chinamen He will give me their language, and if it is not His will that I should receive it, I am willing to go and help the missionaries pray, and willing for my body to be buried in the land.¹⁰

In addition to the long-term commitment of Pentecostals to the China mission, there were visits by Pentecostal luminaries such as Carrie Judd Montgomery (1858-1946) and her husband George. The "career" and "short-term" missionaries worked together in providing evangelistic outreach to the Chinese as well as the nurture of on-site furlough. After a time of separation from family and home, Law reported the effectiveness of Montgomery's ministry to the missionaries: "Such a strong-hearted, loving 'faith-mother,' was just what our longing hearts needed, and just such a friend she has ever since been to us."¹¹

For still other missionaries, China was a stop along the way in a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. From the addresses of letters mailed to Pentecostal papers, it is clear that some of the missionaries in China traveled on to Israel. Two female missionaries, Fannie Winn and Annie E. Kirby, along with T. J. McIntosh, sent correspondence from Jerusalem, Palestine in 1908.¹²

¹⁰"God Needs Workers in His Vineyard," *The Bridegroom's Messenger* (September 15, 1908), 3.

¹¹Law, *Pentecostal Mission*, 5. See W. E. Warner, "Montgomery, Carrie Judd," in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988), 626-628.

¹²A. E. Kirby, "Letter from Sister E. A. Kirby, Jerusalem, Palestine, Oct. 19, 008," *The Bridegroom's Messenger* (November 15, 1908), 1; Fannie Winn, "Letter from Sister Fannie Winn, Jerusalem, Palestine, Oct 19, 008," *The Bridegroom's Messenger* (November 15, 1908), 4; and T. J. McIntosh, "Brother McIntosh in Jerusalem—God's Wonderful Leading, Jerusalem, Palestine, May 26, 1908," *The Bridegroom's Messenger* (July 1, 1908), 1. It is difficult to know the reason for the move to Jerusalem, but the tone of the letters reveals both the excitement and intrigue of world travel.

Even with the variety of final destinations and duration of mission, the number of missionaries continued to increase. In 1910, the list of newly arrived missionaries included Sister Halland, her daughter Flora; Brother and Sister Awrey; Miss Anna M. Deane; Mrs. L. M. Johnson; a Miss Holmes; and Brother and Sister R. J. Semple. Some of these names persist in the historical literature of the Pentecostal movement, and others are nearly forgotten. One ministry that seemed to end in China was actually reborn in the United States. The ministry of Robert James and Aimee Semple began in Ontario, passed through Chicago where they were ordained by William H. Durham (January 2, 1909), and finally arrived in China. The duration of their sojourn in China was tragically cut short when Robert Semple contracted malaria and died a mere ten weeks after his arrival in China. His widow, Aimee, continued in Hong Kong, giving birth to their daughter Roberta Star, after which she returned to the United States.¹³

After the departure of Aimee Semple, others continued to arrive, adding to the list of Pentecostal missionaries in China. Among the list of newly arrived missionaries are: Brother and Sister George M. Kelly, Sister Della Gaines, Sister Addell Harrison, and her daughter Golden; J. L. Davis; H. L. Faulkner, and the Rev. J. H. King.¹⁴ By this time (1910), Mr. And Mrs. McIntosh returned to China for their “second round” of mission work.¹⁵ The mission continued to prosper as one of only two Pentecostal Holiness fields, the other being South Africa. There were certainly needs, but nothing that God could not supply, and the addition of more workers would not abate.

¹³The account of Aimee Semple McPherson’s (1890-1944) early Pentecostal ministry and her mission work in China is presented in Edith L. Blumhofer, *Aimee Semple McPherson: Everybody’s Sister* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 76-94; and Aimee Semple McPherson, *This is That: Personal Experiences, Sermons and Writings* (1923, reprint, Los Angeles: Foursquare Publications, 1996), 57-71.

¹⁴Bishop J. H. King (1869-1946) stayed in South China from October 18, 1910, until January 7, 1911. He finally resisted the other missionaries’ attempts to persuade him to remain in South China, and continued his world tour. See King’s *Yet Speaketh: Memoirs of the Late Bishop Joseph H. King, Written by Himself and Supplemented by Mrs. Blanche L. King* (Franklin Springs, Ga.: Publishing House of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, 1949), 161-168.

¹⁵Law, *Pentecostal Mission*, 7.

W. H. Turner's Missionary Life and Work

The beginning of the First World War in 1914 also marked the end of the "Great Century" of missions.¹⁶ In the theological world, the publication of Karl Barth's *Der Römerbrief* (1919) marked the beginning of a new era. When W. H. Turner and his family arrived in China in 1919, it was at the end of "a halcyon period, between the eras of anti-Christian prejudices of the late imperial period (especially pre-1900) and the anti-imperialist emotions of the 1920s."¹⁷ Indeed, the second decade of the twentieth century was a time of intense turmoil and change. But it would appear that the Pentecostal Holiness Church was steady on course, with the agenda that remained fitted and framed by the greatest revival of all: Azusa. It seemed that there would be no looking back, and no casual glances at the rest of the world.

In many ways W. H. Turner was "typical" of the Pentecostal Holiness leader of the twentieth century. There were no marks of greatness, no high-born privileges, nothing material to abandon in the call to "leave all." Turner's education was cut short due to his family's poverty and hardship, but he would find another chance when he entered Altamont Bible and Missionary Institute in June 1912. Within three years he would go from the third grade to the senior year at the Bible Institute, and receive his diploma in 1915.¹⁸ Later that same year, he was ordained at the North Carolina Conference of the Pentecostal Holiness Church. Desiring to further his education, he began studies at Falcon Holiness School (Falcon, North Carolina) in 1916, and was graduated one year later with a diploma. Before his departure for China, Turner would be able to study at Emory University for one full academic year (1918-1919). He would also marry Miss Orine Entrekin (at the home of his wife's parents, Tallapoosa, Georgia—August 26, 1917).

Brother and Sister Turner were finally able to sail from San Francisco on October 20, 1919. There had been several delays related to the

¹⁶Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. 6, *The Great Century in Northern Africa and Asia, A.D. 1800- A.D. 1914* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), 440-456.

¹⁷Daniel H. Bays, "Christian Revival in China, 1900-1937," in *Modern Christian Revivals*, ed. Edith L. Blumhofer and Randall Balmer (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 166.

¹⁸W. H. Turner, *Pioneering in China* (Franklin Springs, Ga.: Publishing House of the P. H. Church, 1928), 20.

procurement of documents, especially a draft exemption statement for W. H. Turner. They landed in Hong Kong on November 15, 1919. A period of four years was devoted to language study, until the time when they began work in the Pakhoi field in 1923. The intensive program of language study was necessary in order to gain sufficient skills to preach in Chinese. On the average he spent seven hours daily studying the Chinese language. Turner was able to preach in Chinese after three years of study, but the majority of his labors were devoted to the sale and distribution of literature. In 1922, with the help of several colporteurs, Turner sold around 12,000 gospels, and distributed other literature to make a total of 56,750 pieces.¹⁹

In February 1923, Turner was notified of his election as Superintendent of the South China work. He was asked by the General Board to do two things: 1. "Organize a conference," and 2. "Open up the interior work."²⁰ Later, on July 29, 1938, the First Session of the China Conference of the Pentecostal Holiness Church decided that W. H. Turner and family should be transferred to Shanghai.²¹ Turner had long awaited the opportunity to depart to the "interior," but Shanghai was far from the "interior." Throughout Turner's missionary career, one can only imagine his disappointment with some of the administrative decisions made by the General Board in Georgia, far removed from China and completely unaware of the cultural and political context for his mission.²² The move to Shanghai proved fruitful, as he was able to report that two congregations were established in that large city. The first Pentecostal Holiness church was organized in Shanghai on January 1, 1939, and the second Pentecostal Holiness Church of Shanghai was organized on June 8, 1939.

Apart from Turner's submission to the General Board's direction for the China mission, he recognized two factors at play in his direction for

¹⁹W. H. Turner, "Dear Readers of the Manual," *The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate* (March 15, 1923), 12.

²⁰W. H. Turner, "About Our China Work," *The Apostolic Evangel* (June 1, 1923), 2.

²¹"Organization of the China Conference," *The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate* (October 13, 1938), 7.

²²During an earlier period of Turner's mission work, he discerned the will of God to be in the south and not the north. "Still feeling the leadings of the Lord, strongly, toward the south and seeking our every effort unsuccessful in the north, we concluded that God was not pleased for us to go into the northern district about Canton." *Pioneering*, 154.

mission. Both came from his own experience. First, a location for mission must be chosen where there is no disease (malaria). Second, mission must begin where no other mission has dared to tread.²³ The first is a very practical concern, based upon the danger of the disease that had taken the life of Robert Semple and other missionaries. The second concern is related to the “pioneer” mission efforts of J. Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission that departed from the coastal areas to seek the new territories of the “interior.” It was not an attempt to locate a pristine, romantic paradise. Rather, it was the call to evangelize in the farthest places, under the most adverse circumstances. In Turner’s mind the ideal area to evangelize was “a field where there was no mission, no missionary, and no gospel light if possible.”²⁴

War stepped in to disrupt the mission endeavors of the Turners. As Japan advanced into China, bringing widespread damage and destruction, the mission greatly suffered. Mission was still dependent upon people, and people proved too often to be frail, vulnerable to the ravages of war. The Turners spent the years 1941-1943 in a Japanese POW camp. Later, in December 1943, they were released and returned to the United States. By the measure of the world’s standards the mission work of the Pentecostal Holiness Church was a failure. After a total of nearly thirty years in China, W. H. Turner could count only twenty churches and six missionaries in 1948. Perhaps a look at W. H. Turner’s principles will help to illumine the mission work in China.

Turner, along with other Pentecostal Holiness missionaries in China, acted as cultural ambassadors, telling the story of America to the Chinese, and also telling the American audience the Chinese story. At one point, Turner attempted to explain the turmoil of social unrest in China. He did not easily dismiss the Chinese demand for “national autonomy”; rather he approached the issue by looking at both the Chinese and the Western perspectives, and proposed “a mutual settlement of outstanding differences.”²⁵ In an article titled “China—1925,” Turner ably described the major historical events that had an impact on Christianity in China. It was more than names and dates. There were narrative passages that inform

²³Turner, *Pioneering*, 155-156.

²⁴Turner, *Pioneering*, 157.

²⁵W. H. Turner, “China, Her Trouble and Their Cause,” *The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate* (February 11, 1926), 7.

and interpret the strategic role of Chinese history on the mission of the church.²⁶

At the time that the Turners were actively involved in mission work, Pentecostal Holiness church members were not able to travel extensively, especially over the ocean to another continent. The descriptive language used in the “China Special Issue” of *The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate* (June 7, 1923) was designed to portray to the American readers the missionary’s daily life, the ups and downs, and all the challenges. In addition to communicating the daily life of missionaries, Turner carefully outlined the financial needs, and justified each expenditure.

Another feature of Turner’s published articles was the pure entertainment of missionary stories. It was a unique literary genre that acted to draw more than the intellect; it actually touched the heart. Some of the stories were funny and others very grave and heart rending. The overall affect was that the many Pentecostal readers and supporters would feel themselves to be part of the mission work in China.²⁷

As a missionary, even in the “interior,” Turner would not feel himself to be alone. In addition to the American audience, there was the communion of the saints, the long historical thread of missionaries that reached back more than one hundred years. Turner viewed the communion of the saints as a tradition of absolute surrender and prolonged service to the Lord. The saints were people “made of such unbending steel.” Among those listed were Livingstone, Judson, and Patton. But he also included the testimony of fellow Pentecostal Holiness missionaries. “And none the less, my friends, our dear Sister Dean who died at her post rather than for her work to suffer in the least for her presence. Yea, we might well speak of the living of our own dear missionaries who have sacrificed health of body and come back home disabled for life, in an effort to carry the gospel to the heathen.”²⁸

W. H. Turner had the highest regard for the China Inland Mission and its founder J. Hudson Taylor. He wrote: “J. Hudson Taylor, that stalwart man of faith and courage who never gave up until he had realized his

²⁶W. H. Turner, “China 1925,” *The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate* (April 8, 1926), 4-7.

²⁷One example of the missionary story is W. H. Turner’s “Day by Day,” *The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate* (May 10, 1923), 11-12.

²⁸W. H. Turner, “Things Along the Way,” *The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate* (December 11, 1919), 16.

dream. . . . They left all to follow Him and they like Him, gave all. They were China's greatest pioneers, and we pray that we may follow in their steps."²⁹

Although the level of commitment required to serve on the mission field was at the highest level, Turner recognized that anyone, regardless of class or occupation, could become a possible candidate. He was especially impressed by the testimony of fourteen New Englanders who were sent as pioneer missionaries to the Pacific in 1819. Turner wrote: "Among this group of fourteen was a man and his wife and five children, just a plain farmer. Where is the farmer with a wife and five children, who is ready to set out and dare such a great undertaking today?"³⁰

From the life and work of W. H. Turner, one can derive principles that fit within the theological discipline of missiology. It will be the task of the next section to explore some of those categories and to further evaluate the effectiveness of Turner's missiology. Again, it is important to keep in mind Hollenweger's thesis as it was presented in the introduction. Did a Pentecostal Holiness missiology actually develop over time, and in Hollenweger's view, depart from an earlier period of "red-hot" devotion to an institutional "lukewarmness," from an egalitarian spirit to an elitist attitude?

W. H. Turner's Contribution to Missiology

Theology and mission are at an important juncture in Pentecostalism. The level of phenomenal growth among Pentecostal churches urges, even demands, the need for missiology, one that is distinctive to Wesleyan/Pentecostalism.³¹ For the purposes of this paper, "missiology" will be defined simply as "the study of the spread of the Church and of all the problems connected with the realization of her universality."³²

Within the world of Pentecostal Holiness missions, W. H. Turner continued the "faith" principles that he had learned and put into practice

²⁹Turner, *Pioneering*, 71-74.

³⁰Turner, "Things Along the Way," 16.

³¹Theology is far removed from her former title of "queen of sciences," and remains threatened further by both secularization and pluralism. A partnership between mission and theology will benefit both disciplines, as together they forge a contemporary bridge between the Word and the world. See J. Andrew Kirk, *The Mission of Theology and Theology as Mission* (Valley Forge, Penn.: Trinity Press, 1997).

³²Livinus Vriens, *Critical Bibliography of Missiology* (Nijmegen, the Netherlands: Bestelcentrale der V.S.K.B., 1960), 5.

from his studies at Altamont Bible and Missionary Institute. The “eleventh-hour” principle had energized mission for many Altamont graduates, who traveled to the “ends of the earth” in the most urgent enterprise. There were tensions, no doubt, when Turner began to survey the ruins of the “independent” mission work of the New Testament Mission started by Joseph Smale. As the Pentecostal Holiness mission entered Pakhoi, news of the abandoned compound and its availability for purchase came to light. The “eleventh-hour” urgency for mission bypassed the standard Divinity School for an abridged course of study at a Bible School. It also encouraged missionaries to bypass the application process of denominational mission boards in order to go straight to the mission field by faith alone. As the “eleventh-hour” began to pass by, missionaries would adjust their clocks and calendars to accommodate a long-term, more socially responsible means of communicating the good news of Christ. This was not fueled by a compromised message, but by a common sense approach to finances. There was a limit to the financial ability of struggling churches to distribute support dollars to an ever-expanding missionary force. It was simply a matter of competition and marketing.

Harold Stanley York noted this characteristic of diversity, or change, when he cited Bishop Joseph H. King’s disapproval of the financial methods related to “faith” missions, as witnessed by King during his journey through Asia in 1910-11. The conclusion that York arrived at, however, did not portray accurately Bishop King. It was not simply a personal rivalry between J. H. King, who favored domestic works, and G. F. Taylor, who favored foreign works.³³ King had a heart for missions and did not see missions as a threat to the financing of domestic church projects. His desire was that the “faith” missionaries should adopt a society, or structure, similar to the Methodist missionary enterprise, and that in and

³³Although it is not explicitly stated as a thesis by Harold Stanley York, there is considerable attention paid to the tensions between J. H. King and G. F. Taylor, as if they represent extreme positions in direct opposition to one another. York wrote, “Taylor understood the church’s mission as outreach, while King saw honor for the Georgia conference and personal desires of great importance.” The financial situation of the Pentecostal Holiness Church in the first half of the twentieth century caused undue pressure to be placed on the treasury, and as a result cautious and dissenting voices were often heard at the General Board. A voice of concern over the expenditure of monies, however, did not translate directly into doctrinal matters. See Harold Stanley York, “The Formation of The Pentecostal Holiness Church’s Missionary Endeavor” (Th.M. thesis, Duke University, 1997), 41-42.

of itself would resolve any issues related to financial accounting and personnel supervision. As King noted:

All missionary work done by Pentecostal missionaries had to proceed on the line of faith, as there was no missionary society organized for the support of those who went forth. Some missionaries had local churches or missions supporting, those who had gone out from their midst to foreign fields, but there was no organized effort to spread the Pentecostal gospel to the uttermost parts of the earth. Many serious mistakes were made, and vast sums of money wasted as a result. Mistakes will be made by churches having definite societies organized for the promulgation of the gospel among heathen nations, but not, by far, as many as have and will be made by the unstable and unsober methods followed by those on the supposed faith line and the people in sympathy with them.³⁴

A fine line had to be established between the institutionalization of mission, the quenching of the Spirit, and the strange fire of a rebellious spirit. Turner viewed the strength of the Pentecostal movement in its very transcendence and mobility. He observed:

The Pentecostal Movement has been one of the greatest pioneering movements since the days of the Apostles. Representatives of this movement, filled with the Holy Spirit, have literally gone to the ends of the earth with the message of Christ, and it would be difficult to find a nation in which there could not be found bands of people filled with the Spirit according to Acts 2:4. And this is in a bare twenty odd years . . . itinerating in virgin territory, that is, in a field not yet evangelized and not yet having heard the gospel.³⁵

If strength resided in its transcendence and mobility, there had to be a certain level of stability, or the movement would have rocked itself loose. Fiscal responsibility became a part of the mission's effectiveness. If donors did not come through, the mission would have stopped in its tracks. This practical concern with finances caused some serious missiological reflection.

Bays attributes the success of Pentecostalism in China to two factors. First is the connection between Pentecostal belief in the supernatural

³⁴King, *Yet Speaketh*, 191.

³⁵Turner, *Pioneering*, 243.

and the “traditional folk religiosity in China.” Second is the egalitarian expression of the “Spirit poured out on all flesh” which was accepted by the Chinese in an era of the expansion and extension of democracy.³⁶

Turner, like most Pentecostals, preached a message of Spirit empowerment. The power of the Spirit to heal and cast out demons had never diminished from the time of the first century. In the “latter rain” there was a more powerful and effective outpouring of power in ministry.

Related to Bays’ second factor is Turner’s concern for all classes of people. When Turner had an opportunity to preach before a group of 150 male high school students, he made it clear that

. . . the old religions of China and all other countries were loosing [sic] their influence over the people and their hold upon their imagination. I made it clear that there was good in them but that they lacked the one essential thing necessary to a religion, viz., a simple plan of salvation by which the poor as well as the rich, the weak as well as the strong, the ignorant as well as the wise, might find peace.³⁷

Another feature of Turner’s missiology was an appeal to all classes. In Turner’s mind the ideal audience was one that encompassed all socio-economic classes of people, avoiding an elitist attitude and embracing an egalitarian spirit. Turner also had a positive view of the ministerial gifts of the Chinese Christians:

I am a firm believer in the ability of the Chinese Christian leader, he takes second place to none in my estimation, and I believe there are no more faithful Christians in all the wide world than in China . . . for we, as foreigners must consider ourselves the John the Baptist of the Church of China. Believing this I have tried to always treat my Chinese co-workers as equals and not as subordinates and not one has ever disappointed me. But to say that our work as a Western Church is done is another question and one with which I have but little sympathy. I only wish that the Native Church could not take up the task and carry on and allow the missionary to take a back seat, a seat very far back at that, for then we could

³⁶Daniel H. Bays, “Missionary Establishment and Pentecostalism,” in *Pentecostal Currents in American Protestantism*, ed. Edith L. Blumhofer, Russell P. Spittler, and Grant Wacker (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 63.

³⁷Turner, *Pioneering*, 267-268.

rejoice that our task was done, but are the native leaders able to carry out Christ's last command alone?³⁸

Turner's concern was expressed through his personal experience in preaching to various Chinese churches, in cooperation with Chinese pastors. The language that Turner used in his writings was tainted, no doubt, by the cultural milieu of the Western powers, but nonetheless a genuine concern for the Chinese churches came through.

Contrary to Turner's view, the Methodist Board urged caution in the administration of the Chinese missions, especially when it came to "giving money directly to the Chinese."³⁹ During the 1920s, there was concern, even fear, on the part of American churches, that the ardent nationalism of the Chinese would attempt to dominate the administration of Chinese missions. Although proportionately the Pentecostal Holiness Church had just as much "invested" in its Chinese mission, the overall expenditure of Pentecostals did not compare to the millions sent by the Methodists.

The Chinese Pentecost

Among many missionaries from the west and the growing Chinese leadership, there was a perceived connection between "revivalist expectations" and Pentecostal experience. For the most part the former was coveted and the latter rejected, but at one point it was understood that the two were bonded by the fire of the Spirit.⁴⁰ Azusa Street remained the premier example of a Holy Spirit revival, but other reports were being received of the Korean revival (1907) and the meetings conducted by the Rev. J. Goforth in the winter of 1907-1908. Those reports kept the tradition alive for decades that another Azusa or Mukden could arrive again. There were signs of the Spirit's presence and power in physical manifestations or bodily exercises:

Yesterday, while the Spirit was falling, God got hold of that man and gave him a good shaking almost contracting his muscles. He cried out just like a dying man, and he was dying,

³⁸Turner, *Pioneering*, 297-298.

³⁹Shirley Stone Garrett, "Why They Stayed: American Church Politics and Chinese Nationalism in the Twenties," in *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, ed. John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 289.

⁴⁰Bays, "Missionary Establishment and Pentecostalism," 62.

praise God! He went jumping across the room with his eyes shut and finally ended up with his arms around one of our young preachers, who was so near Pentecost he paid him no attention. . . . Keep praying for a church wide Pentecost here.⁴¹

The most distinctive feature of revivals in China and Korea was the “deep conviction for, and confession of, sin.”⁴² The relationship between confession of sins and revival is so marked that revival “was hindered because there were those who needed to confess.”⁴³ At another place, the same situation was present:

The flow of the Holy Spirit had been hindered by covered sins in the lives of professing Christians so now when these sins were confessed and restitution made, the Spirit began to flow down. The Word of God was now operating as a mighty hammer. Hearts that were hard were being broken under its blow.⁴⁴

The Word of God was more than taught and understood, it was an effective agent of transformation in the lives of the people. Further, prayer prepared the hearts of the people to receive the Word as reported by Anna Deane Cole:

We found that the prayer before the night service puts a high expectancy in our hearts for God to pour out His Spirit and also gets us in a spirit of prayer for the Word to have its proper effect upon the hearts of the people as it is given out. The Word certainly was made a living reality to people as it went forth in these night services, as well as in all the other services. God honored His truth and poured out His Spirit as in the early days of Pentecost 1907-1909.⁴⁵

W. H. Turner viewed revival as both the continuation of God’s work, and its completion. He wrote, “We long to see a great Pentecostal revival

⁴¹W. H. Turner, “A Heathen Seized by the Holy Ghost,” *The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate* (March 10, 1938), 6.

⁴²Wm. N. Brewster, “Revivals,” in *The China Mission Yearbook 1910* (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society for China, 1910), 315.

⁴³Anna Deane Cole, “The Revival Meeting at Stanley, China,” *The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate* (June 13, 1935), 4.

⁴⁴Mavis Lee Oakley, “The Great Shaukiwan Revival,” *The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate* (November 3, 1938), 6.

⁴⁵Anna Deane Cole, “Many Receive the Baptism of the Holy Ghost,” in *The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate* (May 26, 1938), 6.

in China that many souls may be saved, sanctified, baptized, healed, and prepared for his glorious coming. Surely He will not tarry long. May He help us to scatter these great truths while it is still day. May we not all pray for a great outpouring of the Spirit this year? Amen!"⁴⁶

Conclusion

All revivals and mission were evaluated by the Azusa standard. There was also a sense in which W. H. Turner viewed the "Latter Rain" as a continuation of the "Great Century" of missions. In a note of critique, Turner wrote:

Have we as custodians of the Latter Rain gone back on God? Have we no longer the spirit of sacrifice? Does the spirit of Morrison, of Livingston [sic], and of Judson and multitudes of other great pioneers, no longer live among us? Have we forgotten the spirit of our own fathers? Have we forgotten how to give, how to dare, how to die?⁴⁷

He then concludes with a call for generous and sacrificial giving and for the Lord's volunteers to go to China. The only remedy to a relapse from Pentecost is to return to the earlier standard, one of complete consecration.

W. H. Turner carried the desire for an authentic religious experience, the very hunger for an Azusa revival, throughout his many years of mission work in China. That seeking for revival never changed. There were, however, adjustments along the way. For the most part the shifts and balances were the result of financial circumstances. Pentecostals could not easily abandon the poor and establish an elitist organization (Hollenweger's thesis), because they could not forget their own personal experiences of poverty.

⁴⁶W. H. Turner, "Dear Readers of the Manual," 12.

⁴⁷Turner, *Pioneering*, 307-308.

BOOK REVIEWS

Laurence W. Wood. *The Meaning of Pentecost in Early Methodism: Rediscovering John Fletcher as John Wesley's Vindicator and Designated Successor*. Lanham, MD and Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, 2002. 401 pp.

Reviewed by Melvin E. Dieter, Professor Emeritus of Church History and Historical Theology, Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, Kentucky

Editor's Note: This volume won the 2003 "Smith/Wynkoop Book Award" of the Wesleyan Theological Society. See the Scarecrow ad for the book at the end of this issue.

Renowned historian Douglas Southall Freeman, according to his biographer David E. Johnson, questioned whether or not he should publish the manuscript for his highly acclaimed first volume on the Civil War. He realized that his research had utilized so many formerly ignored or unknown primary sources critical to any history of the conflict that it would call for a reassessment and possible revision of much that already had been written in that field of study. His book would refuse to be ignored! Laurence Wood's volume on John Fletcher and Fletcher's enduring influence upon John Wesley and Methodism also will not be ignored! Any knowledgeable review of the bibliography of the field of Wesley Studies over the past half-century will reveal that Wood's research and conclusions introduce a similar dynamic into past and future scholarship in this more limited field of studies. In summary, Wood contends that the data and logic of his research strongly indicate:

1. That the period from the early 1770s until Wesley's death two decades later marks a distinct and largely unrecognized or even

ignored development in Wesley and in his movement. During this period Fletcher's Pentecost-oriented theology, with his understanding of the baptism of the Spirit and Christian perfection at the heart of it rather than being some post- or extra-Wesley phenomenon, established itself as the accepted paradigm for Wesley's and his early followers' theological understanding, preaching, and spiritual experience.

2. That during this period a "unique alliance" evolved between John Wesley and John Fletcher that lasted until the latter's untimely death in 1785 "shifted the direction of Methodist history."
3. That, contrary to much previously accepted scholarship, after Wesley and Fletcher had come to a mutually acceptable understanding that the justified believer enjoyed the presence of the Spirit and assurance in measure but in full measure only in the heart perfected in love, there was no further known theological contention between the two.
4. That consequently Wesley placed his full imprimatur on Fletcher's explication of Methodist theology and actively promoted his understanding of redemptive dispensations and the baptism of the Holy Spirit as the fullness of Christian perfection and the abiding witness of the Spirit.
5. That Fletcher's understanding of the "baptism of the Holy Ghost" and its equivalents, such as the fullness of the Spirit, entire sanctification, Christian perfection, and perfection in love, as well as less obvious code words for the experience woven into the prevailing Methodist ethos, persistently and consistently permeate the testimony, preaching and writings of early Methodist leading lights.
6. That John Fletcher's theological and spiritual model of the Methodism of John and Charles Wesley set the pattern for the doctrinal and spiritual self-understanding of early American and British Methodism, as well as the modern Holiness and Pentecostal/Holiness movements.

To Wood's credit, he does not just make these claims, but tries to support them by intensive and extensive research, assembling new facts and old into a web of logical proof that calls for response whether one is consider-

ing the assumptions and conclusions of existing scholarship or contemplating future work in Methodist history and theology.

Wood writes with clarity and out of a knowledgeable grasp of critical issues and sources relevant to his subject. His sources are wide-ranging, with one notable omission. The early work done by Timothy Smith on Fletcher, the Wesleys, and their use of Pentecostal imagery is not cited. Wood interacts also with a broad range of historical and contemporary scholarship both within and outside of Wesleyanism. The breadth of this interaction becomes most obvious in his concluding comments on the potential contributions of Fletcher's concepts of the centrality of the baptism of the Holy Spirit and their contribution to the ecumenical dialog on the meaning and place of the rite of confirmation as an element in Christian baptism.

It is obvious that Wood must establish the validity of his view of the uniquely intimate, trustful, and continuing relationship between Wesley and Fletcher to establish the latter's personal and theological influence upon the rather autocratic founder of Methodism. Here he surrounds the already established historical records of that relationship with a convincing web of evidence woven with a warp of chronological precision and a woof of contextual fullness. This is the strength of the work and the hinge on which most of the pros and cons of fellow scholars will turn. Pre-publication comments on the author's theses have already raised negative reaction to Wood's methods by charging that he too freely translates what they consider only generally related pneumatological terminology within the literature to bring support to his arguments that Wesley accepted and personally adopted Fletcher's Spirit baptism model for preaching and experiencing Christian Perfection. What will make it difficult for critics to minimize or easily set aside Wood's assumptions and conclusions is Wood's ability to rally his pioneer research in the sources to fortify the logic of the most critical transitions in his line of argument. Those who question the integrity of his often-intricate webs of the history will have to demonstrate an equally intimate knowledge of his sources.

On the critical point of the degree to which Wesley altered his own theology or supported Fletcher's Pentecostal understanding of Christian perfection, the author's patterns of proof are convincing. Wesley placed his imprimatur upon, edited, published, and promoted Fletcher's *Checks*, including the *Last Check* with its explicit Pentecostal themes. In his publication of the *Equal Check*, he provides Methodists with a more succinct

portrayal of the Pentecost-oriented arguments in which he specifically marks those segments to which he wants his readers to give special attention. Passages which emphasize Fletcher's arguments equating the baptism of the Holy Spirit and Christian perfection receive such special note. Wood buttresses these evidences for Wesley's acceptance and approval of Fletcher's Pentecostal explication of Methodism's theological understanding by contemporary references to the former's use of these themes, not only in his later sermons but his frequent publishing of the testimonies and references Fletcher's themes in the *Arminian Magazine*. All this, Wood contends, accounts for use of Spirit baptism as the predominant analogy for the experience of being filled with the Spirit and made perfect in love in the preaching and spirituality of early Methodism in both America and Britain. The widespread predominance of these themes in early Methodism is difficult if not impossible to account for apart from the explicit personal advocacy of Wesley himself. Those who allow the tangential validity of Wood's assumptions in their implications for existing Wesleyan studies will see important points of intersection and interaction. Wesley scholars will certainly have to review, supplement, and possibly revise their biographical, theological, and historical accounts of the founder and his movement.

One such point will be the pertinence of the new data as introduced into the varying conclusions by historians of the holiness revival. What about the degrees of continuity or non-continuity between the prevailing understanding of the Christian perfectionism of Wesley and historic Methodism and that of the Wesleyan/Holiness and Pentecostal/Holiness movements? The late Timothy Smith regarded his Church of the Nazarene and other Wesleyan/Holiness churches as the true descendants of Wesleyan Methodism in the twentieth century. He did some of the pioneering defense of a Pentecostal model for the experience of Christian perfection. At the same time, he avidly denied any legitimacy to the claims of Pentecostal/Holiness scholars and Wesleyan/Holiness historians who placed the historical roots of Pentecostalism within the Wesleyan/Holiness revival. Donald Dayton contested Smith's claims of the Methodist orthodoxy of holiness revival with its increasingly dominant Pentecostal themes. He identified the incipient Pentecostalism within the movement as an American revivalist phenomenon. Tracing the increasing influence of Pentecostal terminology and Pentecostal self-identification as the revival approached the end of the twentieth century, Dayton regarded this development as an

estrangement from what he saw as the classical Christocentrism of Wesley's perfectionism. In my own history of the revival, I understood that the Wesleyanism of the revival movement and of the continuing holiness churches was Wesley's perfectionism modified by the "new methods" of American revivalism, but not deviating in essence from the Christian perfectionism that Wesley and early Methodism had advocated. Those in each of these camps of interpretation who allow the basic value of Wood's writing and research will have to justify or modify their positions to some degree.

This Wood volume offers theological and spiritual challenges to contemporary Wesleyans as well. If, as it contends, Fletcher's understanding of the "baptism of the Holy Spirit" and of the "dispensations" of salvation which support it became the model for understanding the fullness of the Spirit, it behooves those who avidly claim to be following Wesley and Fletcher to look at this volume and assess how far short we fall of their standards and expectations for the experience. Furthermore, this new book constitutes a wakeup call to Wesleyans to recognize how seriously the movement has compromised the "hair's breadth" line which recognizes our debts to the classical Reformation but at the same time leads to an understanding of God's plan of salvation that contradicts a dominant Reformed evangelicalism's biblical and theological understanding at many critical points. We should remember that Wesley originally raised the "hair's breadth" issue to challenge the fledgling Methodist movement to not forget that God had raised them up to follow a vision of Christian perfection which directly challenged the basic biblical presumptions of the classical as well as the Reformed theology of his time.

Within the reality of the life of love which they proclaim, there was never a day since Wesley's original challenge that calls more urgently for a biblical and experiential Wesleyan response to the shallow antinomianism and unbiblical understanding of the content of salvation which marks too much of today's popular evangelicalism. That response must be made to the bland theology of the Christian's expectations and responsibilities which prevail both within Wesleyanism itself and in other traditions where its logic is more acceptable. This volume helps us continue the pursuit and present expectation that God's grace and the life of faith promise something better than that, and God calls us to its witness.

In spite of minor weaknesses, such as some undue repetition in the author's eagerness to drive home his conclusions and the length of the book, this is a volume that should and will not be ignored.

Global Good News: Mission in a New Context, ed. Howard A. Snyder (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2001). 269 pps. ISBN 0-68701586-3.

Reviewed by David Bundy, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California.

Howard Snyder has been living mission and thinking about mission for a long time! He has informed and provoked readers with a long list of well-received books. *Global Good News* brings together some of his thoughts as well as those of a network of colleagues. Most of these colleagues have had significant intercultural experience. Two are from Brazil (Neuza Itioka, "Evangelization and the Powers," pp. 208-219) and Luíz Wesley de Souza ("The Wisdom of God in Creation: Mission and the Wesleyan Pentateuch," pp. 138-152), Yishey Latt ("Crossbow Theology: Contextual Evangelism in Myanmar," pp. 190-207) is from Myanmar, Seth O. Asare ("Convenience, Relevance and Transformation: An African Response to Christian Mission," pp. 153-159) from Ghana, and Mortimer Arias ("Global and Local: A Critical View of Mission Models," pp. 55-64) lives in Uruguay. The other authors are mission activists and theorists: George G. Hunter, III ("The Case for Culturally Relevant Congregations," pp. 96-112), J. Andrew Kirk ("The Mission of Theology and Theology as Mission," pp. 113-137), Gregory Leffel ("Churches in the Mode of Mission: Towards a Missional Model of the Church," pp. 65-95), William O'Brien ("Mission and the Valley of Postmodernity," pp. 12-25), Priscilla Pope-Levinson ("Is Evangelism Liberation?" pp. 160-175), Norman E. Thomas ("The Gospel Among World Religions," pp. 41-55), Robert G. Tuttle, Jr. ("Cross-Cultural Common Denominators: Tools for a More User-Friendly Evangelism," pp. 176-189), and David Loews Watson ("The Mystery of Evangelism: Mission in the Age of Cosmic Discovery," pp. 26-40). The "Introduction" (pp. 7-9) and the final essay by Howard Snyder ("The Gospel as Global Good News," pp. 220-235) tie the essays together. An index facilitates reference, although the gathering of notes at the back of the book will be frustrating to scholars.

The book demands the attention of all Christians, especially Wesleyans, concerned about the church, mission, and evangelism. It is an engaging, well-edited book. As the authors wrestle with mission, their essays reflect both a diversity of perspective and a common theme: Christians have too often handicapped the "good news" of the "good news" by limiting the Gospel to particular cultural and intellectual structures. Dur-

ing the last four decades, Post-Modern philosophy enabled much of the world to value their own experience and to understand the limits of their own culture. Any version of Christianity's claim to be a global religion was called into question. This global awareness of diversity and cultural specificity has complicated the task of mission in other cultures and in one's own. The book's response to this problem is two-fold. First, the diversity of the church can enrich the diverse elements of the church and make churches more welcoming. Second, in the words of Snyder, "properly understood and incarnated, the Gospel of Jesus Christ really is global good news. It is the best possible good news for the whole cosmos and for every person and culture in it" (p. 235).

It is always difficult to decide which articles to present when reviewing a collection of essays. During the past months after first reading *Global Good News*, three essays have continued to replay themselves in my mind. The first of these, in the order published in the book, is Mortimer Arias ("Global and Local: A Critical View of Mission Models," pp. 55-64). Arias examines the various approaches to mission experienced in Latin America, suggesting the results of each. He also observes that mission is changing quickly. He notes that half of Protestant missionaries (1990) were from Asia, Latin America, Africa, and Oceania. He laments the shortcomings of the Lausanne 1979 approach and wonders whether any "global" strategy can be separated from the imperialist dimensions of "globalization." The essay reflects the intellectual rigor of a careful scholar with a love of the Gospel and anguished at the abuses of peoples done in the name of the Gospel.

George G. Hunter, III ("The Case for Culturally Relevant Congregations," pp. 96-112), begins with a story that many of us have lived: urban dwellers intrigued by the possibilities of Christianity and in search of a congregation. How does one find a welcoming congregation in the modern ecclesiastical landscape. Churches are often ethnic, class defined, or committed to political/cultural orthodoxies that must be accepted before one is welcome. Hunter presents the case for the churches opening themselves to the culture around them in ways that allow a conversation and perhaps conversion to occur. Hunter like Arias is a lover of churches and speaks to them out of cultural pain.

The essay of Luíz Wesley de Souza ("The Wisdom of God in Creation: Mission and the Wesleyan Pentecostal," pp. 138-152) addresses the recent "Quadrilateral" industry among Wesleyan scholars by suggest-

ing that it is inadequate in its articulation of the Wesleyan theological vision and that it does not take into account Wesley's posing of creation as central to the Christian intellectual paradigm. A "Pentalateral" would appear to be a healthy corrective to the presentations of Wesley's theoretical framework that do not take into account Wesley's extensive concern for creation and the world. It is a creatively formulated call to rigorous theological debate. If his arguments are upheld by future research, it would make the Wesleyan theological synthesis much more useful in a world being devastated, generally on behalf of its wealthiest inhabitants.

What does this mean for the Wesleyan/Holiness movements? The Wesleyan/Holiness movements have been diverse since their beginnings. From the time Wesley's mission to Georgia and Coke's missions to the Caribbean, Nova Scotia, Ghana and India, the Wesleyan tradition has been diverse. The American experiences of Wesleyan evangelism, from the days of Dow and Asbury brought a rich diversity into the Wesleyan fold. The Wesleyan/Holiness movements that swept through the other churches and then grew alienated from the Methodists reached diverse European ethnic groups and people from different racial backgrounds. Mission work only extended that diversity. Of about 55 million Methodists in the world, about 50 million live outside North America and Europe. Of the about 40 million Holiness believers, about 30 million live outside North America and Europe. The immigration processes of the last half-century have brought thousands of Dominican, Haitian, Brazilian, Ugandan, Tanzanian, Japanese, Indian and other Holiness believers to North America. The Churches will need to find ways to help these diverse Holiness churches prosper in their new cultural contexts. It will also need to identify Holiness themes from its diverse communities of faith, themes that it wants to communicate in mission and evangelism and across generational lines. It will need to find what it can offer to others as an understanding of Christian faith and then decide if it can open its doors to those outside. It will need to make the Holiness churches the bearers of "good news."

Aspects of my Pilgrimage: An Autobiography. James Earl Massey. Anderson, IN. Anderson University Press, 2002. Distributed by Warner Press. 468 pages. ISBN # 0-9646682-3-8 (hardcover).

Reviewed by James W. Lewis, Anderson University, Anderson, Indiana.

While James Earl Massey's *Aspects of my Pilgrimage* is properly in the genre of autobiography, for this reviewer it is much more. It is a template for mentors and their mentorees; it is a source of spiritual insight and discernment; it is, for teachers, a tutor in pedagogical strategies. One wonders how the book could be and do so much when it confessedly is "selective"—hence only "aspects" of his pilgrimage? James Earl Massey holds many titles and awards, including former Dean of Anderson University School of Theology, Dean of the Chapel of Tuskegee University, Life Trustee of Asbury Theological Seminary, and being honored in 1995 with the Lifetime Achievement Award by the Wesleyan Theological Society.

The "Foreword" reveals both the organizing perspective and the primary sources for this autobiography. The perspective is fashioned as a corporate story through Massey's long relationship with several institutions. These institutions include his much beloved Metropolitan Church of God in Detroit, the West Middlesex Camp Meeting (Pa.) and several other agencies of the Church of God (Anderson, Indiana), the general religious world, and the educational scene in America, especially Anderson University and Tuskegee University (chaps. 8, 10-11). Massey utilizes as a primary source a personal diary, with its meticulous journal entries dating back to his teenage years. Moreover, he says, "[t]his book . . . has been informed, coordinated, and shaped in relation to my journals, with help from letters, official records, and other personal papers. All of this makes this autobiography an admittedly selective accounting, thus I have used the word 'aspects' as part of its title" (5).

Massey's sturdy faith in God and rich spirituality serve as the impulses that communicate his story to us. His autobiography is more than a mechanical narration of memorable events. Rather, it is a product of his fundamental conviction "that so much in life depends upon ordered, obedient steps" (8). Hence, Massey credits his story's beginning as sensitizing him "to the value of ordered steps, to the reality of divine guidance, and to the sobering fact that a person's obedience (or disobedience) to God can sometimes be a death or life issue for someone else" (8).

Within this interpretive framework, Massey organizes aspects of his pilgrimage under the rubric of three epochs: “Formative Influences” (four chapters), “Parish Ministry Years” (three chapters), and “Campus Ministry Years” (four chapters). Interspersed within these sections are eighteen pages of continuous quality photographs, spanning what appears to be the whole of Massey’s life. These epochs are further sandwiched between a “Foreword” and an “Afterword.” With a reader-friendly index of subjects and persons, the book covers four hundred sixty-eight pages.

James Earl Massey deservedly enjoys worldwide acclaim as a committed churchman, a renowned pulpiteer, a prolific scholar, a global bridge builder, a beloved mentor, and devoted husband and family man. For many, like this reviewer, knowledge of the man is often superficial and cloaked in his quiet, noncombative demeanor. For such persons, and there are many, Massey unfolds aspects of his life. This reviewer is glad that he overcame his reluctance to mention personal experiences. This reviewer frequently experienced wonder within the pages of each chapter. Each chapter moved effortlessly with the cadence and order characteristic of the works of James Earl Massey. The book serves well as an extended introduction to his life.

In the book’s beginning, Massey introduces the reader to the foundations of his life’s pilgrimage. He shares what one would expect from such a chapter: family lineage, his birth and the birth of other siblings, key persons and events. From a family of five boys, he shares how both his parents were strong-spirited. Massey particularly highlights his father, George Wilson Massey, Sr., as a devoted student of the Bible, a hard worker, and a dreamer. Yet, he also characterizes his father as fundamentally inflexible and heavy-handed in his attitude and discipline. His father’s strong and authoritarian will led Massey’s elder brother to run away from home for several weeks. Massey writes of his own aborted effort to run away from home at the age of ten (15-16). This experience appears to contribute to his own sentiments about why people ought to be treated with the utmost respect. An early insight into Massey’s own temperament may be illustrated by his treasured memories of two early female Sunday school teachers at Wisconsin Avenue Church of God. According to Massey, “I especially mention their winsomeness [Rev. Mrs. Nora Harris] and warmth [Mrs. Lucy Washington] because, after experiencing the voices of authority across the week at home and at school, I was eager for some relief and difference when Sunday came around”

(25). Further, using the language of his church group, the Church of God Reformation Movement, Massey was “saved” at six years of age during a revival meeting led by an evangelist from Selma, Alabama (28-29).

Other formative influences in Massey’s life emerged during his public school years, through his immersion in service to the church, and in his years as a chaplain’s assistant in the U.S. Army. The reader of Massey’s autobiography will be humbled consistently by the homage he pays to great teachers, preachers, and friends all through his life. Massey’s work and study habits were chiseled on the anvil of discipline dispensed at home, church, school, and the military. So many persons owe debts to the past that are past due. Yet, James Earl Massey appears always to be current. What kind of person maintains and nurtures relationships with valued congregations, preachers, teachers, colleagues, friends, and former students, over many decades? In reading this autobiography, this reviewer constantly marveled at Massey’s willingness to keep these persons “near his heart,” no matter the heights to which he ascended. In addition to Mr. Coit Cook Ford, Sr. (his most unforgettable grade school teacher), Rev. Raymond S. Jackson (his mentor in the ministry), Dr. Howard Thurman (another mentor of high order), and Samuel G. Hines (a lifelong friend and co-laborer in ministry), Massey gives voice and visibility to many other memorable persons.

During his parish years, Massey positions the reader to see his metamorphosis as a “child of the church” into a beloved pastor and sought-after servant of the church. His chapter titled “A Chronicle of Crises” evoked surprise from this reviewer. Others not familiar with Massey’s early life may well experience the same. He narrates an especially hurtful period in his ministry surrounding a rift between his mentor, Rev. Raymond S. Jackson, and himself. Massey’s narration appears weighted in his favor as the moral exemplar in this rather “messy” affair. The telling is certainly not intended to cast venom on his mentor. Reconciliation between them did take place. Massey did not rely simply on his memory of the crisis, but on a critical mass of correspondence and journal entries. Also, there was his wife’s admonition that, if he were to write his story now, he “must report not only the sunshine experiences but also the dark, cold days when the icicles made [him] shiver—and to confess that [he] did shiver” (5).

In the remaining chapters narrating his parish ministry years, Massey deftly leads the reader into the dynamics shaping his character both as

a local pastor in Detroit's Metropolitan Church of God and as an emerging ecumenical servant of the church. The story Massey writes demonstrates his continuing awareness of the confluence of race, class, and gender issues on the shaping of his life. Readers may be caught off guard at times. Like most humans, Massey is complex. His life defies simple stereotypes. His life resists the tendency of so many, of all races, to caricature "blackness." Specifically, Massey's life extends the contours of "blackness" beyond crass generalizations in the areas of speech, intellect, culture, friendships, perspectives, and institutional allegiances.

As his story continues, the final epoch surrounds his campus ministry years. Two educational institutions, Anderson College (now Anderson University) and Tuskegee University become the dominant contexts for these years. The turbulent sixties, including the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., seem to provide a stimulus for change, leading first to an expansion of ministry in the Church of God as its radio preacher for the Christian Brotherhood Hour (CBH). The pace quickens as he then moves to other significant and productive ministries as Campus Minister and undergraduate adjunct professor in Bible and Religion at Anderson University, to the Dean of the Chapel at Tuskegee University, and eventually returning to Anderson University as the Dean of the church's School of Theology.

In his undergraduate experiences at Anderson College and its School of Theology, the reader can glean a manual for pedagogy, administration, mentoring, the spiritual disciplines, scholarly habits of the mind, and more. At Tuskegee University, Massey fulfills a desire to serve an historically black college. In his home state of Alabama, Massey served as Dean of the Chapel and Professor of Religion and Culture. According to Massey, "In going there I was moving intentionally into a major center of black education and the Black American heritage in a new way. . . . The following years strongly confirmed the wisdom and timeliness of our choice" (359). The engaged reader will glean from this period of Massey's pilgrimage his approach to worship in this context, his view of the role of the Chapel and chapel programming in a secular institution, his irenic spirit and bridge building gifts, his ever-present Christian commitments and integrity, his view of the relationship of science, religion, and morality, and more. Only a call by his church group, the Church of God Reformation Movement, could lure Massey from Tuskegee University. After his five-year stint as Dean of the Anderson School of Theology,

Massey formally retired in 1995, moved to Greensboro, Alabama with his beloved wife, Gwendolyn, and continues a life of productive service to the church and the world.

Each person who reads Massey's autobiography will discover much by which to be inspired and challenged. The able assistance and encouragement of Barry L. Callen, Massey's enduring friend and colleague, led to the final publishing of this most timely, informative, and inspirational work. The perceptive reader might question what appears to be little confession by Massey of any personal complicity in the crises that he faced. Those looking for the characteristic "underside" in autobiographies will be disappointed. Also, while not a criticism, this reviewer was curious about what Massey includes as one of his four memorable events at Tuskegee University. The occasion surrounds Massey and Tuskegee's positive reception of then President Ronald Reagan's visit to the university as its commencement speaker. While always subject to the suspicions and charges of racist politics by many Blacks in America, Ronald Reagan experienced none of this on his visit to Tuskegee. Massey's historical narration makes no reference to ideological politics at all (386-389). Was he being socially and racially naive at this point? Was Tuskegee too uncritical in its acceptance [a standing ovation] of Ronald Reagan? No reader can know.

An engaged reader might well focus more on Massey's commitment to respect all persons and to build bridges that change lives and less on partisan politics that often serve to undermine the common good. The reader will make his or her own assessment. If there is one omission that this reviewer laments, it is the absence of an appendix that provides the reader with a complete compendium of all Massey's published and unpublished works, in addition to memorable sermons, lectureships, and significant works of others on aspects of his life and works. Maybe this would have made the book too unwieldy, and it will be appearing in a subsequent publication.

This should be required reading for those who think they know Massey and for those who know they do not. Gifted pastors and preachers, aspiring pastors and preachers, Christian educators in congregations and seminaries, music aficionados, mentors and the mentored, professors of all disciplines, young and old, must purchase this book and an additional copy for one other person they value. Just maybe the reader might influence a Thomas Hignell, a former, "uninspired" student of Massey at

Anderson College. Through Massey's caring concern and encouragement, Hignell became a physician who "happened" to be the attending physician (and later pallbearer) to Massey's longtime mentor, Dr. Howard Thurman. How would one explain that?

For his obvious gifting as a concert pianist, Massey credits the call of God for subordinating his love for music to the many years he devoted instead to the life of the church. While visiting the Mozarteum in Austria again after many years, Massey says: "Blessed by the understanding that I was busy doing what I was really born to do, I suffered no regrets and therefore enjoyed the music-making of others there in Salzburg all the more" (429). This reviewer, too, offers no regrets at having read from cover to cover the narration of the life of a man who simply believes "that so much in life depends upon ordered, obedient steps" (8). Praise to God, thanks to James Earl Massey, for this wonderful gift to the church and world.

Walter Klaiber and Manfred Marquardt, *Living Grace: An Outline of United Methodist Theology*. Translated and adapted by J. Steven O'Malley and Ulrike R. M. Guthrie (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993, 2001). 508 pps. ISBN 0-687-05452-4.

Reviewed by Henry W. Spaulding, II, Trevecca Nazarene University, Nashville, Tenn.

According to Klaiber and Marquardt, "The United Methodist Church owes itself and those church bodies with which it is engaged in ecumenical discussion a clearer exposition of its theological stance" (11). The authors set forth the criteria by which they expect the book to be judged: (1) does it reflect a United Methodist theology? and (2) is their exposition of United Methodist theology clearer? These two questions are important to Klaiber and Marquardt and should be the basis for any review of this volume.

The book is divided into four sections: Responsible Proclamation, or Fundamentals for a Theology of the United Methodist Church; Universal Salvation, or God's Love for God's World; Personal Faith, or the Personal Experience of Salvation; and Christian Existence in its Wholeness, or the Reality of God. The book ends with an Appendix entitled "Foundations for the Doctrine and the Theological Task of the United Methodist Church." Each of the sections in the book is set apart in a style reminiscent of Ludwig Wittgenstein's *Tractatus*. This method of writing makes it very clear how Klaiber and Marquardt organize and connect United Methodist theology. For example, the reader can easily see that the fundamentals of United Methodist theology are, according to Klaiber and Marquardt: God's Self-Revelation as an Expression of God's Love, The Holy Scripture as the Foundation for Theology, and Methodist Doctrine as a Theology for Praxis. A similar organization of ideas runs throughout the book. This is clearly one of the more interesting and illuminating aspects of the book.

Living Grace is far too ambitious a volume to treat adequately in the space allowed for this review. Therefore, it is only possible to comment on a few interesting points made in the book. For example, Klaiber and Marquardt say, "Above all, the authority of the Bible was pondered and set forth in the light of its message of salvation" (68). This observation is all the more important in light of the treatment found in Section 1.2.3.6, "Models of the Contemporary Understanding of the Bible." The centrality

of the doctrine of salvation to all aspects of Methodist theology is overlooked in the contemporary discussion, which all too often thinks of faith in merely propositional or experiential terms. The sense in which Klaiber and Marquardt cast their discussion of the authority of the Bible in these terms offers an important insight into Methodist theology.

Another example of an insight offered by Klaiber and Marquardt is the connection of salvation to lifestyle: "The purposeful dynamic of Wesleyan soteriology corresponds to this. The heart of what occurred at Golgotha should and can be carried to completion step by step within the life of those who permit God's unending love to operate on and in them—a love which he demonstrated in the death of Jesus for us" (181). It is important for United Methodist theology according to Klaiber and Marquardt, that salvation be understood across the full spectrum of life. It is also important that Klaiber and Marquardt link United Methodist theology to the holiness movement (293). They also understand that the "social texture of gracious relations in the sphere of the Christian congregation is the basis for an ethic of love" (363). That is, they correctly link ecclesiology to the broader social concerns of the Christian faith. They also interpret sanctification broadly and appropriately: "Sanctification is therefore always achieved as worship within the context of the daily life of the world, as a witness to the approaching kingdom of God" (373). All of this and more in this dense and useful volume resonates with Methodist theology broadly conceived.

There are some ideas developed in the book that might call for clarification. For example, Klaiber and Marquardt say, "The personal structure of human being as being-in-relation is most supremely expressed in the conscience" (112). While this may be true a stronger case could be made for being-in-relation as an expression of consciousness. In fact, the idea of being-in-relation may be more fully understood as the kind of existence that human beings have and thus as constitutive of holiness in life. Klaiber and Marquardt go to great lengths in the following paragraphs to show how Wesley treated and reconstructed the meaning of conscience, but it might be better to start with a fuller appreciation for the role of consciousness in human existence and in the Christian life.

Another area that might bear further reflection is related to the understanding of evil. According to Klaiber and Marquardt, "The causes of human suffering can be distinguished in three ways: one lies in the finitude of our existence and its subjection to the decay of death; the second

lies in the evil actions of human beings; and the third lies in the physical causes over which we have no influence” (121-122). They go on to look at each of these separately. Klaiber and Marquardt do not treat systemic or structural evil in the discussion. This failure may be linked to their failure to connect being-in-relation to consciousness. All three ways in which Klaiber and Marquardt talk about evil are important to understand, but the failure to link structural evil to the discussion means that sin and even grace may not be understood in their full richness. This is certainly an area for further discussion among those who endeavor to do Methodist theology.

At the start of this review two self-imposed criteria by which the authors intend the book to be judged were mentioned: the degree to which it is true to United Methodist theology and the degree to which it is clear. First, what would a United Methodist theology look like? How is Christian theology or even Wesleyan theology different from United Methodist theology? These are important and difficult questions largely ignored by the authors. All theological reflection happens in a particular time and place and among a particular people. This would appear to mean that a United Methodist theology must be in constant dialogue with a particular history. Klaiber and Marquardt attempt to do this by referring to the *Methodist Book of Discipline* as well as by taking up certain questions that are important to the United Methodists. The problem with this is that this approach never quite gets to the fundamental question—how is a United Methodist theology reflective of a particular history and a particular people. The approach of the authors would work well if one could understand United Methodist theology as a set of documents or ideas rather than as a particular people.

There seems to be little concern here with the particular debates and personalities who have given shape to United Methodist theology. Admittedly, it would be difficult to do this in light of the problems associated with defining United Methodist theology. In fact, there is no satisfying definition of the thing that the authors want to clearly lay out. Also, there is no treatment of how particular issues have captured the imagination of the people called United Methodist. There is a paragraph or two here and there in the book, but little is done to expand the particular discussion of those very issues and personalities that have shaped United Methodist theology.

The second part of the criteria concerns clarity. Here the book excels as a well-organized and clearly written book. The translators have done a good job of making this book a pleasure to read. The use of the numbered sections and subsections make it easy to follow the argument. The problem is not clarity, but the difficulty of defining United Methodist theology. The fact that Klaiber and Marquardt desire to present an outline of United Methodist theology in a clearer manner than anyone else has requires not only clarity, but a clear picture of United Methodist theology. The absence of this diminishes the success of the self-imposed criteria of the authors.

This is an important book for introductory courses in Christian theology. It offers a number of insights regarding how Wesley's particular vision contributes to the discussion. The authors make several interesting and important comments, which will no doubt enrich the understanding of those who read the book. As a basic treatment of theology, the book is a solid offering, but as a clear and accurate statement of United Methodist theology, it has some weaknesses. Therefore, if the reader is looking for a broad treatment of the basic themes of Christian theology this is a book to review. But if one is looking for a definition of United Methodist theology this book will not fully satisfy.

Vic Reasoner, *The Hope of the Gospel: An Introduction to Wesleyan Eschatology*. Evansville, IN: Fundamental Wesleyan Publishers, 1999. ISBN 0-9629383-7-8.

Reviewed by Wallace Thornton, Jr., Church of the Nazarene, Moberly, MO.

The storms of controversy that swept the American Holiness Movement at the beginning of the twentieth century resulted in a war of words waged on the camp meeting circuit and in a plethora of periodicals and pamphlets. Among the central issues in this conflict were differing eschatological views. National Holiness Association leaders (postmillennialists), in such periodicals as the *Christian Witness*, attempted to suppress the controversy. They contended that views on the Second Coming were tangential “side-tracks” that would derail the Holiness Movement from its primary purpose of promoting entire sanctification. In contrast, radicals, wielded into a cohesive force primarily through the efforts of Martin Wells Knapp, editor of *God’s Revivalist*, pushed to the forefront views on the Second Coming. Knapp asserted that, rather than “side-tracks,” such concepts as divine healing and the pre-millennial return of Christ were essential spokes in the holiness wheel. For Knapp and kindred spirits such as W. B. Godbey and G. D. Watson, the attempt to dissociate eschatology from soteriology or other areas of theology betrayed the holiness cause. Indeed, it was argued that among the chief motivations that should be offered to seekers after entire sanctification was the hope of being numbered among the “bridehood saints” who would comprise the believers taken in the Rapture.

On one hand, Knapp’s eschatological views triumphed widely among holiness people. Pre-millennial dispensationalism held sway throughout much of the twentieth century. On the other hand, his view of the centrality of eschatological positions was muted by the contention that such ideas were non-essential doctrines. Many felt eschatology was of little consequence for other areas of theology and even less important for practical Christian living (except as they distracted from “more important” issues). In effect, while the radical embrace of dispensationalism dominated the Holiness Movement, the conflict with NHA leaders moved the debate to the periphery, relegating eschatology to the realm of hobby.

A century later, Vic Reasoner now presents in *The Hope of the Gospel* an attempt to correct both consequences of the earlier holiness

conflict over eschatology. This work furnishes persuasive defenses of the radical contention for the indissoluble link between eschatology and other areas of doctrine, particularly ecclesiology, while differing sharply with early holiness radicals in the eschatological vision it promotes. Foundational to Reasoner's view of eschatology is his understanding of the Kingdom of God, a concept he explores thoroughly in relation to its development in the Bible, in Christian theology generally, and especially in Wesleyan theology. He argues that the consensus of Scriptures has the Kingdom beginning with the Christ's atonement and ascension (chaps. 1-3) and leads to emphasis on the Kingdom as present reality as well as future hope, a focus Reasoner finds most amenable to the Wesleyan optimism of grace. Consequently, he calls for an inference from Wesleyan soteriology to eschatology. This results in a parallel between Wesley's teaching of a relative perfection (an "already/not yet" perfection rather than "sinless" perfection) and a postmillennial vision of "realized eschatology" that produces a Christianized society (rather than a utopia).

To bolster this conclusion, Reasoner traces in detail shifts in eschatology throughout church history, particularly among the heirs of Wesley. In a concise differentiation of the most popular contemporary views of the millennium (chap. 4), he especially notes non-Wesleyan (and non-biblical) elements of dispensational pre-millennialism. In particular, he condemns both the notion that the church is merely a "parenthesis" in God's plan and an artificial (and sometimes arbitrary) distinction between the realms of law and grace that tends toward antinomianism. After criticizing a-millennial and historic pre-millennial positions primarily for pessimistic tendencies, Reasoner provides a cogent presentation of classic postmillennialism.

In chapter 5, Reasoner recognizes the prevalence of pre-millennial thought among the church fathers. However, he argues that this was never a unanimous interpretation, certainly not one endorsed in any ecumenical creed or council, and that antiquity of an idea does not guarantee orthodoxy. He frequently alludes to charges that expectations of a physical reign of Christ for a millennium were vestiges of Judaism cultivated by Christians with a materialistic bent. In addition, he notes the connection between the development of modern pre-millennial thought and the rise of such sectarian leaders as William Miller (Adventist), and Charles Russell (Jehovah's Witness). To this is joined numerous examples of groups enamored with date-setting and other speculation and even fundamentalist prophecy teachers who used such dubious practices as biblical astrology

to support their conclusions. The cumulative effect is to cast serious aspersions on the claims of dispensationalism as a biblical system.

While observing ambiguity in Wesley's own view of eschatology, Reasoner's careful analysis of attempts by dispensationalists to claim Wesley as their own places such assertions in dubious light. Especially noteworthy is Reasoner's distinction between contemporary usage of the term "dispensation" and the connotations it held when used by early Methodists such as John Fletcher. To buttress his location of early Methodism within the postmillennial camp, Reasoner presents exhaustive evidence that Methodist theologians, from Wesley's contemporaries until the shift to theological liberalism, were united in their support of postmillennialism (chap. 6).

For the historian, chapter 7 may prove the most significant. Here, Reasoner traces the popularization of pre-millennial dispensationalism among Wesleyans to its acceptance by such radical holiness advocates as Knapp, Godbey, Watson, and L. L. Pickett. He explores not only their appropriation of John Darby's eschatology, but their modification of his ideas to complement the radical understanding of entire sanctification, a development depicted as a precursor to later Pentecostalism. In keeping with Reasoner's promotion of postmillennialism, he devotes less attention to the architects of this shift in eschatology than to the objections of such detractors as G. W. Wilson and Daniel Steele. Regardless, this chapter sheds important new light on the struggle for ascendancy between NHA leaders and radicals at the end of the nineteenth century, a controversy just beginning to receive the scholarly attention it warrants.

In the eighth chapter, Reasoner expands on a theme already reflected throughout the book—the immense significance that eschatological views have for all of theology and many areas of practical Christian action. In particular, he notes the stark contrasts in views of evangelism and social action encouraged by dispensationalism and postmillennialism, depicting the former as fueling pessimistic and self-fulfilling prophecies. While distancing orthodox postmillennialism from classic liberalism and the Social Gospel, Reasoner calls for an optimistic expectation of the acceptance of Christian principles by the nations of the world, accompanied by the conversion of many individuals.

In the "Questions and Answers" of the last chapter, Reasoner reveals the specific audience he is trying to convince—dispensationalists within the Wesleyan tradition. Any fair reading of his work will certainly bring

the dispensational system into question as to its compatibility with Wesleyanism (and even the Bible). It should incite contemporary Wesleyans to examine more carefully the theological baggage that has been imported from other traditions. Even Reasoner's frequent allusions to Christian Reconstructionist authors such as David Chilton reminds us of the temptation to define (and sometimes distort) Wesleyanism with constructs borrowed from other systems.

The Hope of the Gospel deserves careful reading by all scholars of Wesleyanism and evangelicalism as well as pastors in the Wesleyan/Holiness tradition. Many, including this reviewer, will remain unable to embrace Reasoner's postmillennial vision for many reasons, including some not addressed in this book. However, all should appreciate the exhaustive research, astute analysis, and lucid writing that Reasoner brings to bear on an area of theology far too often ignored by Wesleyans. Perhaps the greatest contribution of the book is its reminder that, ultimately, no area of theology is insignificant, and one's understanding of the Kingdom of God holds consequences for everything from personal salvation to corporate interaction with culture. Everyone concerned with that Kingdom should read this important book.

S. T. Kimbrough, Jr., ed., *Orthodox and Wesleyan Spirituality* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2002). 285 pp.; paper, \$15.95. ISBN 0-88141-235-X.

Reviewed by Amos Yong, Bethel College, St. Paul, MN

Ecumenical connections between the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Wesleyan Holiness movement have been increasing in the recent past. The discussion of the relationship between Wesley himself and Orthodoxy at the Wesleyan Theological Society meeting at Kansas City in 1991 (some of the papers were published shortly thereafter in the spring issue of volume 26 of the *Wesleyan Theological Journal*) has been continued and expanded in the "Consultation on Orthodox and Wesleyan Spirituality" held at St. Vladimir's Theological Seminary in January of 1999. Not intended as an "official" ecumenical consultation of Orthodox and Wesleyan/Holiness churches, the meeting brought together leading scholars to focus on the spiritualities of both traditions. The results, made available in the volume under review, provide a glimpse into the evolving relationship between Wesleyanism and Orthodoxy.

This book is divided into four parts. Section one on Eastern sources and the Wesleyan tradition includes papers by Richard Heitzenrater (Duke Divinity School) and Carlton R. Young (recognized authority on Anglo-American Methodist hymnology). The former, focused on Wesley's reading of and references to patristic authors, raises questions about the transmission of Orthodoxy to Wesley, probes the extent to which Wesley's thinking imbibed Orthodox sources, and charts new directions for research on the relationship between Wesley and Orthodoxy. The latter draws attention to the growing presence of Eastern hymnody in Methodist hymnbooks, especially in and after the publication of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* in 1861.

Part two delves into the question of holiness in Orthodoxy and the Wesleys. Geoffrey Wainwright (Duke Divinity School) explores the convergence of trinitarian theology, soteriology, and doxology in the Wesleys' writings, drawing attention especially to the role played by the notion of restoration of the *imago Dei* in early Wesleyan spirituality. John Chryssavgis (Professor of Theology at Hellenic College and Holy Cross School of Theology) compares and contrasts the praxis of holiness in Isaiah of Scetis (late fifth century) and Wesley. Petros Vassiliadis (vice-president of the WCC-affiliated Society of Ecumenical Studies and Inter-

Orthodox Relationship based in Thessaloniki, Greece) draws on his background in eucharistic theology to inquire into the shape of Christian holiness emergent from a christologically, eschatologically, ecclesialogically, and liturgically informed theology of the sacraments. Dimitar Popmarinov Kirov (University of Velico, Bulgaria) writes about “The Way of Holiness” as a path of reconciling spirituality.

The focus of the next set of papers compares and contrasts Wesley and his theology and other Eastern sources. Alexander Golitzin (Professor of Eastern Christian Theology, Marquette University) and Frances Young (Professor of Early Christianity, Birmingham University, UK) both discuss different aspects of transfiguration and deification in Wesley’s appropriation of the Macarian Homilies. In a parallel direction, Kenneth Carveley (Director of Studies and Tutor in Liturgy and Church History for The Northern Ordination Course) and Peter Bouteneff (Executive Secretary of the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches) explore the theme of universal salvation in Wesley through dialogical conversations with Maximus Confessor (implicitly so, in this case, as there is no clear evidence that Wesley read Maximus) and Gregory of Nyssa respectively.

The final section of the book focuses on Charles Wesley. His missiology and its commonalities and differences from Eastern Orthodox sources, especially Symeon the New Theologian, is considered by Tore Meistad (Finnmark College, Norway). The Hesychast movement of fourteenth century Byzantium is brought alongside the Pietism of Wesley’s eighteenth century England, particularly as manifest in his poetry. This is done by Ioann Ekonomtsev (Chairman of the Department for Religious Education and Catechism of the Moscow Patriarchate for all Russia). Expert on Ephrem the Syrian (fourth century), Kathleen McVey (Professor of Church History, Princeton Theological Seminary) presents an introduction to the importance of Ephrem’s theology of spirituality. Given its lack of making explicit connections with either the Wesleys or with Wesleyan spirituality, this piece seems to do no more than lay the groundwork for the concluding essay of the volume, wherein the editor, S T Kimbrough, Jr. (Associate General Secretary for Mission Evangelism of the General Board of Global Ministries of The United Methodist Church) explores the theme of *theosis* and *kenosis* in the nativity hymns of Ephrem and Charles Wesley.

This volume signals new directions in ecumenical trends. From all appearances, future consultations between these two traditions have been

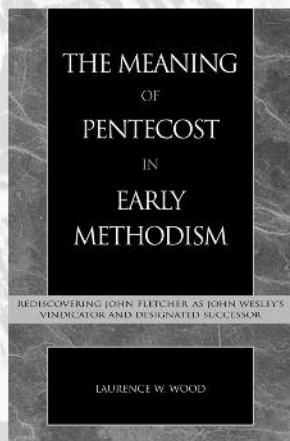
anticipated since the 1999 Consultation, although this reviewer has not been able to confirm specific details. Future collections of consultation proceedings, if any, should provide contributor details and indices, both missing in the present volume (for which reason contributors to this book have been identified above, the Orthodox participants given special attention for purposes of the readers of this journal). In any event, much more work needs to be done on the relationship between Orthodoxy and Wesleyanism in light of the research presented here.

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Pietist and Wesleyan Studies, #15
2002, 424 pages
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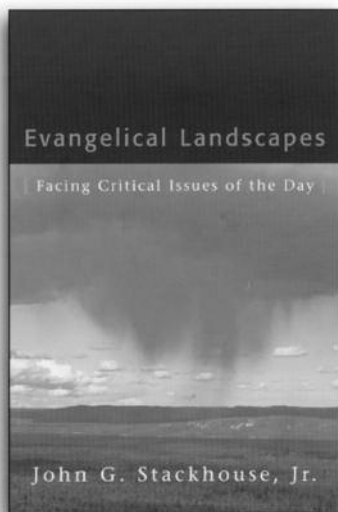
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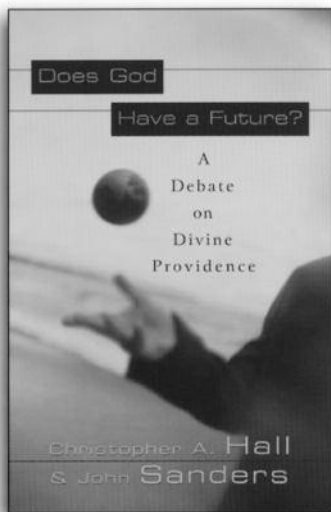
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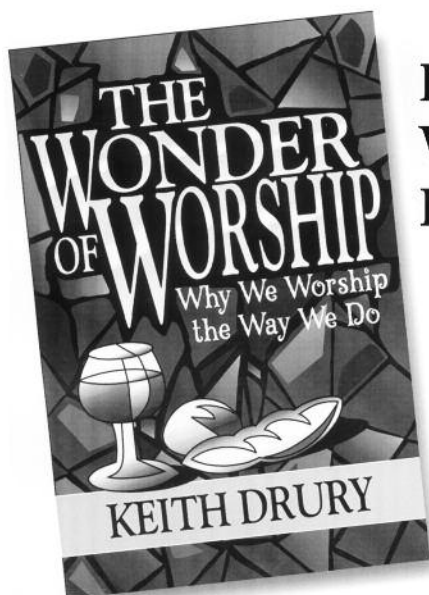


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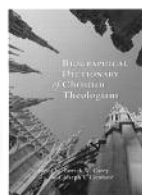


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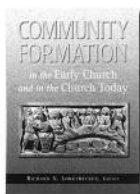
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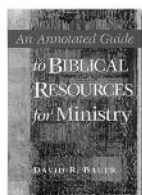
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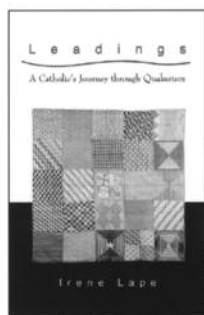
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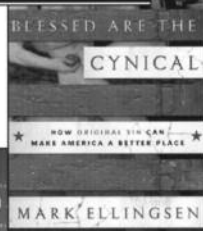


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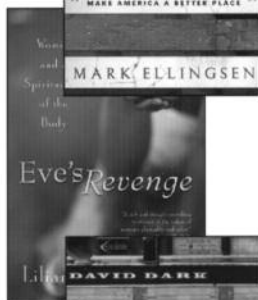


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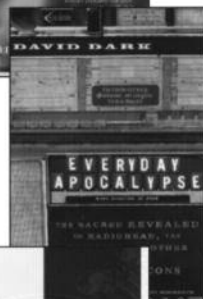


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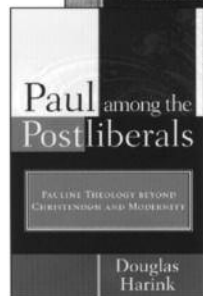


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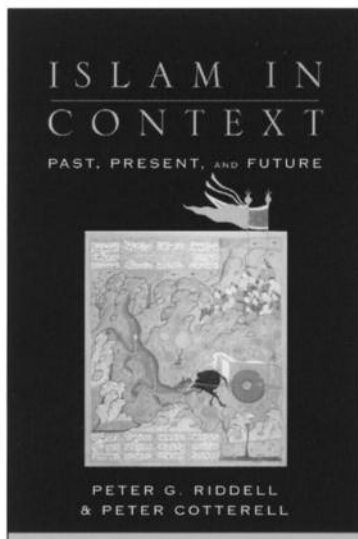
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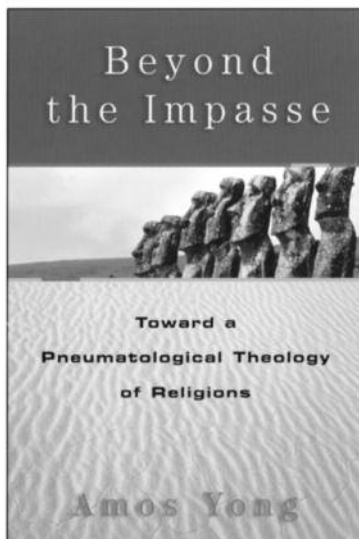
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